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# THE
# SECOND VOLUME
# OF
# The Phenix:
# OR, A
# REVIVAL
# OF
# *Scarce and Valuable Pieces*

No where to be found but in
the Cloſets of the Curious.

With a PREFACE giving ſome Account
of the Pieces in this Volume.

*LONDON,*
Printed for *J. Morphew* near Stationers Hall. M.DCC.VIII.
Where may be had the Firſt Volume.

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# THE PREFACE.

THE Deſign of this Undertaking being already explain'd in the Preface to a former Volume, and generally approv'd and encourag'd even by thoſe who thought that Volume did not anſwer the Expectation of the Publick; It mayn't be improper, without entring into a Defence of what's paſt, to take notice of the Pieces which compoſe this Collection, as well to ſatisfy the Judicious of our Care and Diligence in proſecuting the Deſign, as to obviate all Prejudices, by ſetting forth the Reaſons which have determin'd us in the preſent Choice.

All antient or ſcarce Pieces may juſtly be eſteem'd curious and valuable, either on account of their own intrinſick Perfection, or out of reſpect to the great Names which they go under, or purely on account of their relation to the Times and nice Conjunctures in which they were compos'd: and tho mean and inconſiderable in the Stile and Manner of writing, in compariſon with ſome modern Compoſures, may yet deſerve to be perpetuated and tranſmitted to Poſterity, if they manifeſtly diſcover the Seeds and Principles from which the greateſt Events, and perhaps Revolutions in Church and State, have taken their riſe. Theſe Characters ſingly or all together, have been our Rule in the preſent Collection.

*Dr.* Colet'*s Sermon*, which ſtands foremoſt in this Volume, and is perhaps one of the oldeſt, as well as one of the honeſteſt, extant in the *Engliſh* Tongue, is upon all theſe accounts ſingularly valuable. This Piece we might ſafely truſt alone into the World without Paſſport or Recommendation; whether we conſider it purely as a Sermon, with reſpect to the Language and Ornaments of Speech, tho preach'd in the Reign of *Harry* VII. or with reſpect to the Matter and Doctrine, tho in the Days of Popery. But the preſent Age abounding with infinite Variety of excellent new Sermons on all Texts, and upon all Occaſions, and to all Taſts; which may tempt the Injudicious to ask, *Why an old Sermon upon us?* it mayn't be amiſs to aſſign the Reaſon in the words of an Illuſtrious Prelate; and ſhew there's a wonderful

Hiſtorical Uſe in an *Old Sermon*, as well as in an *Old Medal.*

‘ When I writ, ſays his * Lordſhip, my ‘ Hiſtory of the Reformation, I had Dr. *Colet*’s ‘ Sermon in my hands, and once I intended to ‘ have publiſh’d it, as a Piece that might ſerve ‘ to open the Scene, and to ſhew the State of ‘ things at the firſt Beginnings of the Reformation: But I was diverted from it by thoſe ‘ under whoſe Direction I put that Work; ‘ They thought it might have been judg’d, that ‘ I had inſerted it on deſign to reflect on the ‘ preſent, as well as on the paſt State of things. ‘ I ſubmitted to their Advice, *&c.*

By his Lordſhip’s manner of taking notice he had Dr. *Colet*’s Sermon in his *hands*, he ſufficiently intimates that ’twas ſcarce as well as valuable, and only to be met with among the Curious; and ſince the Reaſons and Regards which diverted his Lordſhip from publiſhing it in the Reign of *Charles* II. are, it’s to be hop’d, in a great meaſure chang’d or ceas’d in theſe Days, we perſuade our ſelves the reviving and publiſhing it now in the Phœnix, will meet with univerſal Satisfaction.

The *Life and Character* of this Excellent Man, Dr. *Colet*, written by *Eraſmus*, is the next Piece in the Collection, and not unworthy his incomparable Pen; deſcribing, beſides his particular good Qualitys, that Friendſhip, that Intimacy, and thoſe ſweet Converſations which paſs'd between theſe two illuſtrious Perſons, during *Eraſmus*'s ſojourning in *England*, in ſo lively a manner, that the Reader fancies he ſees 'em together in their delightful Retirement at *Richmond*. One thing we can't forbear obſerving in this place, That he was the very firſt Man who had good Senſe enough, and Courage and Freedom of Thought, to diſcover and explode the Vanity of the Schoolmen, not excepting the Angelical Doctor *Thomas Aquinas*. 'Twas he firſt deliver'd *Eraſmus* himſelf from a ſlaviſh Reverence for their Deciſions; 'twas he firſt ſhook off that Yoke of Cobweb: for which alone he might juſtly deſerve a Statue in the Republick of Letters.

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* Reflections on a Book concerning the Rights, Powers, *&c.* of an *Engliſh* Convocation, *p.* 5.

Accounts of the Great, eſpecially thoſe of the Fair Sex, remarkable for ſudden and extraordinary Traverſes of Fortune, and untimely Ends, are moving when related by Flatterers, by Poets, or ſuſpected Hiſtorians; and even when the Paſſions and Indiſcretions of theſe great Perſons have haſten'd their deplor'd Fate: Their laſt Sayings, their Behaviour in Death, their Monuments and Inſcriptions are eagerly ſought after; the Mind waits on 'em to the Verge of Eternity. This induc'd us to reprint ſome genuine Pieces of the Lady *Jane Grey*, valuable in themſelves for the maſculine Stile and ſound Reaſons which appear in 'em; but much more on her own account, who died a Victim to the State, and a Martyr to the Truth.

In the fourth place comes *the Account of the Troubles at* Frankfort; being a Relation of the Differences and Contentions of the *Engliſh* Refugees (who fled thither under the Perſecution in Queen *Mary*'s days) about a Form of Religious Worſhip; about the *Engliſh* Liturgy and Ceremonys, Surplice, Ring, Croſs in Baptiſm, *&c.* Some may look down with Contempt and Unconcernedneſs on the Heats and Broils of a Handful of poor diſtreſs'd Men, in a ſtrange Land, a hundred and fifty years ago; and imagine ſuch a Relation of no more moment at this time, than the Storys of *Robin Hood* or *Little John.* Yet if they conſider theſe petty Broils, not only as the Types, but as the true original Source and Cauſe of all the Diſſenſions which have ever ſince ſhaken the Foundation of *England*'s Peace: If they conſider, that not only all the unhappy Diſtinctions of Prelatiſt and Puritan, Royaliſt and Roundhead, Whig and Tory, High Church and Low Church, and all the Feuds and Animoſitys conſequent on 'em; but all the Struggle and Strife of Partys, all their Plots and Counterplots to blow up one another, to oppreſs, diſcredit and defame each other; all Teſts and Penal Laws, Sequeſtrations, Proſcriptions, Attainders, Occaſional Bills; all the Ravage in ſhort and Deſolation ever ſince committed, all the Blood ſpilt in Peace or War, has been only a Continuation of the Troubles at *Frankfort*, and playing the ſame Game over and over on a larger Scene, and with greater Numbers; they muſt needs have a Curioſity to trace the Beginnings and Embrio of theſe Evils, and think an Account of the firſt Riſe and Occaſions of 'em very memorable.

Next comes the *Form of Prayer*, or Liturgy us'd in the *Engliſh* Church of *Geneva*, at the time of the Troubles of *Frankfort*, and approv'd by *John Calvin*: A grave demure Piece, without either Reſponſes, or Pſalms, or Hymns, without Fringe or Philactery; but terribly fortify'd and palliſado'd with Texts of Scripture, which we ſuppoſe to be all right, and *ſecundum Artem*.

The *Burden of* Iſſachar is of a later date than the foregoing Pieces: The Author's no Friend to the Presbyterian Church-Government and Diſcipline in *North-Britain*; he treats 'em with a great deal of Sharpneſs, and mentions ſome Facts which are very remarkable. Yet is it not publiſh'd with a deſign to reflect on any Party of Chriſtians (having already declar'd we have no regard to our own Opinions or Sentiments) but as a Piece of ſome Note, and juſtly challenging a Place among others, which are ſcarce and worthy to be preſerv'd.

The Author of a late Treatiſe concerning *the Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, is thought to make his uſe of this Pamphlet, in expoſing that Spirit of Independency and Uſurpation which he ſuppoſes runs thro' the Clergy of all Kinds and Denominations.

The two following Tracts, one entitled *Brevis Diſquiſitio*, or *a ſhort way with the Papiſts*; the other, *Diſſertatio de Pace, a Diſcourſe touching the Peace and Concord of the Church*; are ſuppos'd to be written by the famous Mr. *John Hales* of *Eaton*, whoſe Character Dr. *Heylin* gives us in his Hiſtory of Archbiſhop *Laud*, in theſe words, *That his Chamber was a Church, and his Chair a Pulpit*; and that *he was as communicative of his Knowledg, as the Celeſtial Bodys of their Light and Influences.* He was undoubtedly one of the greateſt Genius's that ever *England* produc'd.

The Learned Dr. *Pearſon*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, in his Preface to this Author's Remains, has theſe words of him: 'That he was a Man of as 'great Sharpneſs, Quickneſs and Stability of 'Wit, as ever this or perhaps any Nation bred. 'His Induſtry did ſtrive, if it were poſſible, to 'equal the largeneſs of his Capacity: Proportionable to his Reading was his Meditation, 'which furniſh'd him with a Judgment beyond 'the vulgar reach of Man; ſo that he really 'was a moſt prodigious Example of an acute 'and piercing Wit, of a vaſt and illimited 'Knowledg, of a ſevere and profound Judgment, *&c.*

Yet whether thro a Boldneſs of Thought peculiar to him, and incident to very few *Engliſhmen* in his Days, or thro his Converſation with ſome foreign Divines whilſt in *Holland* at the famous Synod of *Dort*, or thro Diſcontent at his not being prefer'd according to his great Merit, and a deſire of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by new Opinions, he ſeems in one part of his Life to have given into the *Socinian* and *Pelagian* Tenets: till Archbiſhop *Laud*, partly by his Arguments, partly by Preferments, regain'd and confirm'd him in an Orthodox Principle, in which he continu'd all the reſt of his Life, having ſuffer'd with great reſignation for the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience. His *Brevis Diſquiſitio* particularly is one of thoſe Pieces, in which he's ſuppos'd to have betray'd ſome inclination to the Doctrines of *Socinus*; yet they are ſo cloſely and cunningly inſerted, as rather to adminiſter ground of Suſpicion than Cenſure. And the Author of the *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, *pag.* 126. from whence this account of him is taken, intimates as tho 'twere only a Puritan Surmiſe. This and all his other Pieces are ſo well known to the Learned World, and ſo highly eſteem'd, that 'twere loſing time to deſcant on 'em, or juſtify the reſcuing 'em from Oblivion, by any other reaſon than that of the publick Benefit and Utility.

*Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*'s Defence of the *Jews*, written from *Amſterdam* to a Perſon of Quality here about the time of *Oliver Cromwel*, is perhaps the only Piece of a Rabbi worth preſerving; it abounds with variety of curious and entertaining Remarks, and diſcovers abundance of ſound ſenſe and good reading.

The Diſcourſe of the *Eternity of Hell-Torments*, is written, or ſuppos'd to be written, by one Mr. *Richardſon*. His Opinion is commonly accounted Heterodox; but the Arguments and Colours which he makes uſe of to ſupport it, are very remarkable, diſcovering an ingenious Fear in himſelf, of the Eternity of thoſe Torments which he'd fain diſprove.

The two Sermons preach'd at *Oxford* by *Robert Jones*, D. D. one a Repetition, the other a Recantation Sermon, about the Year 1619. made formerly a great noiſe in the world. Mr. *Creſſy*, who wrote in defence of the Church of *Rome*, againſt the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*, making a compariſon between this Sermon and a Diſcourſe of the Doctor's, proving the firſt Authors of the Contemplative Life, St. *Bennet*, St. *Romualde*, St. *Francis*, St. *Dominic*, &c. downright Fanaticks; gives this account of it: 'I have
' heard, ſays he, that kind of Wit before, when
' I was a young Student in *Oxford*, in a *Repe-*
' *tition-Sermon* to the Univerſity, which if Fan-
' cy be alone conſider'd, far better deſerv'd
' Applauſe [meaning than the Doctor's] where-
' in

‘ in the Preacher deſcanting upon the whole
‘ Life of our Saviour, render’d him and his At-
‘ tendants, Men and Women, Objects of the ut-
‘ moſt Scorn and Averſion, as if they all of ’em
‘ had been only a Pack of diſſolute Vagabonds
‘ and Cheats. But preſently the Preacher chan-
‘ ging his Stile, as became a Diſciple of Chriſt,
‘ with ſuch admirable Dexterity and Force of
‘ Reaſon, anſwer’d all the Cavillations and In-
‘ vectives made before, that the loudly-repeated
‘ Applauſe of his Hearers hinder’d him a good
‘ ſpace from proceeding: Notwithſtanding
‘ which, the grave Doctors and Governors of
‘ the Univerſity, tho much ſatisfy’d with his
‘ Abilitys, yet wiſely conſidering that a petulant
‘ Hiſtrionical Stile, even in Objections, did not
‘ fit ſo Sacred a Subject; and that it was not
‘ lawful too naturally to perſonate a deriding
‘ Jew; oblig’d the Preacher to a publick *Re-*
‘ *cantation Sermon* in the ſame Pulpit the Sunday
‘ following.

My Lord *Clarendon*, in his Animadverſions on this Anſwer of Mr. *Creſſy* to Dr. *Stillingfleet*, and this place of it, agrees with him as to the Wit and Fancy of the Sermon, at which himſelf was likewiſe preſent, and the general Applauſe it met with; but differs as to the Reaſons of his being enjoin’d to make the Recantation Sermon, which his Lordſhip ſays was on account of ſome unwary and indecent Expreſſions in it againſt the then ſitting Parliament. ’Tis further remarkable, that my Lord *Clarendon*, who ſays he heard this Sermon, affirms 'twas preach'd by one Mr. *Luſhington*, and not by Dr. *Robert Jones*, under whoſe name it now goes.

The *Account of the new Sect of Latitude-Men* at *Cambridge*, juſt after the Reſtoration, is conſiderable, as it ſhews the firſt Riſe of that Party which were afterwards call'd *Latitudinarians*, and are at this day our Low Churchmen. The particular Perſons deſcrib'd and vindicated in this account, may be eaſily known, by inquiring which of our late Great Men in the Church were bred at that Univerſity; ſuch as Dr. *T.* Dr. *B.* &c.

As to the two remaining Diſcourſes, which cloſe this Volume, one of the *Reaſonableneſs of Mens having a Religion*, by the late Duke of *Buckingham*; the other of *Human Reaſon* by *Matthew Clifford*, Eſq; late Maſter of the Charterhouſe: Theſe Names, and the eſtabliſh'd Reputation of the Works, render all Recommendation needleſs.

We ſhall add no more, only renew our Requeſt to all Gentlemen, who have any ſcarce or valuable Pieces by 'em, whether in Print or Manuſcript, That they wou'd be pleas'd to impart 'em for the Benefit of the Publick, or give the Undertakers notice by a Line to *Fellows*'s Coffee-Houſe in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, where they may be waited upon.

THE

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## VOL. II.

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*To which is added, The Life of Dr.* COLET, *writ by* Eraſmus Roterodamus.

YE are this day come together (Fathers and right wiſe Brethren) to enter into Council: in which, what ye will do, and what matters ye will handle, we do not yet underſtand. But we wiſh, that once remembring your Name and Profeſſion, ye would mind the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs: for aſſure your ſelves there never was more need of it, the ſtate of the

Church did never more deſire your Endeavours. The Spouſe of Chriſt (whom ye would ſhould be without ſpot or wrinkle) is made deform'd and ill-favour'd; as ſaith *Eſaias*, *The faithful City is become an Harlot*, Chap. 1. ver. 21. *She hath play'd the Whore with many Lovers*, Jer. 3. 1. whereby ſhe hath conceiv'd many Seeds of Wickedneſs, and daily bringeth forth very foul Fruit. Wherefore I come hither to day (Fathers) to warn you, that in this your Council ye beſtow your whole thoughts upon the Reformation of the Church.

But indeed I came not willingly, being ſufficiently conſcious of my own Unworthineſs; and foreſeeing how hard it will be to pleaſe the preciſe judgment of ſo many men, I eſteem'd it very unmeet (almoſt too malapert) that I a Servant ſhould counſel my Lords, that I a Son ſhould teach you my Fathers. Truly this had been more fit for ſome one of the Fathers themſelves; that is to ſay, You Prelates might have done it with far more grave Authority and greater Wiſdom: But the Command of the moſt Reverend Father and Lord the Archbiſhop (Preſident of this Council) muſt be obey'd, who laid upon me this burden (which is in truth too heavy for my ſhoulders) for I remember that the Prophet *Samuel* ſaid, *Obedience is better than Sacrifice.* Wherefore I pray and beſeech you to ſuſtain my weakneſs with your Goodneſs and Patience: in the firſt place to help me with your good Prayers; and before all things, *Let us pray to God the Father Almighty, firſt remembring our moſt holy Father the Pope, and all Spiritual Paſtours, with all Chriſtian People; furthermore the moſt Reverend Father and Lord the Archbiſhop, Preſident of this Council, and all Biſhops, and all the Clergy, and all the People of* England; *remembring finally this your Congregation; deſiring God to inſpire your Minds ſo accordingly to agree, to the benefit and fruit of the Church, that ye may not ſeem, when the Council is finiſh'd, to have been gather'd together in vain, and without cauſe. Let us all ſay*, Pater noſter, &c.

To exhort you, Reverend Fathers, to endeavour Reformation, becauſe nothing hath ſo disfigur'd the face of the Church, as hath the faſhion of ſecular and worldly living in Clerks and Prieſts; I know not where more conveniently to begin my Diſcourſe, than from the Apoſtle *Paul* (in whoſe Temple ye are gather'd together) for he writing to the *Romans* (and under their name to you) ſaith,

## ROM. xii. 2.

*Be not conform'd to this World, but be ye reform'd by the renewing of your mind; that ye may prove what is that good Will of God, well-pleaſing and perfect.*

THIS the Apoſtle writ to all Chriſtian Men, but moſt chiefly to Prieſts and Biſhops. Prieſts and Biſhops are the Light of the World; for he ſaid unto them, *Ye are the Light of the World*; and he ſaid alſo, *If the Light that is in you be Darkneſs, how great is that Darkneſs?* that is, if Prieſts and Biſhops (who ſhould be as Lights) run in the dark way of the World, how dark then ſhall the ſecular People be? Wherefore St. *Paul* ſaid chiefly to Prieſts and Biſhops, *Be ye not conform'd to this World, but be ye reform'd.* In which words the Apoſtle doth two things. 1. He *forbids*, that we be not conform'd to this World and made carnal. And then, 2. He *commands*, that we be reform'd in the Spirit of God, and become ſpiritual.

Intending to follow this Order, I ſhall ſpeak,

I. Of Conformation. And then,
II. Of Reformation: *Be not conform'd to this World.*

By the word *World*, the Apoſtle meaneth the ways and manner of ſecular living, which chiefly conſiſts in four Evils of this World; that is, in deviliſh Pride, carnal Luſt, worldly Covetouſneſs, and ſecular Buſineſs: Theſe are in the World, as St. *John* witneſſeth, 1 *Ep.* 2. 16. for he ſaith, *All that is in the World is either the Luſt of the Fleſh, the Luſt of the Eyes, or the Pride of Life.* Theſe ſame things now are and reign in the Church and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons; ſo that we may ſeem truly to ſay, All that is in the Church is either the Luſt of the Fleſh, the Luſt of the Eyes, or Pride of Life.

1. And firſt to ſpeak of *Pride of Life.* How much Greedineſs and Appetite of Honour and Dignity is ſeen now-a-days in Clergymen? How run they (yea almoſt out of breath) from one Benefice to another, from the leſs to the greater, from the lower to the higher? Who ſeeth not this? And who ſeeing, ſorroweth not? And moſt of thoſe who are in theſe Dignitys carry their Heads ſo high, and are ſo ſtately, that they ſeem not to be put in the humble Biſhoprick of Chriſt, but rather in the high Lordſhip and Power of the World; not knowing, or not minding, what Chriſt the Maſter of all Meekneſs ſaid

unto his Diſciples (whom he call'd to be Biſhops and Prieſts) *The Princes of the* Gentiles *exerciſe Dominion over them, and thoſe that be in Authority have Power; but do ye not ſo. Whoſoever will be chief amongſt you (higheſt in Dignity) let him be your Servant. The Son of Man came not to be miniſtred unto, but to miniſter,* Mat. 20. 25, *&c.* By which words our Saviour doth plainly teach, that a Prelacy in the Church is nothing elſe but a Miniſtration, that an high Dignity in an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon ought to be nothing but a meek Service.

2. The ſecond ſecular Evil is carnal *Concupiſcence.* And hath not this Vice grown and encreas'd in the Church ſo far, that in this moſt buſy Age, the far greater number of Prieſts mind nothing but what doth delight and pleaſe their Senſes? They give themſelves to Feaſts and Banqueting, ſpend their time in vain babling, are addicted to Hunting and Hawking; and in a word, drown'd in the Delights of this World, diligent only in progging for thoſe Luſts they ſet by. Againſt which ſort of Men St. *Jude* exclaims in his Epiſtle, ſaying, *Wo unto them which have gone the way of* Cain; *they are foul and beaſtly, feaſting in their Meats, without Fear feeding themſelves, Flouds of the wild Sea, foaming out their own ſhame; unto whom the ſtorm of Darkneſs is reſerv'd for everlaſting.*

3. *Covetouſneſs* is the third ſecular Evil, which St. *John* calls the *Luſt of the Eyes,* and St. *Paul, Idolatry.* This abominable Peſtilence hath ſo enter'd into the Minds of almoſt all Prieſts, hath ſo blinded the Eyes of their Underſtanding, that we ſee nothing but that which ſeems to bring unto us ſome gain. What other thing ſeek we now-a-days in the Church, except fat Benefices and high Promotions? And it were well if we minded the Duty of thoſe when we have them; but he that hath many great Benefices, minds not the Office of one ſmall one. And in theſe high Promotions, what other thing do we paſs upon, but only our Tythes and Rents? We care not how vaſt our Charge of Souls be, how many or how great Benefices we take, ſo they be of large value. Oh Covetouſneſs! Covetouſneſs! St. *Paul* juſtly call'd thee *the Root of all Evil:* Of thee cometh this heaping of Benefices upon Benefices: Of thee ſo great Penſions aſſign'd, from many Benefices reſign'd: Of thee ſo much ſuing for Tythes, for Offerings, for Mortuaries, for Delapidations, by the Right and Title of the Church; for which things we contend as eagerly as for our Lives. Oh Covetouſneſs! Of thee it comes that theſe Viſitations of Biſhops are ſo chargeable: Of thee the corruptneſs of Courts, and theſe daily new Inventions, wherewith the poor ſilly People are ſo vex'd: Of thee cometh the Beſyte and Wantonneſs of Officials. O Covetouſneſs! Mother of all Iniquity!

quity! Of thee comes this fervent ſtudy of Ordinarys to dilate their Juriſdictions: Of thee comes this peeviſh and raging Contention in Ordinarys: Of thee Inſinuation of Teſtaments: Of thee the undue Sequeſtration of Fruits: Of thee comes the ſuperſtitious Obſervation of all thoſe Laws that ſound to any Lucre, ſetting aſide and deſpiſing thoſe that concern the Amendment of Manners. What ſhould I rehearſe the reſt? To be ſhort (and to conclude at one word) all Corruptneſs, all the Decay of the Church, all the Offences and Scandals of the World come from the Covetouſneſs of the Prieſts, according to that of St. *Paul*, which here I repeat again, and beat into your Ears, *Covetouſneſs is the Root of all Evil.*

4. The fourth ſecular Evil that ſpotteth the face of the Church, is *continual ſecular Occupation*; wherein Prieſts and Biſhops now-a-days do buſy themſelves, becoming the Servants rather of Men than God, the Warriours rather of this World than of Jeſus Chriſt. For the Apoſtle *Paul* writeth to *Timothy* (2 *Ep.* 2. 3.) that no man who is a good Soldier of Chriſt, or that warreth for God, entangleth himſelf with the Affairs of this Life, is turmoil'd with ſecular Buſineſs. The Warfare of God's Soldier is not carnal, but ſpiritual: Our warring is to pray devoutly, to read and ſtudy Scriptures diligently, to preach the Word of God ſincerely, to adminiſter the Holy Sacraments rightly, and offer Sacrifice for the People: for we are Mediators and Interceſſors unto God for Men; which St. *Paul* witneſſeth, writing to the *Hebrews*, *Every Biſhop*, ſaith he, *taken of Men, is ordain'd for Men in thoſe things that be unto God, that he may offer Gifts and Sacrifices for Sins.* Wherefore thoſe Apoſtles, who were the firſt Prieſts and Biſhops, did ſo much abhor all manner of meddling in ſecular things, that they would not miniſter the Meat that was neceſſary to poor People, altho it were a great Work of Vertue; but they ſaid, *It is not meet that we ſhould leave the Word of God and ſerve Tables, we will give our ſelves continually to Prayer and Preaching the Word of God*, Acts 6. 2, 4. And St. *Paul* crys to the *Corinthians*, 1 Ep. 6. 4. *If you have judgments of things pertaining to this Life, ſet them to be Judges that be moſt in contempt in the Church.* Many Evils doubtleſs do enſue from this Secularity, when Clergymen and Prieſts (leaving all Spirituality) turmoil themſelves with earthly Occupations.

(1.) The Dignity of Prieſthood is diſhonour'd, which is greater than either that of Kings or Emperors, equal with the Dignity of Angels; but the brightneſs of this great Dignity is ſore ſhadow'd, when Prieſts are employ'd in Earthly things, whoſe Converſation ought to be in Heaven.

(2.) Prieſthood is deſpis'd, when there is no difference between ſuch Prieſts and Lay-People; but according to the Prophecy of *Hoſea, As the People be, ſo are the Prieſts.*

(3.) The beautiful Order and holy Dignity in the Church is confus'd, when the higheſt in the Church do meddle with vile and earthly things; and in their ſtead vile and abject Perſons do exerciſe high and heavenly things.

(4.) The Lay-People have great occaſion offer'd them of Evils, and cauſe to fall; when thoſe Men, whoſe Duty it is to draw others from the Affection of this World, do, by their continual Converſation in this World, teach Men to love the World; and by the Love of the World caſt them down headlong into Hell.

Moreover, in ſuch Prieſts that be ſo employ'd, there muſt needs follow Hypocriſy: For when they be ſo mix'd and confus'd with Lay-people, under the garment and habit of a Prieſt, they live plainly after the Lay-faſhion; and thro ſpiritual Weakneſs, Bondage, and Fear (being made weak with the waters of this World) they dare neither do nor ſay any, but ſuch things as they know to be pleaſing and grateful to their Prince's Ears. At laſt thro Ignorance and Blindneſs (when they are blinded with the Darkneſs of this World) they ſee nothing but earthly things. Wherefore our Saviour Chriſt (not without cauſe) did warn the Prelates of his Church in this manner: *Take heed to your ſelves, leſt at any time your Hearts be overcharg'd with Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, and the Cares of this World,* Luke 21. 34. The Cares, ſaith he, of this World, wherewith when the Hearts of Prieſts being ſore charg'd, they cannot mind the other Life, nor lift up their Souls to high and heavenly things. There be many other Evils beſide theſe, that follow of the Secularity of Prieſts, which were long here to rehearſe; but I make an end.

Theſe be the four Evils that I have ſpoken of (O Fathers! O Prieſts!) by which we are conformable to this World, by which the face of the Church is made ill-favour'd, by which the ſtate of it is deſtroy'd; much more truly than it was in the beginning by the Perſecution of Tyrants, or afterward by the Invaſion of Hereticks that follow'd: For in the Perſecution of Tyrants, the Church being afflicted was made ſtronger and brighter; in the Invaſion of Hereticks, the Church being ſhaken, was made wiſer and more skilful in Holy Writ; but ſince this Secularity was brought in, ſince the worldly manner of living crept in among Churchmen, the Root of all ſpiritual Life (that is, *Charity*) hath been extinct; which being taken away, the Church can neither be wiſe nor ſtrong in God.

In this Age we are ſenſible of the Contradiction of Lay-People; but they are not ſo much contrary to us, as we are to our ſelves. Their Contrarineſs hurteth not us ſo much as the Contrarineſs of our own evil Life, which is contrary both to God and Chriſt, who ſaid, *He that is not with me is againſt me.* We are alſo now-adays troubled with Hereticks (Men intoxicated with ſtrange Opinions) but the Hereſys of them are not ſo peſtilent and pernicious to us and the People, as the *naughty Lives of Prieſts*, which (if we believe St. *Bernard*) is *a kind of Hereſy, nay the chief of all, and moſt perillous.* For that holy Father preaching in a certain Convocation to the Prieſts of his time, had theſe words in his Sermon: *Many Men are Catholick in their Speaking and Preaching, which are Hereticks in their Works and Actions: For what the Hereticks do by evil Teaching, the ſame do theſe Men by ill Example,* viz. *they lead the People out of the right way, and bring them into Error of Life; and theſe Men are ſo much worſe than Hereticks, by how much their Works prevail more than their Words.* This that holy Father St. *Bernard* ſpoke with a fervent Spirit againſt the Sect of evil Prieſts in his time. By which words he ſheweth plainly that there be two kinds of Hereſys; one ariſing from perverſe Teaching, and the other from a naughty Life; of which two this latter is far worſe, and more perillous, reigning (now) in Prieſts, who do not live like themſelves, nor Prieſtly, but ſecularly, to the utter and miſerable Deſtruction of the Church of God. Wherefore you Fathers! you Prieſts! and all you of the Clergy! at laſt rouſe and look up from this your Sleep in this forgetful World; and being well awak'd, hear St. *Paul* crying unto you, *Be ye not conform'd to this World.* Thus much for the firſt Part. Now let us come to the

II. Of Reformation. *But be ye reform'd by the renewing of your Mind.*

The ſecond thing that St. *Paul* commandeth, is, *That we be reform'd by the renewing of our Mind, that we may prove what is that good Will of God, well-pleaſing and perfect.* Let us be reform'd in thoſe Vices which be in us contrary to thoſe Vertues I mention'd even now; that is, to Meekneſs, to Sobriety, to Charity, to ſpiritual Occupation, that (as the ſaid St. *Paul* writeth unto *Titus*) *denying all Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, we may live ſoberly, righteouſly and vertuouſly in this preſent World.*

This Reformation, and reſtoring the Churches Eſtate, muſt needs begin of you our Fathers, and ſo follow in us your Prieſts, and in all the Clergy. You are the Heads, you are an Example of living to us; upon you we look as upon marks of our Direction; in you and in your Lives we deſire to read (as in lively Books) how and after what manner we ought to live: Wherefore if you will conſider and pull out the Motes that be in your Eyes; 'tis an old Proverb, *Phyſician heal thy ſelf*; let me beſeech you, ſpiritual Phyſicians, firſt to take your ſelves this Purgation of Manners, and then afterwards offer us the ſame to take.

Now the way whereby the Church may be reform'd into a better faſhion, is, not to make new Laws, there be already Laws enough, if not too many. *Nothing is new under the Sun*, as ſaith *Solomon, Eccleſ.* 1. 9. For the Evils that are now in the Church were before in times paſt; and there is no fault committed among us, for which our Forefathers have not provided very good Remedys: there are no Treſpaſſes, but there be Remedys againſt them in the Body of the Canon Law. 'Tis not needful then that new Laws and new Conſtitutions be made, but thoſe which are made already be well kept and put in execution: Wherefore, I pray you, let thoſe Canons and Laws, which are made, be call'd for and rehears'd before you in this your Aſſembly; thoſe Canons, I mean, that reſtrain Vice, and thoſe that further Vertue.

1. Let thoſe Canons be rehears'd that do learn you, O Fathers! not to lay hands ſuddenly on any Man, not to be too facile in admitting into Holy Orders; for here lies the Original and Spring-head of all our Miſchiefs, that the Gate of Ordination is too broad, the Entrance too wide and open; every Man that offers himſelf is admitted every where without putting back. Hence comes it that we have ſuch a multitude of Prieſts, who have little Learning and leſs Piety. In my judgment 'tis not enough for a Prieſt to conſtrue a Collect, to put forth a Queſtion, to anſwer a Sophiſm; but an honeſt, a pure and a holy Life is much more neceſſary, approv'd Manners, competent Learning in Holy Scripture, ſome Knowledg of the Sacraments; but chiefly and above all things, the Fear of God, and Love of Heavenly Life.

Let the Canons be rehears'd which command that Benefices of the Church be given only to thoſe that are worthy, and that Promotions be made by the right balance of Vertue, not by neareſt Kindred, or carnal Affection, or acception of Perſons; whereby it happeneth now-a-days that Boys, and Fools, and Ill-livers do reign and rule in the Church, inſtead of old Men, and wiſe, and good.

To this end let the Canons be rehears'd, which forbid and oppoſe the Dirt of Simony: which Corruption, which Infection, which cruel and deteſtable Peſtilence, doth now creep abroad like a Canker in the minds of Prieſts; ſo that in theſe days many are not afraid, by Intreaty and ſervile Attendances, by Rewards and Promiſes, to procure to themſelves great Dignitys.

Let the Canons be rehears'd that command perſonal reſidence of Curates in their Churches; for of this many Evils grow, becauſe all Offices now-a-days are perform'd by Vicars and Pariſh-Prieſts, yea and thoſe fooliſh and unmeet, oftentimes wicked, that ſeek nothing among the Laity but filthy Lucre, whereof cometh occaſion of evil Hereſys, and ill Chriſtendom in the People.

Let the Canons be rehears'd which concern the Lives of you Fathers, and the Honeſty of us Prieſts; which forbid a Clergyman to meddle in Merchandiſe, that he be no Uſurer, no Hunter, no common Gamer or Player, that he bear no Weapon. .

The Canons that forbid Clergymen to haunt Taverns, that forbid them to have ſuſpected familiarity with Women; the Canons that command Sobriety, Moderation in Apparel, and Temperance in adorning the Body.

And to, my Lords, theſe Monks, Prebends and religious Men, let the Canons be rehears'd, which command them to go the ſtrait way that leads to Heaven, leaving the broad way of the World; which command them not to turmoil themſelves in Buſineſs, neither ſecular nor other; which command that they do not ſow * in Princes Courts for earthly things: for it is decreed in the firſt Council of *Calcedon* †, *That Monks ought only to give themſelves to Prayer and Faſting, and to the chaſtizing of the Fleſh, and obſerving of their Rules.*

* *Lay-plots.*

† Προσέχειν μόνῃ τῇ νηϛείᾳ ϗ τῇ προσευχῇ, &c. Can. 4. & 7.

Above all things, let the Canons be rehears'd that appertain to you my Reverend Fathers and Lord Biſhops, Laws concerning your juſt and canonical Election in the Chapters of your Churches, calling upon the Holy Ghoſt: For becauſe thoſe Canons are not obey'd now-a-days (but Prelates are choſen oftentimes more by the favour of Men, than by the Grace of God) hence truly it comes to paſs, that we have not ſeldom Biſhops who have little Spirituality in them, Men rather worldly than heavenly, ſavouring more the Spirit of this World than the Spirit of Chriſt.

Let the Canons be rehears'd of the *reſidence of Biſhops in their Dioceſſes*, which command that they look diligently to the health of Souls, that they ſow the Word of God, that they ſhew themſelves in their Churches, at leaſt on great Holidays; that they *officiate in their own Perſons*, and do ſacrifice for their People; that they hear the Cauſes and Matters of poor Men; that they ſuſtain fatherleſs Children and Widows, and exerciſe themſelves in Works of Vertue.

Let the Canons be rehears'd concerning the right beſtowing of the Patrimony of Chriſt; the Canons which command that the Goods of the Church be ſpent not in coſtly Building, not in ſumptuous Apparel and Pomps, not in Feaſting and Banqueting, not in Exceſs and Wantonneſs, not in enriching of Kinsfolk, not in keeping of Hounds; but in things profitable and neceſſary for the Church. For when St. *Auguſtine* the Monk (once Biſhop of *England*) ask'd Pope *Gregory*, how the Biſhops and Prelates in *England* ſhould ſpend their Goods, which were the Offerings of faithful People; the ſaid Pope anſwer'd (and his Anſwer is put into the Decrees, *cap.* 12. *quæſt.* 2.) *That the Goods of the Biſhops ought to be divided into four parts; whereof one part ought to be for the Biſhop and his Houſhold, another to his poorer Clergymen, the third to repair and uphold his Tenements, the fourth to poor People.*

Let the Canons be rehears'd (yea and that oftentimes) which take away the Filthineſs and Corruption of your Courts, which take away thoſe daily new-found Crafts for Lucre; which effectually pull away this foul Covetouſneſs, which is the Spring and Cauſe of all the Evils that we feel, the Fountain of all Iniquity.

Laſtly, let thoſe Canons and Conſtitutions of our Forefathers be renew'd, which concern the Celebration of Councils; which appoint Provincial Synods to be oftner us'd for the Reformation of the Church, becauſe there never happens any thing more hurtful to the Church of Chriſt than the lack of Councils, both general and provincial.

When theſe Canons are rehears'd (and ſuch others as concern us and the Correction of our Manners) nothing will be lacking, but that the ſame be put in execution with all Authority and Power, that once (ſeeing we have a Law) we live according to the Law. For which things, with all due reverence, I call chiefly upon you Fathers (for this execution of the Canons, and obſerving of the Conſtitutions, muſt needs begin at you) that ye may teach us Prieſts to follow you by lively Examples; or elſe truly it will be ſaid of you, *They lay grievous Burdens upon other Mens Backs, but they themſelves will not as much as touch them with their little Finger,* Mat. 23. 4.

For indeed if you keep the Laws, and firſt reform your own Lives to the Rules of the Canon-Laws, then ſhall ye give us light (in which we may ſee what is to be done on our part) that is to ſay, the Light of your good Example: And we ſeeing our Fathers ſo keep the Laws, will gladly follow their ſteps.

The Clergy and Spiritual Men being thus once reform'd in the Church, we may then with a juſt Order proceed to the Reformation of the Laity's part: which truly will be very eaſily done, if we be firſt reform'd our ſelves. For the Body follows the Soul; and ſuch as the Rulers in the City be, ſuch are the Inhabitants. Wherefore if Prieſts that have the Charge of Souls be good, the People will ſtreight be good too. Our Goodneſs will teach them far more clearly and effectually to be good, than all other Teachings and Preachings whatſoever: Our Goodneſs ſhall compel them into the right way, truly more powerfully than all your Suſpenſions, Excommunications, and Curſings.

Wherefore if ye will have the Lay-People to live after your Wiſh and Will, firſt live you your ſelves after the Will of God; and ſo (truſt me) ye ſhall effect in them whatſoever ye would.

Ye would be obey'd by them; and 'tis fit ye ſhould (for theſe are the words of St. *Paul* to the Lay-People, *Heb.* 13. 17. *Obey them that have rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves*) But if you will have this Obedience, firſt do you perform within your ſelves that which is the reaſon and cauſe why they ought to obey you, which the ſaid St. *Paul* teacheth (and it follows in the Text) viz. *Take you heed diligently, as thoſe that muſt give a reckoning for their Souls*; and they will obey you.

Ye would be honour'd of the People; and reaſon good (for St. *Paul* writes to *Timothy*, that the *Prieſts who rule well are worthy of double Honour, eſpecially they who labour in the Word and Teaching*, 1 Tim. 3. 17.) But if you deſire to be honour'd, firſt look that you rule well, and that you labour in Word and Teaching: and then ſhall the People have you in all honour.

You would reap their carnal things, and gather Tithes and Offerings without contention; and it is very fit (for St. *Paul* writing to the *Romans*, ſaith, *It is their Duty to miniſter unto you in carnal things*, Rom. 15. 27.) But you ought firſt to ſow your ſpiritual things, and then ye ſhall reap plentifully their carnal things: For truly that man is very hard and unjuſt, who will reap where he never did ſow, and deſires to gather where he never ſcatter'd.

Ye would have the Church's Liberty, and not be drawn before ſecular Judges, this alſo is reaſonable (for it is in the Pſalms, *Touch not mine Anointed*, Pſal. 105. 15.) But if ye deſire this Liberty, firſt unlooſe yourſelves from the worldly Bondage, from trucking with the World, and from the vile Services of Men; and lift up your ſelves to the true Liberty, the ſpiritual Liberty of Chriſt: Place your Hearts and Affections upon his Service, which is perfect Freedom. Serve you God, and reign in him; and then (believe me) the People will not touch the Anointed of their Lord God.

Ye would be out of buſineſs, in reſt and peace; and that is convenient: But if ye would have Peace, return to the God of Peace and Love. Come again to Chriſt (in whom is true Peace, which paſſeth all Underſtanding) come again to your ſelves, and to your prieſtly living. And (to make an end) as St. *Paul* ſaith, *Be ye reformed by the renewing of your Mind, that ye may ſavour the things that be of God, and the Peace of God ſhall be with you.*

Thus have I recited to you (Reverend Fathers, and right Famous Men) the Particulars which I thought fit to be ſpoke for the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. I truſt you will take all (out of your Gentleneſs) in good part. If peradventure it be thought that I have paſs'd my bounds in this Sermon, or have ſaid any thing out of temper, forgive it me; and ye ſhall forgive a Man ſpeaking out of mere Zeal, a Man heartily lamenting the Decay of the Church: and conſider the thing it ſelf, not regarding any Fooliſhneſs. Conſider the miſerable Condition and State of the Church, and endeavour your ſelves with all your Souls and Abilities to reform it.

Suffer not, Fathers, this your great Convocation to depart in vain; ſuffer not this your Congregation to be for no end. Truly ye are gather'd oftentimes together, but (by your favour to ſpeak the Truth) I ſee not yet what good cometh of your aſſembling, namely to the Church.

Go ye now in the Spirit that ye have call'd upon, that by the help of it ye may in this your Council find out, decree, and ordain thoſe things that may be profitable to the Church, a Praiſe unto You, and an Honour to God; unto whom be all Honour and Glory now and for ever. *Amen.*

# *The* LIFE *of Dr.* COLET.

## *Written by* Eraſmus Roterodamus.

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1. *JOHN COLET* was born in *London*, the Son of *Henry Colet* (Knight, and twice Lord Mayor of that City) and *Chriſtian* his Wife; who was a Matron of very rare Piety and Chriſtian Fortitude, whereof I will give but one Inſtance. She had eleven Sons, and as many Daughters of the ſame Husband; all which ſhe ſaw buried, except *John* who was her Firſt-born. God was pleas'd to take Sir *Henry* away, when ſhe was a very old Woman. And when ſhe was fourſcore and ten years of age, her Countenance was ſo comely and entire, her Behaviour ſo cheerful and pleaſant, that if you had ſeen her, you would have ſaid, ſure ſhe never had any Sorrow or any Child-bearing in her Life: yet, unleſs my memory fail much, ſhe out-liv'd her Son *John*. So much Strength of Mind was there even in a Woman, caus'd not by Philoſophy or human Learning, but by ſincere Piety to God and Truſt in Chriſt. A ſhame for many Men!

§. 2. *Lib.* xv. *Epiſt.* 14. *pag.* 702. Of theſe two and twenty Children, *John* being the eldeſt, was according to the Law of *England* his Father's ſole Heir; whereby he muſt have inherited a very conſiderable Fortune, tho the reſt had all lived: but they were all dead when I firſt began to know him. And Nature was as indulgent to him as Fortune; for he had a very proper, tall, handſom, and comely Body. In his younger days he much addicted himſelf to the Study of Scholaſtical Philoſophy, and commenc'd in *England* Maſter of Arts; an Honour due not ſo much to his ſtanding in the Univerſity, as his Knowledg in the ſeven liberal Sciences: in none whereof he had been then ignorant, in moſt of them exquiſitely learned. All *Tully*'s Works were as familiar to him as his Epiſtles. He had read over *Plato* and *Plotinus* ſo diligently, that when I heard him ſpeak, methought I heard *Plato* himſelf talk, *lib.* 5. *ep.* 2. *pag.* 309. *c.* And he had a Smattering in each part of Mathematicks.

§. 3. Being thus well principled at home, he began to look abroad, and improve his Stock in Foreign Parts. In *France* he added to his *Humanity*, what he thought neceſſary for the Study of *Divinity*: which then he effectually proſecuted in *Italy.* Amongſt the Antients he was moſt taken with *Dionyſius*, *Origen*, St. *Cyprian*, St. *Ambroſe*, and St. *Hierom*: but among them all he moſt digeſted St. *Auguſtin.* And yet he did not ſo tie himſelf to Antiquity, but that (as occaſion ſerv'd) he ſometimes ſurvey'd *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, and other Schoolmen. In a word, he was well vers'd in both Laws, and ſingularly read in Hiſtory, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical. And becauſe he ſaw that *England* had her *Dantes* and *Petrarchs* as well as *Italy*, (who have perform'd the ſame here, which they did there) thoſe and theſe, he both read and diligently imitated; accommodating thereby his Stile to the Pulpit, and Preaching of the Goſpel.

§. 4. After his Return from *Italy*, he ſtaid not long in *London* (where his Parents lived) but choſe to live in *Oxford*, where he publickly (yet freely and without ſtipend) expounded St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, being not full thirty years of Age, younger than I was by two or three months. There and then I had the happineſs to come firſt acquainted with him: For tho at that time he had neither took nor deſir'd any Degree in Divinity, yet there was no Doctor whatſoever, either of Theology or Law, no Abbot nor dignify'd Perſon in the whole Univerſity, that did not frequent, and (which is more) take Notes of his Lectures. Which was to be imputed either to *Colet*'s Authority, or their Studiouſneſs and Modeſty, chuſe you whether.

§. 5. But before he left *Oxford*, they honour'd him with the Degree of Doctor; which he accepted rather to pleaſe the Givers than himſelf. From that Univerſity and theſe Sacred Imployments, he was call'd back to *London* by the Favour of K. *Henry* VII. who beſtow'd upon him the Deanery of St. *Paul*'s, that he might be Preſident of his College, whoſe Epiſtles and Learning he loved ſo well. [He was made both Doctor and Dean, *Ann.* 1504. *l.* 10. *ep.* 8. *p.* 512.] Of all the

Deaneries in *England* the higheſt in eſteem, but not of greateſt value: which *Colet* embrac'd rather as a burdenſom Charge, than Honour. And therefore as ſoon as he had regulated his College of Prebends, and rais'd up the antient Diſcipline that was fallen down, he reſolv'd (which was not uſual in thoſe times) *to preach every Holiday* in his Cathedral, over and above his Sermons at Court, and many other Churches. At St. *Paul*'s he expounded the Scriptures, not by Retail, but by Wholeſale; running over ſometimes a whole Epiſtle, ſometimes a whole Goſpel, the Creed or the Lord's Prayer. Whereſoever he preach'd, he was exceedingly follow'd, both by the chief Citizens and Courtiers: which appears by this following Letter ſent him by Sir *Thomas More* (afterwards Lord Chancellor of *England*) which you may ſee in *Stapleton*, tom. 4. pag. 992. operum in folio.

§. 6. S*IR, I lately met your Boy in* Cheapſide, *whom I was very glad to ſee, chiefly becauſe I thought he had not return'd without you. But when he told me that you were not only not come, but not coming; you cannot imagine into what a dump of Sadneſs I fell from an height of Joy. For what can be more troubleſom to me, than to be depriv'd of your moſt ſweet Company? having been ſo long uſed to enjoy your moſt prudent Counſel, to be refreſht with your moſt pleaſant Society, to be rouz'd with your moſt grave Sermons, and better'd by your excellent Example and Life: in a word, in whoſe very Countenance and Geſture I was wont to be unſpeakably delighted. As methought I was ſtrengthen'd by theſe things while I had them, ſo for want of them I ſeem to languiſh. And becauſe of late by following you I had almoſt got out of the Jaws of Hell, now again like another* Euridice *(yet by a contrary Law, for ſhe fell becauſe* Orpheus *lookt upon her, but I fall becauſe you do not look upon me) I am carry'd back by a kind of Force and Neceſſity into ſad Darkneſs. For what is there in this City that ſhould move any body to live well, and not rather (while he is of his own diſpoſition climbing up the ſteep Hill of Vertue) pull him back by a thouſand Allurements and Devices? Which way ſoever I walk, what do I hear of but Diſſembling and the ſugar'd Poiſons of Flatterers? What do Men talk of but Quarrels and Law-Suits? Which way ſoever I look, what do I ſee but Alehouſes, Taverns, Cooks, Butchers, Fiſhers, Fowlers, and ſuch Cattel; who prog for Belly-timber, and ſerve the World, and the Devil the Prince thereof? I know not how it comes to paſs, but methinks the very Tops of the Houſes almoſt meet ſometimes, and take away a good part of the pleaſant Light; and will not ſuffer us to look upon Heaven freely: ſo it is not the Circumference of the Horizon, but the Houſe-top that bounds the Air. For which cauſe I may excuſe you the more, if you are not yet weary of the Country, where you ſee*

*People dealing plainly, and not acquainted with the Knavery of the City; where which way ſoever you turn your Eyes, the ſmiling Face of the Earth pleaſes, the ſweet Temper of the Air refreſheth, and the goodly Aſpect of the Heaven delighteth you. You ſee nothing there but the bountiful Gifts of Nature, and ſome holy Footſteps of Innocence.*

§. 7. *But, Sir, I wou'd be loth you ſhould be ſo far taken with theſe Delights, as to be detain'd long from us: for if the Inconveniences of the City diſpleaſe you, yet* Stepney *(of which you ſhould have ſome care) will be as convenient for you as the place that you are now in; whence you may ſtep into the City (where you have an huge opportunity of doing good) as into an Inn. For whereas Men in the Country are of themſelves either almoſt innocent, or not ſo abominably bad as they be here; any Phyſician may do good among them. But to this City, both by reaſon of the multitude of the Inhabitants, and the inveterate hold which the Diſeaſes of Sin have got; a Doctor comes to no purpoſe, unleſs he be excellently skill'd. I confeſs, ſome come into your Pulpit at St.* Paul's *ſometimes, who promiſe fair; but when they ſeem to have made an excellent Diſcourſe, their Lives differ ſo much from their Words, that they do increaſe rather than aſſuage the Malady. For they who themſelves are ſickeſt of all, will never perſuade People, that they are fit to be charg'd with the Care and Cure of other folks Diſtempers: which when Men feel touch'd by thoſe whom they ſee full of Ulcers, they cannot but winch, kick, and be angry. But if (as the Philoſophers ſay) he be the fitteſt Phyſician, in whom the ſick Perſon hath greateſt confidence, doubtleſs none is more likely than you to cure this whole City. By whom, how willing they are to have their Wounds handled, in whom what confidence they put, and how ready they are to obey you, appears ſufficiently by the Experience you have of them, and the incredible Expectation they have of you. Therefore make haſt away, my good* Colet, *either for your Town* Stepney's *ſake, which laments your long Abſence as much as a Child doth his Mother's; or for your native Country's ſake* (London) *whereof you ought to have as much care as of your Parents. In the laſt, tho leaſt place, be moved by your reſpect to me, who have dedicated my ſelf wholly to you, and do hugely long for your Return. Farewell, and ſtill love,*

London, *Oct.* 23. *Your very Affectionate,*

*THOMAS MORE.*

§. 8. The Dean's Table, which in former times had under pretence of good Houſekeeping been too much proſtitute to exceſs, he reduc'd to Frugality. For he kept himſelf to one Meal a day many years together, both before and after his Preferment: which at once cut off all his Supper-Gueſts (late Dinners not a few) and the more, becauſe his Entertainment (tho neat) was neither coſtly nor exceſſive, his ſitting ſhort, and his whole Diſcourſe ſuch as pleas'd none but thoſe that were either learned or pious. For ſoon after he had ſaid Grace, his Boy read a Chapter (diſtinctly and aloud) out of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, or *Solomon*'s Proverbs; from which he himſelf for the moſt part pickt the Subject of that Meal's Diſcourſe; asking not only Scholars, but even ordinary People (if they were ingenious) what was the meaning of this or that Paſſage. And he ſo order'd his Words, that tho he were holy and grave, yet he ſeem'd no whit tedious or ſupercilious. And at the end of the Meal, when their Hunger (not Pleaſure) was ſatisfy'd, he fell upon another Subject. Thus diſmiſſing his Gueſts, with as much Satisfaction to their Minds as Refreſhment to their Bodies, deſiring they ſhould depart better men than they came, not with bigger Bellies. He was hugely delighted with the Conference of his Friends, who oft kept him till late at night; but all his Conference was either of Literature or Jeſus Chriſt. If he had no acceptable Friend to chat with (for every one did not pleaſe him) his Boy did read ſomewhat to him out of godly Books. Sometimes he call'd me to ride abroad with him, and then he was as merry as any man alive; but a good Book was always his Comrade in his Journy, and his Talk was continually of Chriſt.

§. 9. He was ſo much averſe from all Filthineſs, that he could not endure Soleciſms or barbarous Language. He affected Neatneſs in his Houſhold-ſtuff, Clothes, Books, Meat; but not Magnificence. He wore no Garments but black, whereas in *England* Doctors in Divinity, and other eminent Clergymen, commonly wear Scarlet. His upper Garment was always of Cloth, plain and without trimming, which in hard Froſts he fortify'd with Fur [*Præfat. ad notas in N. T.*] And he being an eminent Advancer of Divine Philoſophy, lent me two very old Latin Copies of the New Teſtament, when I wrote Notes upon it, writ in Characters that were like *Saxon*, and indeed ſo old, that I was forc'd to turn Child again, and begin anew to learn my Alphabet, before I could read them.

§. 10. Whatſoever Revenues accrued unto him by the Church, he intirely committed to his Steward, to be diſtributed, and ſpent in Houſekeeping. His own hereditary Rents and Profits (which were vaſt) he himſelf diſtributed to pious Uſes. For his Father being dead, Mony flow'd in apace from what was left him by Inheritance; and leſt that being kept ſhould breed ſome Diſeaſe in him, he therewith erected a ſtately new School in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, dedicated to the Holy Child Jeſus: whereunto he join'd fair Dwellings for two School-maſters, to whom he aſſign'd liberal Stipends, that they might teach *gratis*, but ſo as that they ſhould not be enjoin'd to admit above a certain Number, *viz.* 153.

§. 11. The whole Fabrick he divided into four parts: whereof one (at the entrance) is as it were for the *Catechumeni* (and yet none is admitted till he can read and write) the ſecond for ſuch as are under the Uſher. The third part is for thoſe whom the upper Maſter teacheth. Theſe two ends are divided by a Curtain, which is drawn to and fro when they pleaſe. Above the Maſter's Chair ſtands the Holy Child Jeſus, curiouſly engraven, in the poſture of one reading a Lecture, with this Motto, *Hear him*; which words I adviſ'd him to ſet up. And all the young Fry, when they come in and go out of School (beſides their appointed Prayers) ſalute Chriſt with an Hymn. At the upper end is a Chappel, in which Divine Service may be ſaid. The whole Building hath no corners nor lurking-holes for Dunces, having neither Chamber nor Dining-Room in it. Every Boy has his proper Seat diſtinguiſh'd by ſpaces of wood, and the Forms have three Aſcents. Every Claſs containeth ſixteen Boys (the two loweſt much more) and the beſt Scholar of each ſits in a Seat ſomewhat more eminent than the reſt, with the word *CAPITANEUS* engraven in golden Letters over his Head.

§. 12. The Maſters of this School do not raſhly admit of all that are brought, but choice is made of the moſt towardly Wits and beſt Diſpoſitions; leſt in that laborious Employment they ſhould toil in vain. For ſome men in this age are ſo baſe (as I told Dr. *Colet*, lib. 31. ep. 45. *p.* 2046. g.) as to ſet thoſe to be Scholars, and profeſs Divinity (the chief of all Sciences) whom for their dull Capacity and bad Natures they think ſcarce fit for any other Study. He entreated me [*lib.* 10. *ep.* 17. *&* 18. *p.* 518. *f. &* 520. *e*] to ſeek out a Man whom I thought a fit Under-Maſter for this his School (*Will. Lilly* being the firſt Upper Maſter) I enquir'd in many places, but could hear of none. At length being at *Cambridg* among ſome Maſters of Arts, I propounded it to them: One of them (and he of no mean eſteem) ſmiling, ſaid, *Who would endure to live in that School among Boys, that could make a ſhift to ſcrape up a Livelihood any where elſe?* I anſwer'd modeſtly, that it ſeem'd to me a very honeſt Employment to inſtruct young People in Learning and Good Manners; that Chriſt did not deſpiſe that Age; that a Man could beſtow his pains upon no Age better; and in no place expect a better Effect or Reward of his pains than at St. *Paul's* School, becauſe it is in the midſt of *London*, and *London* the chief City of the Kingdom; where from all other Parts the Lines (or Gentry and ingenious People) meet as in a Center. And I added, that if Men were truly pious, they would think that they could no way ſerve God better than by bringing Children to Chriſt. But he drawing up his Noſe and ſcoffing, reply'd, *If any have a mind to ſerve Chriſt, let him go into a Monaſtery or Religious Houſe.* I anſwer'd, that St. *Paul* plac'd true Religion in the Duties of Charity; and that Charity conſiſted in doing as much Good to our Neighbours as we could. He rejected that as ſillily ſpoken: *Behold,* quoth he, *we have left all,* therein is Perfection. I finally told him, that that man hath not left all, who when it is in his power to do good to very many People, ſhuns the Imployment becauſe he thinks it too mean for him. ——And ſo (leſt we ſhould have wrangled) I left the man. But you here ſee the Wiſdom of the *Scotiſts*.

§. 13. Our quick-ſighted Dr. *Colet* ſaw very well, that the main Hope and Pillar of a Commonwealth conſiſts in furniſhing Youth with good Literature, and therefore did he beſtow ſo much Care and Coſt on this School. Tho it ſtood him in an infinite Sum of Mony to build and endow it, yet he would accept of no Copartner. One left indeed a Legacy of 100 *l.* Sterling to the Structure of it; but *Colet* thinking, that if he took it, ſome Lay-People would challenge to themſelves I know not what Authority over the School, did by the permiſſion of his Biſhop beſtow it upon holy Veſtments for the Choir. Yet tho he would ſuffer no Layman to have a finger in the Building, he entruſted no Clergyman (not ſo much as the Biſhop, Dean, and Chapter of St. *Paul*) nor any of the Nobility, with the Overſight of the Revenues; but ſome married Citizens of honeſt Report. When he was ask'd why he would do ſo, he anſwer'd, That there was nothing certain in human Affairs; but he found leaſt Corruption in ſuch men.

§. 14. As all men highly commended him for his School, ſo many wonder'd why he would build ſo ſtately an Houſe within the Bounds of the *Carthuſian* Monaſtery, which is not far from the Palace at *Richmond:* but he told them, that he provided that Seat for himſelf in his old Age, when he ſhould be unfit for Labours, or broken with Diſeaſes, and ſo conſtrain'd to retire from the Society of Men. There he intended to philoſophize with two or three eminent Friends, among which he was wont to reckon me; but Death prevented him. For being few years before his Deceaſe viſited thrice with the Sweating Sickneſs (a Diſeaſe which ſeiz'd no Countrymen but *Engliſh*) tho he recover'd, yet he thereupon grew conſumptive, and ſo died. One Phyſician thought that the Dropſy kill'd him; but when he was diſſected, they ſaw nothing extraordinary, only the capillary Veſſels of his Liver were beſet with Puſtles. He was buried in the South ſide of the Choir of his own Cathedral, in a low Sepulcher, which he to that end had choſe for himſelf ſome years before, with this Inſcription, *JOHN COLET.*

§. 15. In the mean while I ſhall ſay ſomewhat, firſt of his *Nature*, ſecondly of his paradoxical *Opinions*, and laſtly of thoſe *Afflictions* wherewith his ingenuous Piety was exercis'd; for ſome whereof he might have thank'd his own natural Temper. For he was of a very high Spirit, hugely impatient of any Injury, wonderfully prone to Laſciviouſneſs, Luxury, and overmuch Sleep; to Jeſting and Facetiouſneſs above meaſure (all this he confeſs'd to me himſelf) and he was not wholly ſafe from Covetouſneſs. But againſt each of theſe he fought ſuch a good Fight by Philoſophy, Divine Contemplations, Watching, Faſting, and Prayer, that he led the whole courſe of his Life free from the Infections of this World; and as far as I could any way gather (by Familiarity and much liberal Converſe with him) was a pure Virgin to his dying Day. All his Wealth he diſtributed to pious Uſes; of which I have ſaid ſomewhat already, and ſhall ſay more anon.

§. 16. [*Lib.* 23. *ep.* 5. *p.* 1206. a.] He had an Uncle that was a very old ill-condition'd man, with whom he did not agree. The Difference between them was not about a Trifle, but ſo vaſt a Sum of Mony, that a Son might almoſt have fought with his Father about it. *Colet* being to dine with the Reverend Father in God *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, took me in the Boat with him from St. *Paul*'s to *Lambeth.* All the way he read the Remedy of Anger in my *Enchiridion*, but did not tell me wherefore he read it. When we ſat down, it chanc'd that *Colet* ſat over againſt his Uncle; and there he was very ſad, neither ſpeaking a word, nor eating a bit. Now the Archbiſhop had an excellent Faculty in ſuch a caſe (to make every one merry at his Table) ordering his Diſcourſe according to each man's peculiar Temper; ſo he began to compare our ſeveral Ages, and then thoſe who ſat muſing before, fell to chatting: and the Uncle (as old Men are wont to do) began to brag, that tho he were ſo far ſtricken in years, he felt no Decay of his Strength. After dinner they two had ſome diſcourſe betwixt themſelves; but what I cannot tell. When *Colet* and I were come back to the Boat, he told me that he ſaw I was a happy Man: I anſwer'd, that I wonder'd why he ſhould call me happy, who thought my ſelf the unhappieſt Perſon in the world: Whereupon he told me, that he had been that day ſo angry with his Uncle, that he had almoſt reſolv'd (breaking all Bonds of Chriſtian Modeſty and natural Affection to his Kindred) to have ſued him openly at Law; That for this reaſon he took my *Enchiridion* in his hand along with him, to read the Remedy againſt Anger, and that the reading of it had done him much good; That by that prattle in Dinner-time, the Bitterneſs and Heat of each was ſo far allay'd, as that when the Archbiſhop ſtept aſide, and they talkt together privately, the whole Difference was compos'd. In a word, *Colet* did daily ſo endeavour to conquer all his Paſſions, and ſubdue the Haughtineſs of his Mind by Reaſon, that he would take it well to be admoniſh'd even by a Child.

§. 17. Laſciviouſneſs, Sleep, and Luxury he chas'd away by abſtaining conſtantly from Supper, by continual Sobriety, indefatigable Study, and holy Conferences. But yet when there was occaſion, either to diſcourſe with fair Ladies, or jeſt with witty Perſons, or feaſt with pleaſant, a man might eaſily perceive ſome Footſteps of his Nature, which made him for the moſt part keep from the Society of all Lay-People; but eſpecially from Banquets, to which when he muſt needs come, he commonly took with him me or ſome learned Friend, with whom he diſcourſed in *Latin*, that he might avoid idle Talk. His cuſtom was to eat only of one Diſh, to content himſelf with one Glaſs of Beer or Ale, or two at the moſt. And tho he was delighted with good Wine, yet he drank very little of it; always ſuſpecting his own ſanguine Complection and Inclination, and being very wary of all thoſe things, by which he might offend any Perſon whatſoever.

§. 18. In all my life I never ſaw a more happy Wit, and thence it came that he was exceedingly pleas'd with ſuch Wits as were like himſelf: but at all times when he might chuſe his Diſcourſe, it was of ſuch things as prepar'd him for the Immortality of a Life to come. And when at any time he refreſh'd himſelf with pleaſant Stories, he did not fail to make uſe of his Philoſophy in them. He was much pleas'd with the Purity and Simplicity of Nature in little Children (to the Imitation of whom we are call'd by our bleſſed Saviour) being wont to compare them to Angels.

§. 19. Now for the ſecond Particular, his Opinions; he much differ'd in them from the Vulgar. The *Scotiſts* (of whoſe Acuteneſs moſt men have a high Conceit) he eſteem'd heavy Fellows, and any thing rather than ingenious. And yet he had a worſe opinion of *Thomas Aquinas* (for what reaſon I know not) than of *Scotus*. For when I ſometimes commended *Thomas* to him as no contemptible Author (among the Moderns) becauſe he ſeem'd to have read both Scriptures and Fathers (as I gueſs'd by his *Catena Aurea*) and to have ſomewhat of affection in his Writings; *Colet* ſeem'd not to mind me two or three times, and ſaid nothing. But when at another Diſcourſe I ſpoke the ſame again with more vehemency, he look'd ſtedfaſtly upon me, to ſee whether I were in jeſt or in earneſt; and when he ſaw I ſpoke ſeriouſly, he reply'd thus in a Paſſion, *Why do you commend this Man to me? who if he had not been very arrogant would never ſo raſhly (and yet ſo magiſterially) have preſum'd to define all Points of Religion; and if he had not ſavour'd too much of the Spirit of the World, he would not have polluted all the Doctrine of Chriſt with ſo much of his own profane Philoſophy.* I wondred at the enthuſiaſtick Poſture of the Man, and after that ſet upon reading *Aquinas* his Works more attentively; and I muſt needs confeſs that my Opinion of him abated much.

§. 20. No Man was more a Friend to true Chriſtian Piety, yet he had little or no Kindneſs for Monks, or rather I ſhould ſay for thoſe who are now (for the moſt part falſly) ſo call'd; and therefore while he liv'd he gave them but little, and when he died nothing; not that he hated the Profeſſion, but becauſe he ſaw they did not live according to it. Yet his Deſire was to have diſingag'd himſelf from the World, and betaken himſelf to a Monaſtry, if he could any where have found a Society that was truly and unanimouſly reſolv'd upon an Evangelical Life. And when I went into *Italy*, he charg'd me to ſeek for ſuch an one, telling me that he had found ſome Monks there who were really prudent and pious; commending alſo ſome *Germans*, among whom he thought that the footſteps of the good old Religion did ſtill remain.

§. 21. Tho he liv'd very chaſtly himſelf, yet he had a very charitable Opinion of thoſe Prieſts and Monks, who had no other Crime but Venery. Not that he did not heartily abhor the Sin, but becauſe he found ſuch Men far leſs miſchievous than others (if compar'd) who were haughty, envious, backbiters, hypocrites, vain, unlearned, wholly given to the getting of Mony and Honour. Yet theſe had a mighty Opinion of themſelves; whereas others, by acknowledging their Infirmity, were made more humble and modeſt. He ſaid, that to be covetous and proud, was more abominable in a Prieſt than to have an hundred Concubines: not that he thought Incontinence to be a light Sin, but Covetouſneſs and Pride to be at a greater diſtance from true Piety. And he was not more averſe to any ſort of Men, than ſuch Biſhops who were Wolves inſtead of Shepherds; and commended themſelves by external Service of God, Ceremonys, Benedictions and Indulgences to the People, while with all their Hearts they ſerv'd the World, that is, Glory and Gain. He was not much diſpleas'd with them who would not have Images (either Painted or Carv'd, Gold or Silver) worſhip'd in Churches; nor with them, who doubted whether a notorious wicked Prieſt could conſecrate the Sacrament. Hereby not favouring their Error, but expreſſing his Indignation againſt ſuch Clergymen, who by an open bad Life gave occaſion to this Suſpicion.

§. 22. He ſaid, That the Colleges in *England*, which are large and ſtately, hinder good Literature, and are Receptacles of idle People; nor did he much regard the publick Schools, becauſe their Ambition and Gain did corrupt the Sincerity of all old Diſcipline. As he did much approve of ſecret Confeſſion (profeſſing that he never had ſo much Comfort from any thing as that) ſo he much condemn'd Anxiety in it, and Repetition. Whereas it is the Cuſtom in *England* for Prieſts to conſecrate the Hoſt, and receive it almoſt every day; he was content to ſacrifice on Sundays and Holidays, or ſome few days beſide; either to gain more time for his ſacred Studys, and fit himſelf the better for his Pulpit-Employments, and the Buſineſs of his Cathedral; or becauſe he found that his Devotion had a greater edg, when it was ſharpned with Intervals: And yet he wou'd not condemn them who were minded to come to the Lord's Table every day. Tho he was a very learned Man himſelf, yet he did not prize that anxious and laborious ſort of Wiſdom, which is fully attain'd by knowledg of ſeveral Sciences, and reading a multitude of Books; ſaying oft, that the native ſound Conſtitution of Mens Parts, and the Sincerity of their Wit, was loſt thereby; and that they rather got a learned ſort of Madneſs, than any true Incentive to Chriſtian Innocence, Simplicity, and Charity.

§. 23. He attributed very much to the Epiſtles of the Holy Apoſtles; but when he compar'd them with that wonderful Majeſty which is to be found in our Saviour's own Sayings and Sermons, he thought them ſomewhat dry. He had very ingeniouſly reduc'd almoſt all the Sayings of Chriſt to Ternaries, and intended to write a Book of them. He wondred that *Roman* Prieſts ſhou'd be forc'd to ſay ſo many Prayers every day; nay, tho they are much employ'd, whether at Home or in a Journy; but he much approv'd of the performing Divine Service magnificently. He diſſented from innumerable Opinions now commonly receiv'd in the Schools, in which he wou'd ſometimes tell his Mind to his Friends, but ſay nothing to others, leſt he ſhou'd incur a double Inconvenience, *viz.* loſe his own Credit, and do them no good, perhaps harm. There was no Book ſo heretical that he was not willing to read over attentively, profeſſing that ſometimes he advantag'd himſelf more by ſuch, than by their Works who determine every Queſtion which they handle in ſuch a manner, that they often flatter their Leaders, and ſometimes themſelves.

§. 24. He endur'd not that any one ſhou'd, in ſpeaking fluently, be guided altogether by the Precepts of Grammar (that he ſaid, oft hindred one from ſpeaking well) but by his reading the beſt Authors. Which Opinion brought its own Puniſhment along with it; for tho he had Eloquence both by Nature and Education, and had wonderful ſtore of Matter in his Head when he began to make a Speech, yet he oft tripped in thoſe things which Criticks are wont to take notice of. And thereupon I ſuppoſe he abſtain'd from writing Books, which I wiſh he had not done; for *I heartily deſire the Meditations or Works of this Man, in what Language ſoever they are pen'd.*

§. 25. And now, leſt you ſhou'd think any thing wanting to the complete Piety of Dr. *Colet*, in the laſt place hear his Afflictions: He never agreed well with his Biſhop, who (to ſay nothing of his Manners) was a ſuperſtitious and ſtubborn Scotiſt, and thereupon thought himſelf half a God. Of which ſort of Men, tho I know ſome whom I will not call Knaves, yet I never ſaw one whom I thought I might truly term a Chriſtian. Neither was the Doctor acceptable to moſt of his own College, becauſe he was very tenacious of regular Diſcipline; and the Prebends complain'd that he us'd them as if they were Monks, whereas indeed that College was antiently (and in old Records is call'd) the Eaſtern Monaſtry [as *Weſtmonaſterium*, the *Weſtern* Monaſtry.

§. 26. But when the old Biſhop's (for he was fourſcore years of Age) Hatred grew too high to be ſmother'd, the Fire broke out; and adjoining two other Biſhops, as wiſe and virulent as himſelf, he began to trouble Dr. *Colet*, exhibiting Articles againſt him to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, taken out of his Sermons. 1. That he ſaid, Images were not to be worſhip'd. 2. That preaching upon that paſſage in the Goſpel, *Feed, feed, feed my Sheep*, he expounded the firſt by good Example, the ſecond by ſound Doctrine (as other Expoſitors do) but in the third he differ'd from them; denying that the Apoſtles, who were poor Men, were commanded to feed their Sheep with temporal Revenue, becauſe they had none of it themſelves; and that he nam'd ſomewhat elſe in this third place. Laſtly, That by blaming thoſe that read all or moſt of their Sermons (which I confeſs many do now in *England* very coldly) he had obliquely tax'd his Dioceſan, who being a very old Man was wont to do ſo. The Archbiſhop being well acquainted with *Colet*'s Excellencys, receiv'd the Articles; but inſtead of being his Judg, became his Advocate.

§. 27. Yet the old Man's Fury did not end ſo, but ſtrove to incenſe the Court againſt him, eſpecially King *Henry* VIII. himſelf; becauſe the Doctor had ſaid in a Sermon, *That an unjuſt Peace was to be prefer'd before a moſt juſt War*: which Sermon was preach'd in that nick of time, when the King was raiſing Forces againſt the *French*. Two Minim Friars were the chief Men that manag'd this Buſineſs; whereof one was an Incendiary of the War (for which he deſerv'd a Biſhoprick) the other, with a pair of huge Lungs, declaim'd in his Sermons againſt Poets, thereby aiming at *Colet*, who tho he had Skill in Muſick, yet was in truth averſe from Poetry.

§. 28. Here the King (who was an excellent Perſon in his Youth) gave an evident proof of his royal Parts, exhorting *Colet* privately *to go on in his Preaching, freely to tax the corrupt Manners of that Age, and not to withdraw his Light in thoſe moſt dark times; adding, That he knew very well what incens'd the Biſhops ſo highly againſt him, and how much good* Colet *had done by his Divine Life and Holy Doctrine to the* Engliſh *Church and Nation. Laſtly, that he wou'd ſo curb their Endeavours, that it ſhou'd appear to the World whoever troubled* Colet *ſhou'd not eſcape unpuniſh'd.* Hereupon *Colet* humbly thank'd the King for his Royal Favour, but beſeech'd him not to do ſo, profeſſing that he had rather lay down his Preferment, than that any ſhou'd ſuffer for his ſake.

§. 29. But ſoon after another occaſion was offer'd, by which they hop'd to ruin him: For it happen'd that the King made preparation to march after Eaſter againſt the *French*; and upon Good-Friday *Colet* made a Sermon to the King and Courtiers, which was much admir'd, concerning the Victory of Chriſt; wherein he exhorted all Chriſtians to fight under the Banner of their heavenly King, and overcome, ſaying, That they who either thro Hatred, or Ambition, or Covetouſneſs, do fight with evil Men, and ſo kill one another, fight not under the Banner of Chriſt, but the Devil; ſhewing withal, how hard a thing it is to die like a Chriſtian, how few go forth to Battel free from Hatred and Covetouſneſs, and how difficult for ſuch to be in Charity (without which no Man ſhall ſee God) who ſheathe their Swords in their Brethrens Bowels. Adding, that they ſhou'd rather imitate their King Chriſt, than Pagan *Cæſars* and *Alexanders*. And he had ſo many other ſmart Paſſages to this purpoſe, that his Majeſty was ſomewhat afraid leſt this Sermon would diſhearten his Soldiers that were liſted.

§. 30. Hereupon all the Birds of Prey flock'd about *Colet* like an Owl, hoping the King wou'd be incens'd againſt him. His Majeſty commands *Colet* to come before him at *Greenwich*.

He goes into the Garden of the Monaſtry of the *Franciſcans* which was near, preſently diſmiſſeth his Attendants. When they two were alone, the King bid *Colet* cover his Head, and ſpeak his Mind freely: and then his Highneſs began thus, *Dean, be not ſurpriz'd with needleſs Fear, I did not ſend for you hither to diſturb your moſt holy Labours (which I reſolve to cheriſh as much as I can) but to unload my Conſcience of ſome Scruples, and to deſire your Advice concerning my Duty.* The Conference laſted almoſt an hour and an half, and I muſt not relate it all. In the mean while *Bricot* (the *Franciſcan* Biſhop) was in the Court ſtark wild, hoping that *Colet* had been in great danger; whereas the King and he agreed in every particular very well. Only his Majeſty wiſh'd that what *Colet* ſpoke truly, he would ſpeak (ſometime or other) more plainly, leſt the rude Soldiers ſhou'd miſunderſtand it, as if he had ſaid, *That no War is lawful among Chriſtians.* And thus *Colet* (by his ſingular Prudence and Moderation) not only ſatisfy'd the King, but got farther into his Favour.

§. 31. When they return'd from the Garden to the Court, the King being about to diſmiſs *Colet*, call'd for a Cup, and drank to him, embrac'd him moſt kindly; and promiſing him all the Favours that could be expected from a moſt loving Prince, diſmiſs'd him. And now the Courtiers, ſtanding round the King, expected to know the Iſſue of this long Conference; and the King, in the hearing of them all, ſaid, *Well, let other Men chuſe what Doctors they pleaſe, and make much of them, this Man ſhall be my Doctor.* Whereupon *Bricot*, with the reſt of the gaping Wolves, departed, and from that day forward never dar'd trouble *Colet* any more; a Perſon that in an high Fortune and Plenty was led and govern'd not by his Nature, but by Chriſt: In a word, whom I ſhall not doubt to reckon in the Catalogue of my Saints, tho he be never canoniz'd by any Pope.

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# Phenix XVIII.

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## *Some Account of the Lady* Jane Gray, *Daughter to the Duke of* Suffolk, *particularly before her Death. Together with four Papers written with her own Hand,* viz.

I. *An Admonition to ſuch as are weak in* Faith, *in a Letter to a noble Friend who had apoſtatiz'd.*
II. *A Conference between her and Mr.* Feckenham *in the* Tower, *a little before her* Death.
III. *An Exhortation to her* Siſter. *And,*
IV. *Her Words at her* Death.

SOME worthy Parcels or excellent Eſſays of the never-enough to be imitated Vertues, of that moſt admirable, wiſe, learned and religious Lady, the Lady *Jane Gray*, Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and unfortunate Wife of the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, coming in an old antient printed Copy unto my Hands, as it were half forgotten in the World; or like a curious Monument, whoſe well-carv'd Figures and rare Architecture the Duſt and Cobwebs had injuriouſly defac'd: I cou'd not, out of Charity and Chriſtian Love to a Mirror of ſuch Excellence, but with my beſt Art and Induſtry poliſh and cleanſe a Perfection ſo noble, holy, and worthy all good Mens Imitations; and as it were to awaken the ſleepy World from her fantaſtick Lethargy, to behold in that, which we call the weaker Sex, a ſtrength matchleſs and invincible: A *Sheba* that had ſo oft heard the Wiſdom of *Solomon*, that tèn thouſand of our *Solomons* may come now to be inſtructed at this *Sheba*. Briefly, a Lady in all Goodneſs ſo perfect, that whoſoever could gain but ſome part of her ſhadow, might have enough in theſe latter days to boaſt, and rank themſelves with the beſt that are call'd vertuous: ſo flatteringly are Attributes caſt upon the Living, and ſo maliciouſly ſlander upon the Dead.

To return then to my Diſcourſe, you may by that which hath been formerly ſpoke of her Birth and Marriage, judg the Greatneſs of her Blood and Place, both which were far overſhin'd by her Vertues, as ſhall be declar'd hereafter: She was born in *England*, and there brought up in Learning and Religion with that proſperous and devout Painfulneſs, that as Seed caſt upon the beſt and moſt fruitful Ground, ſhe brought forth her Increaſe in ſuch abundance of Infinites, that the leaſt of her Excellencys were impoſſible to be circumſcrib'd. For proof whereof, that every judgment may ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Opinion of her Perfection, I will here deliver unto you an Epiſtle of her own penning, ſent to a noble Friend of hers in the Court of *England*, being, in thoſe days of Perſecution, fallen from the Truth of God's holy Word for fear of the World; in which you ſhall find ſo much Learning, Charity and Divine Readings, that by this one Talent only this Princely Eagle may be truly diſcover'd how potent and unmatchable the great ſubſtance of ſo rich a Vertue is.

## *An Epiſtle of the Lady* Jane Gray's *to a Noble Friend of her's, newly fallen from the Truth.*

SO oft as I call to mind (dear Friend and choſen Brother) the dreadful and fearful Sayings of God, *That he which layeth hold upon the Plow, and looketh back again, is not meet for the Kingdom of Heaven*; and on the other ſide to remember the comfortable words of our Saviour Chriſt, to all thoſe that forſaking themſelves do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy Caſe, that thou which ſometimes wert the lively Member of Chriſt, but now the deform'd Imp of the Devil; ſometimes the beautiful Temple of God, but now the ſtinking and filthy Kennel of Satan; ſometimes the unſpotted Spouſe of thy Saviour, but now the unſhamefac'd Paramour of Antichriſt; ſometimes my faithful Brother, but now a Stranger and Apoſtate; yea ſometimes a ſtout Chriſtian Soldier, but now a cowardly Runaway. So oft as I conſider the Threatnings and Promiſes of the Divine Juſtice to all thoſe which faithfully love him, I cannot but ſpeak to thee, yea rather cry out and exclaim againſt thee, thou Seed of *Satan*, and not of *Juda*, whom the Devil hath deceiv'd, the World hath beguil'd, and deſire of Life hath ſubverted, and made of a Chriſtian an Infidel.

Wherefore haſt thou taken upon thee the Teſtament of the Lord in thy Mouth? Wherefore haſt thou hitherto yielded thy Body to the Fire, and to the bloody hands of cruel Tyrants? Wherefore haſt thou inſtructed others to be ſtrong in Chriſt, when thou thy ſelf doſt now ſo horribly abuſe the Teſtament and Law of the Lord, when thou thy ſelf preachedſt (as it were not to ſteal) yet moſt abominably ſtealeſt, not from Men, but from God; and as a moſt heinous ſacrilegious Robber, robbeſt Chriſt thy Redeemer of his right in his Members, thy Body and thy Soul; when thou thy ſelf doſt rather chuſe to live miſerably (with ſhame) in this World, than to die gloriouſly and reign in Honour with Chriſt to the end of all Eternity, in whom even in Death there is Life beyond wiſh, beyond all expreſſion. And when I ſay thou thy ſelf art moſt weak, thou oughteſt to ſhow thy ſelf moſt ſtrong, for the ſtrength of a Fort is not known before the Aſſault; but thou yieldeſt (like a faint Captain) thy Hold before any Battery be brought againſt thee.

Oh wretched and unhappy man! what art thou but Duſt and Aſhes? and wilt thou reſiſt thy Maker that form'd and faſhion'd thee? Wilt thou now forſake him that call'd thee from Cuſtom-gathering among the Romiſh Antichriſtians, to be an Ambaſſador and Meſſenger of his eternal Word? He that firſt fram'd thee, and ſince thy Creation and Birth preſerv'd thee, nouriſh'd thee, and kept thee, yea and inſpir'd thee with the Spirit of Knowledg (I cannot, I wou'd I cou'd, ſay of Grace) ſhall he not poſſeſs thee? dareſt thou deliver up thy ſelf to another, being not thine own but his? How canſt thou, having Knowledg, or how dareſt thou neglect the Law of the Lord, and follow the vain Traditions of Men? and whereas thou haſt been a publick Profeſſor of his Name, become now a Defacer of his Glory?

I will not refuſe the true God, and worſhip the Invention of Man, the golden Calf, the Whore of *Babylon*, the Romiſh Religion, the abominable Idol, the moſt wicked Maſs: Wilt thou torment again, rend and tear the moſt precious Body of our Saviour Chriſt with thy bodily and fleſhly Teeth, without the breaking whereof upon the Croſs our Sins and Tranſgreſſions could elſe no way be redeem'd? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any Sacrifice unto God for our Sins, conſidering that Chriſt offer'd up himſelf (as St. *Paul* ſaith) upon the Croſs, a lively Sacrifice once for all?

Can neither the Puniſhment of the *Iſraelites* (which for their Idolatry ſo oft they receiv'd) move thee, neither the terrible Threatnings of the antient Prophets ſtir thee, nor the Curſes of God's own Mouth fear thee to honour any other God than him? Wilt thou ſo regard him that ſpar'd not his dear and only Son for thee, ſo diminiſhing, yea utterly extinguiſhing his Glory, that thou wilt attribute the Praiſe and Honour to Idols, which have Mouths and ſpeak not, Eyes and ſee not, Ears and yet hear not, which ſhall periſh with them that made them? What ſaith the Prophet *Baruck*, where he reciteth the Epiſtle of *Jeremiah* written to the captive *Jews*; did he not forewarn them that in *Babylon* they ſhould ſee Gods of Gold, Silver, Wood and Stone born upon Mens Shoulders, to cauſe a fear upon the Heathen? But be not ye afraid of them (ſaith *Jeremiah*) nor do as others do: But when you ſee others worſhip them, ſay you in your Hearts, It is thou (O Lord) that oughteſt only to be worſhip'd; for as touching the Timber of thoſe Gods the Carpenter fram'd them, and poliſh'd them; yea gilded they be, and laid over with Silver, and vain things, and cannot ſpeak. He ſheweth moreover the Abuſe of their Deckings, how the Prieſts took off their Ornaments, and apparel'd their Women therewithal; How one holdeth a Scepter, another a Sword in his hand, and yet can they judg in no matter, nor defend themſelves, much leſs any other, from either Hatred or Murder, nor yet from gnawing Worms, Duſt, Filth, or any other evil thing: Theſe and ſuch like words ſpeaketh *Jeremy* unto them, whereby he proveth them but vain things and no Gods; and at laſt he concludeth thus, *Confounded be thoſe that worſhip them.*

They were warn'd by *Jeremy*, and thou as *Jeremy* haſt warned others, and art warn'd thy ſelf by many Scriptures in many Places.

God ſaith he is a jealous God, which will have all Honour, Glory and Worſhip given to him only: And Chriſt ſaith in the fourth of *Luke* to Satan which tempted him, even to the ſame Satan, the ſame *Beelzebub*, the ſame Devil which hath prevail'd againſt thee: *It is written* (ſaith he) *thou ſhalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.*

Theſe and ſuch like do prohibit thee and all Chriſtians to worſhip any other God than he which was before all Worlds, and laid the foundations both of Heaven and Earth; and wilt thou honour a deteſtable Idol, invented by the Popes of *Rome*, and the uncharitable College of politick Cardinals?

Chriſt offer'd up himſelf once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleaſure? But thou wilt ſay thou doſt it for a good Intent: Oh Sink of Sin! Oh Child of Perdition! canſt thou dream of any good intent therein, when thy Conſcience beareth thee witneſs of the Wrath of God pronounc'd againſt thee?

How did *Saul*, who for that he diſobey'd the Word of God for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal Kingdom: Shalt thou then, which doſt ſo deface God's Honour, and rob him of his Right, inherit the eternal heavenly Kingdom? Wilt thou for a good intent pluck Chriſt out of Heaven, and make his Death void, and deface the Triumph of his Croſs, offering him up daily? Wilt thou either for fear of Death, or hope of Life, deny and refuſe thy God, who inrich'd thy Poverty, heal'd thine Infirmity, and yielded to this Victory if thou wou'dſt have kept it? Doſt thou not conſider that the Thread of Life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it hard to laſt the longer, or untwine it again to break the ſooner? Doſt thou not remember the Saying of *David*, a notable King, which teacheth thee, a miſerable Wretch, in his 104*th* Pſalm, where he ſaith, *When thou takeſt away thy Spirit (O Lord) from Men, they die, and are turn'd again to their Duſt; but when thou letteſt thy Breath go forth, they ſhall be made, and thou ſhalt renew the face of the Earth.*

Remember the Saying of Chriſt in his Goſpel, *Whoſoever ſeeketh to ſave his Life, ſhall loſe it; but whoſoever will loſe it for my ſake, ſhall find it.* And in another place, *Whoſoever loveth Father or Mother above me, is not meet for me; for he that will be my Diſciple, muſt forſake Father, and Mother, and himſelf, and take up his Croſs and follow me:* What Croſs? the Croſs of Infamy and Shame, of Miſery and Poverty, of Affliction and Perſecution for his Name's ſake.

Let the oft-falling of thoſe heavenly Showers pierce thy ſtony Heart; let the two-edg'd Sword of God's Holy Word hew aſunder the knit-together Sinews of worldly reſpects, even to the very Marrow and Life-Blood of thy carnal Heart, that thou may'ſt once again forſake thy ſelf to imbrace Chriſt: And like as good Subjects will not refuſe to hazard all in the Defence of their earthly and temporal Governors; ſo fly not like a white-liver'd Milk-ſop from thy Standard, whereby thy chief Captain Chriſt hath plac'd thee in a noble Array of this Life: *Viriliter ago, confortetur cor tuum, & ſuſtine Dominum*; Fight manfully, come Life, come Death, the Quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the Victory is ours.

But thou wilt ſay, I will not break Unity. What? Not the Unity of Satan, and his Members; not the Unity of Darkneſs, the Agreement of Antichriſt, and his Adherents; nay then thou deceiveſt thy ſelf with fond Imaginations of ſuch an Unity as is amongſt the Enemys of Chriſt: Were not the falſe Prophets in an Unity; were not *Joſeph*'s Brethren, *Jacob*'s Sons, in an Unity; were not the Heathen, as the *Amalekites*, the *Perizzites* and *Jebuſites*, in an Unity? I keep no order, but look rather to my matter: Were not the Scribes and Phariſees in an Unity? Doth not King *David* teſtify, *Convenient in unum adverſus Dominum?* Yea Thieves and Murderers, Conſpirators and Traitors have their Unity.

Mark, my dear Friend (yea Friend, if thou bee'ſt not God's Enemy) there is no Unity but when Chriſt knitteth the Knot amongſt ſuch as be his: yea be you well aſſur'd that where his Truth is reſident, there it is verify'd that he ſaith, *Non veni mittere pacem in terram, ſed gladium*; that is, Chriſt came to ſet one againſt another; the Son againſt the Father, the Daughter againſt the Mother. Deceive not thy ſelf therefore with the gliſtring and glorious name of Unity: for Antichriſt hath his Unity, yet not in Deed, but in Name; for the Agreement of evil Men is not an Unity, but a Conſpiracy.

Thou haſt heard ſome Threatnings, ſome Curſes, and ſome Admoniſhments of the Scriptures to thoſe which love themſelves above Chriſt.

Thou haſt heard alſo the ſharp and biting words to thoſe which deny him for Love of Life; ſaith he not, that *he which denieth me before Men, I will deny him before my Father which is in Heaven.* And to the ſame effect writeth St. *Paul* in the ſixth to the *Hebrews*, ſaying, *It is impoſſible that they which have been once lightned, and have taſted of the heavenly Gift of Grace, and been made Partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have reliſh'd of the pure Word of God, if they fall and ſlide away, it is impoſſible that they ſhou'd be renew'd again by Repentance, crucifying again to themſelves the Son of God, and making him as it were a Mocking-ſtock, or gaud of their Fancies.* And again (ſaith he) *If we ſhall willingly ſin after we have receiv'd the knowledg of the Truth, there is no Oblation left for Sin, but the terrible expectation of Judgment and Fire which ſhall devour the Adverſarys.* Thus St. *Paul* writeth, and thus thou readeſt, and doſt thou not quake and tremble? Well, if theſe terrible and thundering Alarms cannot ſtir thee to ariſe and cleave unto Chriſt, and forſake the World; yet let the ſweet

Conſolations and Promiſes of the Scriptures, let the Examples of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, both Martyrs and Confeſſors, encourage thee to take faſter hold by Chriſt. Hearken what he ſaith again in his Holy Goſpel, *Bleſſed are you when Men revile you, and perſecute you for my ſake; rejoice and be glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven, for ſo perſecuted they the Prophets before you.*

Hear what *Iſaiah* ſaith, *Fear not the Curſe of Men, be not afraid of their Blaſphemys and Revilings, for Worms and Moths ſhall eat them up like Cloth and Wool, but my Righteouſneſs ſhall endure for ever, and my ſaving health from Generation to Generation: What art thou then* (ſaith he) *that feareſt a mortal Man, the Child of a Man, which fadeth away as doth the Flower, and forgetteſt the Lord that made thee, that ſpread out the Heavens like a Curtain, and laid the foundations of the Earth ſo ſure that they cannot be remov'd? I am the Lord thy God, which maketh the Sea to rage, and to be ſtill, who is the Lord of Hoſts: I ſhall put my Word in thy Mouth, and defend thee with the turning of a hand.* And our Saviour Chriſt ſaith to his Diſciples, *They ſhall accuſe you, and bring you before the Princes and Rulers for my name-ſake, and ſome of you they ſhall perſecute and kill; but fear you not* (ſaith he) *neither care you not what you ſhall ſay; for it is my Spirit that ſpeaketh in you, the hand of the Higheſt ſhall defend you, for the Hairs of your Heads are numbred, and none of them ſhall periſh. I have laid up Treaſure for you* (ſaith he) *where no Thief can ſteal, nor Moth corrupt; and happy are you if you endure to the end. Fear not them* (ſaith Chriſt) *which have power over the Body only; but fear him that hath power both over the Body and the Soul. The World loveth her own, and if you were of the World, the World would love you; but you are mine, and therefore the World doth hate you.*

Let theſe and ſuch like Conſolations out of the Scriptures ſtrengthen you to Godward: let not the Examples of holy Men and Women go out of your Mind, as that of *Daniel* and the reſt of the Prophets; of the three Children of *Eleazarus*, that conſtant Father; the *Maccabees* Children, that of *Peter*, *Paul*, *Stephen*, and other Apoſtles and holy Martyrs, in the beginning and infancy of the Church; as of good *Simeon* Archbiſhop of *Seloma*, and *Zetrophone*, with infinite others, under *Sapores* the King of the *Perſians* and *Indians*, who contemn'd all Torments deviſ'd by the Tyrants for their Saviour's ſake.

Return, return again for Honour and Mercies ſake into the way of Chriſt Jeſus; and, as becometh a faithful Soldier, put on that Armor which St. *Paul* teacheth to be moſt neceſſary for a Chriſtian Man, and above all things, take to you the ſhield of Faith, And be you moſt devoutly provok'd by Chriſt's own Example, to withſtand the Devil, to forſake the World, and to become a true and faithful Member of his myſtical Body, who ſpar'd not his own Fleſh for our Sins. Throw down thy ſelf with the fear of his threatned Vengeance, for this ſo great and heinous Offence of Apoſtacy, and comfort your ſelf on the other part with the Mercy, Blood, and Promiſes of him that is ready to turn to you whenſoever you turn to him: Diſdain not to come again with the loſt Son, ſeeing you have ſo wandred with him: Be not aſham'd to turn again with him from the Swill of Strangers, to the Delicates of the moſt benign and loving Father, acknowledging that you have ſinned againſt Heaven and Earth; againſt Heaven, by ſtaining his glorious Name, and cauſing his moſt ſincere and pure Word to be evil-ſpoken of thro you; againſt Earth, by offending your ſo many weak Brethren, to whom you have been a Stumbling-block thro your ſudden ſliding.

Be not aſham'd to come again with *Mary*, and to weep bitterly with *Peter*, not only with ſhedding of Tears out of your bodily Eyes, but alſo pouring out the Streams of your Heart, to waſh away, out of the ſight of God, the Filth and Mire of your offenſive Fall: Be not aſham'd to ſay with the Publican, *Lord be merciful to me a Sinner.* Remember the horrible Hiſtory of *Julian* of old, and the lamentable Caſe of *Francis Spira* of late, whoſe remembrance methinks ſhou'd yet be ſo grievous to your memory, that being a thing of our time, you ſhou'd fear the like Inconvenience, ſeeing that you are fallen into the like Offence. Laſt of all, let the lively remembrance of the laſt Day be always before your Eyes, remembring the Terror that ſuch ſhall be in at that time, with the Runnagates and Fugitives from Chriſt; who ſetting more by the World than by Heaven, more by their Life than by him that gave them their Life; more by the Vanity of a painful Breath, than the perfect aſſurance of eternal Salvation, did ſhrink, yea did clean fall away from him that never forſook them. And contrariwiſe, the ineſtimable Joys prepar'd for them, which fear'd no Peril, nor dreading Death, have manfully fought, and victoriouſly triumph'd over all power of Darkneſs, over Hell, Death and Damnation, thro their moſt redoubted Captain Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, who even now ſtretcheth out his Arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your Neck and kiſs you; and laſt of all, to feaſt you with the Daintys and Delicates of his own moſt precious Blood, which undoubtedly, if it might ſtand with his determinate purpoſe, he would not let to ſhed again, rather than you ſhould be loſt: To whom with the Father

ther and the Holy Ghoſt, be all Honour, Praiſe and Glory everlaſtingly. *Amen.*

Your's, if you be Chriſt's,

*JANE GRAY.*

Poſtſcript.

*Be conſtant, be conſtant, fear not for Pain,*
*Chriſt hath deliver'd thee, and Heaven is thy Gain.*

J. G.

THUS having read her own Words, pen'd by her own Hand, and weigh'd well the Depth and Greatneſs of her moſt charitable Devotion, her pregnant and rare knowledg in the Book of God, her ſweet Elocution in the ſcholarlike Connexture and Marriage of the beſt Words and Phraſes together; who can have that poſſible dulneſs of Spirit in him, as not to conclude and believe that her Birth, her Education, and all the natural Inclinations of her own Spirits, were ſutable and agreeing with that beſt Goodneſs, which (how ſeldom extant) yet is ever expected in all noble Perſonages; for indeed Gentry it ſelf is but Vertue: and all Dignity added to Gentry doth but as it were baptize it with a more renown'd Title of the moſt excellent Vertue; in which ſtile this Lady might take a large boaſt, and inſtead of *Cæſar*'s *Veni, Vidi, Vici,* of her may be ſaid, ſhe was *Noble, Chaſte,* and *Religious.* But ſome (over-curious to examine Goodneſs) may reply unto me, That her Honour was her Anceſtors, and not the work of her fundamental Inſtitution, and therefore not altogether ſo glorious: That her ſober and chaſte Life was either a ſingular Gift from above, or a tormenting fear of the ſhame of this World continually ſtir'd up in her Blood, thro the Diſcourſe of Readings or Examples; and that her Religion being traduc'd from the Inſtructions of her firſt Parents, and ſeconded by the learned Admonitions of them of the ſame Opinion; her Mind, as it were, being utterly unacquainted with any other contrary Argument, but ever ſooth'd up and fortify'd in one Path only, that it was no great work either of marvel or maſtery that ſhe continu'd either ſo good, conſtant or violent in the heat of her Zealouſneſs; whereas if ſhe had heard the continual Temptations of the Adverſary, and been inforc'd to have held a long Battel with Men, eſteem'd profound in a quite oppoſite Opinion, or had been burden'd with the heavy and tyrannous Yoke of Authority, which by intolerable Afflictions wou'd have not only threaten'd the bending, but the breaking of her Heart and Bowels, if ſhe had not yielded to the Will of their Opinions; then for her bravely to have held out ſuch a weary

Siege, and with a ſettled Conſtancy to have undergone and triumph'd in ſuch a Chriſtian Warfare, had not only been memorable, but rare, matchleſs and renown'd.

To let paſs the two firſt Suggeſtions, being ſlight, and not worthy the Labour of any ſerious Pen, becauſe no doubt ought to be made where there is a probable Aſſurance; and to come to this laſt Inference touching her Temptations, being ſo great and heavy, that they came near to the point of Martyrdom. You ſhall underſtand, that after her moſt unfortunate Marriage, and the utter Defaiture almoſt of her Name and Honours; others Ambitions having embark'd her into thoſe rough Waves, which of neceſſity muſt ſwallow her (as you may at large read in the whole ſtory of our Chronicles) divers learned Roman Catholicks, and even thoſe of the beſt Fame and Reputation, were ſent unto her to diſſuade her from that true Profeſſion of the Goſpel, which from her Cradle ſhe had ever held; each ſtriving by Art, by Flattery, by Threatnings, by Promiſe of Life, or what elſe might move moſt in the Boſom of a weak Woman, who ſhou'd become maſter of ſo great and worthy a Prize, but all their Labours were bootleſs: for ſhe had Art to confound their Art, Wiſdom to withſtand their Flatterys, Reſolution above their Menaces, and ſuch a true knowledg of Life, that Death was to her no other than a moſt familiar Acquaintance. In the end, a deep-read Divine call'd Mr. *Feckenham*, then Chaplain to Queen *Mary*, was ſent unto her about ſome four days before her Death, who had with her a long and tedious Diſputation; but as the reſt, found himſelf in all holy Gifts ſo ſhort of her Excellence, that he acknowledg'd himſelf fitter to be her Diſciple than Teacher: And thereupon humbly beſought her to deliver unto him ſome brief Sum of her Faith, which he might hereafter keep, and as a faithful Witneſs publiſh to the World. To which ſhe willingly condeſcended, and bid him boldly queſtion her in what Points of Religion ſoever it pleas'd him, and ſhe wou'd give her faithful and believing Anſwer, ſuch as ſhe wou'd ever be ready to ſeal with her deareſt Blood. The Sum of which Conference you ſhall here read, as it was written with her own hand, and her Name ſubſcrib'd thereunto, as followeth.

## *A Conference between the Lady* Jane Gray, *and Mr.* Feckenham, *four days before her Death, touching her Faith and Religion.*

*Feck.* WHat thing is requir'd in a Chriſtian?

*Jane.* To believe in God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God.

*Feck.* Is there nothing elſe requir'd in a Chriſtian but to believe in God?

*Jane.* Yes: *We muſt believe in him, we muſt love him with all our Heart, with all our Soul, and all our Mind, and our Neighbour as our ſelf.*

*Feck.* Why then Faith juſtifyeth not, nor ſaveth not?

*Jane.* Yes verily, *Faith* (as St. *Paul* ſaith) *only juſtifyeth.*

*Feck.* Why St. *Paul* ſaith, *If I have all the Faith of the World, without Love, it is nothing.*

*Jane.* True it is, for how can I love him I truſt not, or how can I truſt in him whom I love not? Faith and Love ever agree together, and yet Love is comprehended in Faith.

*Feck.* How ſhall we love our Neighbour?

*Jane.* To love our Neighbour is *to feed the Hungry, clothe the Naked, and to give drink to the Thirſty, and to do to him as we would do to our ſelves.*

*Feck.* Why then it is neceſſary to Salvation to do good Works, and it is not ſufficient to believe?

*Jane.* I deny that I affirm that Faith only ſaveth; but it is meet for all Chriſtians, in token that they follow their Maſter Chriſt, to do good Works; yet may we not ſay, nor in any wiſe believe, that they profit to Salvation: *for altho we have done all that we can, yet we are unprofitable Servants; and the Faith we have only in Chriſt's Blood, and his Merits, ſaveth.*

*Feck.* How many Sacraments are there?

*Jane.* Two; the one the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the other the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

*Feck.* No, there be ſeven Sacraments.

*Jane.* By what Scripture find you that?

*Feck.* Well, we will talk of that hereafter: But what is ſignify'd by your two Sacraments?

*Jane.* By the Sacrament of Baptiſm I am waſh'd with Water, and regenerated in the Spirit, and that Waſhing is a Token to me that I am the Child of God: The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is offer'd unto me as a ſure Seal and Teſtimony that I am, by the Blood of Chriſt which he ſhed for me on the Croſs, made Partaker of the everlaſting Kingdom.

*Feck.* Why what do you receive in that Bread, do you not receive the very Body and Blood of Chriſt?

*Jane.* No ſurely, I do not believe ſo. I think at that Supper I receive neither Fleſh nor Blood, but only Bread and Wine; the which Bread when it is broken, and the Wine when it is drunk, putteth me in mind how that for my Sins the Body of Chriſt was broken, and his Blood ſhed on the Croſs; and with that Bread and Wine I receive the Benefits which came by breaking of his Body, and by the ſhedding of his Blood on the Croſs for my Sins.

*Feck.* Why but, Madam, doth not Chriſt ſpeak theſe words, *Take, eat, this is my Body:* Can you require any plainer words? Doth he not ſay, that it is his Body?

*Jane.* I grant he ſaith ſo; and ſo he ſaith likewiſe in other places, I am the Vine, I am the Door, it being only but a figurative borrow'd Speech. Doth not St. *Paul* ſay that he calleth thoſe things which are not, as tho they were? God forbid that I ſhou'd ſay that I eat the very natural Body and Blood of Chriſt; for then either I ſhould pluck away my Redemption, or confeſs there were two Bodys, or two Chriſts: two Bodys, the one Body was tormented on the Croſs; and then if they did eat another Body, how abſurd? Again, if his Body was eaten really, then it was not broken upon the Croſs; or if it were broken upon the Croſs (as it is doubtleſs) then it was not eaten of his Diſciples.

*Feck.* Why is it not as poſſible that Chriſt by his power could make his Body both to be eaten and broken, as to be born of a Woman without the Seed of Man, and as to walk on the Sea having a Body, and other ſuch like Miracles which he wrought by his Power only?

*Jane.* Yes verily; If God would have done at his laſt Supper a Miracle, he might have done ſo; but I ſay he minded nor intended no Work or Miracle, but only to break his Body, and ſhed his Blood on the Croſs for our Sins. But I beſeech you anſwer me to this one Queſtion, Where was Chriſt when he ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body?* Was not he at the Table? When he ſaid ſo, he was at that time alive, and ſuffer'd not till the next day. Well, what took he but Bread? And what broke he but Bread? And what gave he but Bread? Look, what he took he brake, and look what he brake he gave, and look what he gave that they did eat; and yet all this while he himſelf was at Supper before his Diſciples, or elſe they were deceiv'd.

*Feck.* You ground your Faith upon ſuch Authors as ſay and unſay both with a breath, and not upon the Church, to whom you ought to give credit.

*Jane.* No: I ground my Faith upon God's Word, and not upon the Church; for if the Church be a good Church, the Faith of the Church muſt be try'd by God's Word, and not God's Word by the Church, neither yet my Faith: Shall I believe the Church becauſe of Antiquity? or ſhall I give credit to that Church which taketh away from me a full half part of the Lord's Supper, and will let no Layman receive it in both kinds, but the Prieſts only themſelves? which thing if they deny to us, they deny us part of our Salvation: And I ſay that it is an evil and no good Church, and not the Spouſe of Chriſt, but the Spouſe of the Devil, which altereth the Lord's Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that Church, I ſay, God will add Plagues, and from that Church will he take their part out of the Book of Life. You may learn of St. *Paul* how he did adminiſter it to the *Corinthians* in both kinds, which ſince your Church refuſeth, ſhall I believe it? God forbid!

*Feck.* That was done by the Wiſdom of the Church, and to a moſt good Intent, to avoid an Hereſy which then ſprung in it.

*Jane.* O but the Church muſt not alter God's Will and Ordinances for the colour or gloſs of a good intent; it was the Error of King *Saul*, and he not only reap'd a Curſe, but periſh'd thereby, as is evident in the Holy Scriptures.

To this Mr. *Feckenham* gave me a long, tedious, yet eloquent Reply, uſing many ſtrong and logical Perſuaſions to compel me to have lean'd to their Church; but my Faith had arm'd my Reſolution to withſtand any Aſſault that Words could then uſe againſt me: Of many other Articles of Religion we reaſon'd, but theſe formerly rehears'd were the chiefeſt and moſt effectual. Subſcrib'd,

*Jane Dudley.*

This catechiſing Argument between the Lady *Jane* and Mr. *Feckenham* was held in the *Tower* publickly, before divers worthy and noble Perſonages; in all which ſhe bore her ſelf with ſuch a modeſt Humility, yet ſo honourably ſtout in all things, which either concern'd her God and her Religion, that ſhe raviſh'd and ſtole unto her all the Hearts of her Auditory, while Mr. *Feckenham* loſt much of that good Opinion of his Learning, which formerly for a long time he had injoy'd; inſomuch that finding his own Weakneſs, and his much Diſability to refel her Truths with his ſcholaſtical Fallacys, he grew into a little Choler, and us'd unto her ſome immodeſt Speeches moſt unſutable for his Gravity; to which only her Smiles and Patience gave Anſwer: and amongſt the reſt coming to take his leave of her, he ſaid, Madam, I am ſorry for you and your Obſtinacy, and now I am aſſur'd you and I ſhall never meet again.

It is moſt true, Sir, we ſhall never meet again, except God turn your Heart; for I ſtand undoubtedly aſſur'd that unleſs you repent and turn to God, you are in a ſad and deſperate Caſe: and I pray to God in the Bowels of his Mercy to ſend you his Holy Spirit, for he hath given you his great Gift of Utterance, if it pleaſe him to open the Eyes of your Heart to his Truth. But at theſe words he rudely departed without further Anſwer, while the Saintlike Lady withdrew her ſelf into her private Bedchamber, where ſhe imploy'd her ſelf in moſt devout Prayer till the night before her Death; at what time ſhe took a fair new Teſtament in Greek, on which, after ſhe had read a while, offering to cloſe up the Book, ſhe found in the end thereof ſome few Leaves of clean Paper unwritten; which as it were awakening and inciting her Zeal to ſome good and charitable Office, ſhe took Pen and Ink, and in thoſe waſt Leaves wrote a moſt learned and godly Exhortation; which as ſoon as ſhe had finiſh'd it, ſhe clos'd up the Book and deliver'd it to her Servant to bear unto her Siſter the Lady *Katherine*, as the laſt Token of her Love and Remembrance, which was with great diligence perform'd. The Tenor of the Exhortation was this which followeth.

## *An Exhortation written by the Lady* Jane Dudley *the night before her Death, in the end of the New Teſtament in Greek, which ſhe ſent to her Siſter the Lady* Katherine Gray.

I Have here ſent you (my dear Siſter *Katherine*) a Book, which altho it be not outwardly trim'd with Gold, or the curious Imbroidery of the artfulleſt Needles, yet inwardly it is more worth than all the precious Mines which the vaſt World can boaſt of. It is the Book, my only beſt and beſt lov'd Siſter, of the Law of the Lord: It is the Teſtament and laſt Will which he bequeath'd unto us Wretches and wretched Sinners, which ſhall lead you to the Path of eternal Joy: And if you with a good mind read it, and with an earneſt deſire follow it, no doubt it ſhall bring you to an immortal and everlaſting Life. It will teach you to live, and learn you to die: It ſhall win you more, and endow you with greater Felicity than you ſhou'd have gain'd by the poſſeſſion of our woful Father's Lands; for as if God had proſper'd him, you ſhou'd have inherited his Honours and Manors; ſo if you apply diligently this Book, ſeeking to direct your Life according to the rule of the ſame, you ſhall be an Inheritor of ſuch Riches, as neither the Covetous ſhall withdraw from you, neither the Thief ſhall ſteal, neither yet the Moths corrupt. Deſire with *David*, my beſt Siſter, to underſtand the Law of the Lord your God; live ſtill to die, that you by Death may purchaſe eternal Life, and truſt not that the tenderneſs of your Age ſhall lengthen your Life; for unto God, when he calleth, all Hours, Times and Seaſons are alike, and bleſs'd are they whoſe Lamps are furniſh'd when he cometh, for as ſoon will the Lord be glorify'd in the Young as in the Old.

My good Siſter, once again more let me intreat thee to learn to die; deny the World, defy the Devil, and deſpiſe the Fleſh, and delight your ſelf only in the Lord; be penitent for your Sins, and yet deſpair not; be ſtrong in Faith, yet preſume not, and deſire with St. *Paul* to be diſſolv'd and to be with Chriſt, with whom even in Death there is Life.

Be like the good Servant, and even at midnight be waking, leſt when Death cometh and ſtealeth upon you like a Thief in the night, you be with the Servants of Darkneſs found ſleeping, and leſt for lack of Oil you be found like the five fooliſh Virgins, or like him that had not on the Wedding Garment, and then you be caſt into Darkneſs, or baniſh'd from the Marriage. Rejoice in Chriſt, as I truſt you do; and ſeeing you have the name of a Chriſtian, as near as you can follow the ſteps, and be a true Imitator of your Maſter Chriſt Jeſus, and take up your Croſs, lay your Sins on his back, and always imbrace him.

Now as touching my Death, rejoice as I do, my deareſt Siſter, that I ſhall be deliver'd of this Corruption, and put on Incorruption; for I am aſſur'd that I ſhall, for loſing of a mortal Life, win one that is immortal, joyful and everlaſting; the which I pray God grant you in his moſt bleſſed Hour, and ſend you his all-ſaving Grace to live in his Fear, and to die in the true Chriſtian Faith. From which in God's Name I exhort you that you never ſwerve, neither for hope of Life, nor fear of Death; for if you will deny his Truth to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, God himſelf will deny you, and by vengeance make ſhort what you by your Soul's Loſs wou'd prolong; but if you will cleave to him, he will ſtretch forth your days to an uncircumſcrib'd Comfort, and to his own Glory: To the which Glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it ſhall pleaſe him to call you. Farewel once again, my belov'd Siſter, and put your only truſt in God, who only muſt help you. *Amen*.

Your loving Siſter,

*JANE DUDLEY.*

After the Lady *Jane* had finiſh'd this Exhortation to her Siſter, and ſent it away by her Servant, there came unto her two Biſhops and other learned Doctors, who likewiſe held with her more than two hours Conference, ſtriving with all their powers to have drawn her to have died in the obedience of their Church and Fellowſhip, but found themſelves infinitely deceiv'd; for her Faith, being built upon the Rock of Chriſt, was by no worldly Perſuaſion or Comfort to be either mov'd or ſhaken: ſo that after the Expence of Time, and the Loſs of much Speech, they left her (as they ſaid) a loſt and forſaken Member; but ſhe, as before, pray'd for them, and with a moſt charitable Patience endur'd their worſt Cenſures.

The next day ſhe was call'd down to go to the place of Execution, to which ſhe had prepar'd her ſelf with more Diligence than either the Malice of her Adverſarys could deſire, or the vigilance of any Officer, for the diſcharge of his Duty, expect; and being come down and deliver'd into the hands of the Sheriffs, they might behold in her a Countenance ſo gravely ſettled with all modeſt and comely Reſolution, that not the leaſt Hair or Mote either of Fear or Grief cou'd be perceiv'd to proceed either out of her Speech or Motions: but like a demure Body, going to be united to her Heart's beſt and longeſt belov'd; ſo ſhew'd ſhe forth all the Beams of a well-mix'd and temper'd alacrity, rather inſtructing Patience how it ſhou'd ſuffer, than being by Patience any way able to indure the Travel of ſo grievous a Journy. With this bleſſed and modeſt boldneſs of Spirit, undaunted and unalter'd, ſhe went towards the Scaffold, till whether thro the Malice of ſome great Adverſary, or the Indiſcretion of the Officers (but the latter is more credible) ſhe incountred upon the way, as ſhe went, the headleſs Trunk of her new dead Lord and Husband, the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, at that inſtant returning from the Scaffold to the *Tower* to be buried. This Spectacle a little ſtartled her, and many Tears were ſeen to deſcend and fall upon her Cheeks, which her Silence and great Heart ſoon dry'd; and being now come upon the Scaffold, after reverence done to the Lords and others in Commiſſion (turning her ſelf round about to the People) ſhe ſpake theſe words as followeth:

## *The Lady* Jane Dudley's *Words upon the Scaffold before her Death.*

MY Lords, and you good Chriſtian People, which come to ſee me die; I am under a Law, and by that Law, as a never-erring Judg, I am condemn'd to die, not for any thing

I have offended the Queen's Majeſty, for I will waſh my hands guiltleſs thereof, and deliver to my God a Soul as pure from ſuch Treſpaſs, as Innocence from Injuſtice; but only for that I conſented to the thing I was inforc'd unto, Conſtraint making the Law believe I did that which I never underſtood: notwithſtanding I have offended Almighty God, in that I have follow'd overmuch the Luſt of mine own Fleſh, and the Pleaſures of this wretched World, neither have I liv'd according to the knowledg that God hath given me, for which cauſe God hath appointed unto me this kind of Death, and that moſt worthily, according to my Deſerts; howbeit I thank him heartily that he hath given me time to repent of my Sins here in this World, and to reconcile my ſelf to my Redeemer, whom my former Vanities have in a great meaſure diſpleas'd. Wherefore (my Lords, and all you good Chriſtian People) I muſt earneſtly deſire you all to pray with me and for me whilſt I am yet alive, that God of his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy will forgive me my Sins, how numberleſs and grievous ſoever againſt him: And I beſeech you all to bear me witneſs that I here die a true Chriſtian Woman, profeſſing and avouching from my Soul, that I truſt to be ſav'd by the Blood, Paſſion, and Merits of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour only, and by no other means, caſting far behind me all the Works and Merits of mine own Actions, as things ſo far ſhort of the true Duty I owe, that I quake to think how much they may ſtand up againſt me. And now I pray you all pray for me, and with me: And at thoſe words, ſhe repeated the Pſalm of *Miſerere mei*; which done, ſhe ſaid, Lord ſave my Soul, which now I commend into thy hands. And ſo with all Meekneſs of Spirit, and a Saintlike Patience, ſhe prepar'd her ſelf to the Block.

# Phenix XIX.

## *A Brief Diſcourſe of the Troubles begun at* Frankfort *in* Germany, Ann. Dom. 1554. *about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies, and continued by the* Engliſhmen *there, to the end of Q.* Mary's *Reign.*

*Firſt publiſh'd in the Year* 1575.

### The PREFACE of the firſt Publiſher of this Hiſtory.

To the Chriſtian Readers, Grace, Mercy, and Peace, in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.

*SUCH as do well obſerve the Variety of mens Judgments about theſe matters of Controverſy, and the ſuppos'd Cauſes of the ſame, ſhall find it a thing more than wonderful to behold, and paſſing ſtrange to hear. But whoſo ſhall well weigh and conſider, what extreme Calamities and Miſeries this Broil hath brought with it to many godly Perſons which unfeignedly fear God; the ſame muſt of force, as I think (if he have but one drop of Humanity within him) draw forth deep and ſorrowful Sighs from the Heart, and Tears from* *the Eyes. To paſs over ſundry, I will note but this one: Whereas in times paſt (both at* Paul's *Croſs and other places) the Sounds which were wont to be ſo ſweet, as might juſtly have moved the godly Hearers to cry out with the Prophet* Iſaiah, O how beautiful are the feet of them which bring glad Tidings of Peace, &c. *are now become commonly ſo ſour and unſavoury, that inſtead of Sweetneſs is found little or nothing but Wormwood and bitter Gall. And yet I ſpeak not of ſuch, whoſe cruel Scoffing and unbridled Natures are too well known ſo far to exceed, as few (diſcreet and wiſe indeed) can be much moved with any thing almoſt they either ſpeak or write: but even of thoſe I mean, whoſe Wiſdoms, Gravity, and Learning, as the ſame claimeth by good right due Reverence to the Perſons, becauſe of thoſe good Gifts which God hath beſtow'd upon them; ſo ſhould it alſo put them in mind (eſpecially in ſuch places) to uſe (meſeems) ſome other vein. And for ſo much as ſome impute the cauſe of all theſe Troubles to the ambitious Heads of certain ſpecial Perſons, who ſhould (as hath been at* Paul's *Croſs both publickly and very furiouſly declar'd) ſtir up this Strife in the Church, for that they could not attain to Biſhopricks, whenas others enjoy'd them: Some alſo imputing it to the ſtrange Churches, as well beyond the Seas, as here among us remaining, thereby to provoke the Diſpleaſure of the Magiſtrates againſt them.*

By Dr. *Young* in *Nov.* 1573.

*And ſome ſuppoſing, yea, roaring out, that this hath happen'd by ſuch fantaſtical Heads as can abide no Platform, but of their own deviſing; I have, for theſe and ſuch-like Conſiderations, thought good, by a ſhort and brief Diſcourſe, to let you ſee the very Original and Beginning of all this miſerable Contention; leaving nevertheleſs to your diſcreet Judgments, who (in theſe matters) are to be thought innocent, and who moſt to blame.*

Such as *D. Elbowrome.*

*And as one both of Credit, Learning, and of Authority, thought it not only meet and expedient openly at* Paul's *Croſs (in preſence of the Honourable and Worſhipful there) to ſignify unto them that ſuch a hot Contention about theſe matters had been, but alſo noted the Place where, and the Time when: So I in this Diſcourſe thought it needful (leſt happily that honourable Audience might miſtake the matter) to ſet forth by writing the very Order, Manner, and Proceeding of the ſame; following herein the Steps of ſuch, whom God of his goodneſs hath rais'd up at all times, and among all Nations, to commit things to memory, which hath paſſed in Commonweals, who have with great freedom and liberty been ſuffer'd to make manifeſt to the whole world the ill dealings even of Popes,*

M. *Mullins* in *Octob.* 1573.

*Frankfort* the Place in Q. *Mary*'s time.

Platina, Paulus, Jovius, Sleidan, Fox, *with many others.*

*Cardinals, Emperors, Kings and Princes; whereas in this Diſcourſe the higheſt that I touch (and that with great grief of Heart) are to my knowledg but certain Biſhops, and therefore I hope the more to be born withal; beſeeching Almighty God, that as by theſe my poor ſimple Travels, my meaning was not (either in contempt or ſeeking revenge) to provoke the farther Diſpleaſure of the meaneſt: That ſo if it be his bleſſed Will, the ſame may find favour in the eyes of our Sovereign Lady, the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, and the right Honourable, whom it hath pleas'd him to place in high Authority, for whoſe Proſperity and Welfare it becometh all true and faithful Subjects (as they are dutifully bound) moſt earneſtly to pray.*

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# *A Brief Diſcourſe of the Troubles begun at* Frankfort *in* Germany, *A. D.* 1554.

AFTER that it had pleas'd the Lord God to take away for our Sins that Noble Prince of famous memory, King *Edward* the Sixth, and had placed Q. *Mary* in his room; ſundry godly men, as well Strangers as of the *Engliſh* Nation, fled for the Liberty of their Conſciences over the Seas, ſome into *France*, ſome into *Flanders*, and ſome into the High Countries of the Empire: And in the Year of our Lord 1554. on the 27th of *June*, came *Edmond Sutton*, *William Williams*, *William Whittingham*, and *Thomas Wood*, with their Companies, to the City of *Frankfort* in *Germany*; the firſt *Engliſhmen* that there arriv'd to remain and abide. The ſame night came one Mr. *Valeren Pullan*, Miniſter, unto their Lodging, and declar'd how he had obtain'd a Church there in the name of all ſuch as ſhould come out of *England* for the Goſpel; but eſpecially from *Glaſſenbury*, which were all *French men.* Anſwer was made him, that as God was to be praiſed, who had moved the Magiſtrates hearts to ſhew the *French* ſuch favour; even ſo, foraſmuch as few of them underſtood the *French* Tongue, it would be ſmall commodity to them, or to ſuch as ſhould come afterward, to join themſelves to that Church.

The next day they communed with Mr. *Morellio*, another Miniſter of the *French* Church; and alſo with Mr. *Caſtalio*, a Senior of the ſame (both of them godly and learned men) by their Advice and Counſel it was determin'd, that a Supplication ſhould be drawn out, and offer'd to the Magiſtrates, to know firſt whether they would be contented, that not only the Parties before-nam'd, but alſo all other *Engliſhmen* that would repair thither for the like cauſe, might thro their favour be ſuffer'd ſafely to remain within their City. This Supplication was ſubſcrib'd as well by the ſaid *Sutton*, *Whittingham*, and the reſt of the *Engliſhmen*, as alſo by *Morellio*, *Caſtalio*, and one *Adrian* a Citizen there, with whom they lodg'd. And within three days after the offering up of their Supplication, they obtain'd their Requeſts.

The eighth of *July* following, labour was made (by the Counſel and Advice of *Morellio* and *Caſtalio*, who during their Lives ſhew'd themſelves Fathers to all *Engliſhmen*) to Mr. *John Glawberge* one of the chiefeſt Senators, for a Place or Church, wherein they and all their Countrymen might have God's Word truly preach'd, and the Sacraments ſincerely miniſter'd in their natural Tongue; who jointly promis'd his furtherance, and that he alſo would move the whole Senate thereof; the which he did accordingly. And the 14th Day of the ſame month it was granted that they ſhould have liberty to preach, and miniſter the Sacraments, in that Church which the *French* men had, the *French* one day, and the *Engliſh* another day, and upon the Sunday; to chuſe alſo their hours as they could agree among themſelves: but it was with this Commandment, That the *Engliſh* ſhould not diſſent from the *French* men in Doctrine or Ceremonies, leſt they ſhould thereby miniſter occaſion of offence; and willed farther, that before they entred their Church, they ſhould approve and ſubſcribe the ſame Confeſſion of Faith that the *French* men had then preſented, and about to put in print. To the which all the aforenam'd (and others which were by this time come thither) did ſubſcribe.

When the Church was in this ſort granted, they conſulted among themſelves what Order of Service they ſhould uſe (for they were not ſo ſtrictly bound, as was told them, to the Ceremonies of the *French* by the Magiſtrates, but that if the one allow'd of the other it was ſufficient.) At length the *Engliſh* Order was perus'd, and this by general Conſent was concluded, that the anſwering aloud after the Miniſter ſhould not be us'd, the Litany, Surplice, and many other things alſo omitted, for that in thoſe Reformed Churches ſuch things would ſeem more than ſtrange. It was farther agreed upon, that the Miniſter (in place of the *Engliſh* Confeſſion) ſhould uſe another, both of more effect, and alſo framed according to the State and Time. And the ſame ended, the People to ſing a Pſalm in Metre in a plain Tune, as was and is accuſtom'd in the *French*, *Dutch*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *Scotch* Churches; that done, the Miniſter to pray for the Aſſiſtance of God's holy Spirit, and ſo to pro[illegible]ed to the Sermon. After the Sermon, a general Prayer for all Eſtates, and for our Country of *England*, was alſo devis'd, at the end of which Prayer was join'd the Lord's Prayer, and a Rehearſal of the Articles of our Belief; which ended, the People to ſing another Pſalm, as afore. Then the Miniſter pronouncing his Bleſſing, *The Peace of God*, &c. or ſome other of like effect, the People to depart.

And as touching the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, ſundry things were alſo by common Conſent omitted, as ſuperſtitious and ſuperfluous. After the Congregation had thus concluded and agreed, and had choſen their Miniſter and Deacons to ſerve for a time; they entred their Church the 29th of the ſame month. Then was it thought good among themſelves, that forthwith they ſhould advertiſe their Countrymen, and Brethren diſpers'd, of this ſingular Benefit, the like whereof could no where elſe as yet be obtain'd, and to perſuade them (all worldly reſpects put apart) to repair thither, that they might all together with one Mouth and one Heart both lament their former Wickedneſs, and alſo be thankful to their God that had given them ſuch a Church in a ſtrange Land, wherein they might hear God's Word truly preach'd, the Sacraments rightly miniſter'd, and Diſcipline us'd, which in their own Country could not be obtain'd.

And to this effect were Letters directed to *Strasburg*, *Zurick*, *Densburg*, and *Emden*, on the ſecond of *Auguſt*. And for that it was thought the Church could not long continue in good Order without Diſcipline, there was alſo a brief Form devis'd, declaring the Neceſſity, the Cauſes, and the Order thereof, whereunto all thoſe that were preſent ſubſcrib'd; ſhewing thereby that they were ready and willing to ſubmit themſelves to the ſame, according to the Rule preſcrib'd in God's holy Word; at which time it was determin'd by the Congregation, that all ſuch as ſhould come after, ſhould do the like, before they were admitted as Members of that Church.

Here followeth the general Letter ſent from the Congregation of *Frankfort* to *Strasburg*, *Zurick*, *Wezell*, *Emden*, &c.

*Grace*, *Mercy*, *and Peace in Chriſt our Lord*, &c.

WE doubt not, dearly Beloved, but you have heard, as well by Letter as by Report, of the excellent Graces and Mercy which our good God and heavenly Father hath ſhew'd unto our little Congregation in this City of *Frankfort*; for that he hath not only made the Magiſtrates and Commons very favourable towards us and loving, but alſo hath given them hearts, with much compaſſion to tender us, inſomuch that every man helpeth us, no man is againſt us; much Love, no Grudg, glad to pleaſe, loth to annoy us: yea, and to declare this Good Will not to be of the mean ſort, nor ſo ſmall as our Brethren have felt otherwhere, they have granted that thing which among others, and in other Cities, we could not obtain, nor durſt almoſt hope for. For what greater Treaſure or ſweeter Comfort can a Chriſtian man deſire, than to have a Church wherein he may ſerve God in Purity of Faith, and Integrity of Life? Which thing if we wiſh for, let us not refuſe it, ſeeing where we would, we could not there obtain it. And here yet it is granted in ſo ample wiſe, that being ſubject to no blemiſh, no, nor ſo much as the Evil of Suſpicion (from the which few Churches are free) we may preach, miniſter, and uſe Diſcipline, to the true ſetting forth of God's Glory, and good Example to others. And for our parts, we have not been negligent as touching the Execution of the ſaid Benefit granted. For the 29th of *July*, we had (God be thank'd) two Sermons to our ſingular Comfort, and great Joy of all godly Men here. Wherefore Brethren, ſeeing you have endur'd the pain of Perſecution with us, we thought it likewiſe our Duties to make you Partakers of our Conſolation, that all together we may give thanks to our loving Father, who is more tender over us than the Mother over her Child, neither ſuffereth us to be tempted above that we may bear, but even to the Iſſue of the Temptation, gave the proſperous Succeſs; truſting by God's Grace, that he which hath given you that Gift, not only to believe in Chriſt, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake, will ſo direct your Hearts, that no reſpect of Commodity there, nor yet fear of Burden here, may once move you to ſhrink from your Vocation, which is in one Faith, one Miniſtration, one Tongue, and one Conſent to ſerve God in his Church. 1 *Cor.*10.*Phil.*2.

What more manifeſt Sign, what plainer Declaration, what Word more expreſs and lively can we have of Duty and Vocation, than when God ſpeaketh in our Hearts by Faith, guideth us out of perils thro his Grace, and now laſt of all offereth us a Reſting-place of his exceeding Mercy? You remember that before we have reaſon'd together in hope to obtain a Church; and ſhall we now draw back, as unmindful of God's Providence, which hath procured us one free from all Dregs of ſuperſtitious Ceremonies?

What think you if the Prophet *David* had had this Offer, who deſir'd to be Porter in the Houſe *Pſal.* 42.

of God, and more eſteem'd one day ſo ſpent, than a thouſand otherwiſe?

Either what meant he when he ſaid, *Pſal.* 27. *One Requeſt I demand of the Lord, which I will ſeek after,* that is, *that I may dwell in the Houſe of the Lord all the days of my life?* Had *David* no Experience? or felt he not what grief it was to want the Congregation? And ſurely we muſt grant that he was far more perfect than we be; for he being converſant in this world, ſet his delight wholly in heavenly things. And many of us (we ſpeak it to our ſhame) as if we had already forgotten the end of our Creation, are plung'd in earthly Affections and worldly Reſpects; ſo that thro our Infirmities this excellent Benefit is like to be fruſtrate. For ſome doubt who ſhall be prefer'd, others ſeek Increaſe of Learning. Many follow the Commodity of living; certain look for a new Vocation: ſo that it is a wonder to ſee the Deformity of man's Affections. God grant we may learn at their Examples, which being called to the Marriage, came not, what it is to eſteem in time the Worthineſs of God's Benefits; leſt by the loſs of the ſame, we after fall into unprofitable Repentance, ſeeking again our loſs with tears, as the reprobate *Eſau*, and yet never the near. We charge no one man, Brethren, nor yet mean all; and on what Conſiderations theſe Excuſes were pretended, we ſuſpend our Judgments, referring the ſame to our Imperfection and Infirmity, whereby the Adverſary ceaſeth not to batter daily the Walls of God's Temple.

*Mat.* 22.

*Mic.* 3.
*Heb.* 11.

As touching the point of Preferment, we are perſuaded thorowly that it hath this meaning, that every man thought of himſelf modeſtly, humbly ſubmitting himſelf to all men, unabling no man; foraſmuch as you know that he which ſeeketh Ambition, Glory, Advantage, or ſuch-like, is not moved with God's Spirit; as witneſs the Inſtructions which Chriſt our Maſter gave to his Diſciples, who labouring of like Diſeaſe, were admoniſh'd that he which did excel among them, ſhould abaſe himſelf to his Inferior: which Malady St. *Paul* perceiving to infect like a Canker, moſt diligently frameth his Stile, that he might not ſeem to prefer himſelf to others in the courſe of his Miniſtry. And as for Learning, as we wiſh to all Men moſt abundantly, ſo we moſt earneſtly require, that comparing the Congregation's Neceſſity with your own private Commodity, you would rather for Chriſt's ſake chuſe the better; yea, and we aſſure you one good Advertiſement, that thro God's Grace when we ſhall be aſſembled together, ſuch

*Phil.* 1. *Col.* 1.

ſuch order will be taken, that beſides thoſe things which our Nation ſhall be able to furniſh, we have the City moſt forward to procure others. If any would pretend the Hardneſs of the Country and Charges, our Experience may ſufficiently ſatisfy them, who having travel'd thro moſt places where the Goſpel is preach'd, have not found ſo many Commodities, nor leſs Charges.

Reſteth the time of calling, which we refer to your Conſciences, beſeeching you for Chriſt's ſake to deſcend into your ſelves without all partiality, weighing the Gravity of the matter which is God's, and the ſilly Excuſe which the Fleſh miniſtreth. Conſider what God would ſay: *I have prepar'd a plentiful and ripe Harveſt, which ſtandeth in a readineſs, and waiteth for the Mower; and I have appointed thee thy Tax. I have given Inſtruments, and all things fit for the Labour: if thou forſake it, the Crop is in danger; if thou look for oft warning, thou declareſt great Negligence.*

This Speech, Dearly Beloved, or very like, God uſed to *Noah, Abraham, Jeremiah,* &c. and they thought their Vocation ſtrong. But you through God's benefit do not only hear God thus perſuading in your Hearts, but alſo have been by extreme calling confirm'd, and according thereunto have walk'd to the great Glory of God and Profit of the Congregation. We truſt therefore, Brethren, and in Jeſus Chriſt require it, that you would hide your Talent no longer; but having new occaſion to imploy it, you would put it forth for your Maſter, his Advantage, and your own Diſcharge: for if you feel in your hearts Comfort, as we do, which are here aſſembled to hear the Word of God preach'd and the Sacraments miniſtred, we aſſure you, you ſhould ſenſibly perceive that which the Prophet ſpeaketh in theſe terms, *Pſal.* 41. *As the Hart chaſed panteth for greedineſs of Waters, even ſo (O Lord) my Soul ſeeketh after thee; my Soul burneth for thirſt in ſeeking the Lord, and ſaith, Alas when ſhall I be able to appear before the face of the living God?* What thing then ought we to have in greater recommendation than the Order and Policy which God hath eſtabliſh'd in his Church? that we may be taught by his Word, that we may worſhip him and call upon his Name with one accord, that we may have the true uſe of the Sacraments to help us to the ſame? For theſe be the means whereby we muſt be confirm'd in the Faith, in the Fear of God, in Holineſs of Converſation, in the Contempt of the World, and in the Love of Life everlaſting. And for this conſideration St. *Paul* ſaith, *Epheſ.* 4. not that this Order which the Lord hath ſet in his Church ſhould only be for the rude and ſimple, but maketh it common to all, excepting no man. For he hath ordain'd, ſaith he, ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Evangeliſts, others to be Teachers and Inſtructors, to confirm the Godly, and to labour to finiſh the building of Chriſt's Body, till we be all brought to one Conſent in Faith, to the Knowledg of the Son of God, to a perfect Man, and finally, to the juſt meaſure of a ripe Chriſtian Age. Let us all mark, that he ſaith not, that God hath left the Scriptures only that every one ſhould read it, but alſo that he has erected a Policy and Order, that there ſhould be ſome to teach, and not for one day, but all the time of our Life, even to the Death, for that is the time of our Perfection. Wherefore, Brethren, let us ſubmit our ſelves, and leave off farther to tempt God, ſeeing that if we will be of the Body of Chriſt, we muſt obey this general Rule. Let no Reſpect of worldly Policy ſtay us. Let no Perſuaſion blind us. But let us fulfil in our ſelves that which *Eſaias* forewarneth, that God's Children ſhall be as Pigeons, which fly by flocks into their Dove-houſe, which is the place where the Word of God is preach'd, the Sacraments miniſtred, and Prayer uſed.

To conclude therefore, Dearly Beloved, let every Man call his Conſcience to counſel, and beſides theſe ſweet Allurements, let us learn to prevent our Adverſaries, who ſeeking ever to obſcure God's Glory, may eaſily cavil at this diſſipation. And would to God the Slander were not already to our grief in ſundry places ſcatter'd, inſomuch that in *England* many take occaſion to remain in their filth. And ſome think they may diſſemble until a Church be confirm'd, perceiving that this our Scattering augmenteth the grief of Perſecution, and ſo thro our Negligence we loſe them for whom Chriſt died. Conſider, Brethren, it is God's Cauſe, he requireth you, it is your duty, Neceſſity urgeth, Time willeth, your Father ſpeaketh, Children muſt obey, our Enemies are diligent, and the Adverſary is at hand.

Almighty God grant for his Son's ſake, that we may rightly ponder the matter, follow our Challenge, ſerve the turn, hear the Speaker, walk in obedience, and reſiſt our Enemies. We deſire you all to take this in good part, ſeeing we have written nothing but what Charity did indite, and that which we truſt and wiſh you would have done to us in like caſe. From *Frankfort* this ſecond of *Auguſt*, 1554.

*Your loving Brethren,*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *John Stanton,* | *William Williams,* | *William Hammon,* |
| *John Makebray,* | *William Wittingham,* | *Thomas Wood,* |
| | | *Michael Gill.* |

SHortly after the Learned Men of *Strasburg* anſwer'd to this general Letter before-mention'd in this ſort: That they had conſider'd the Contents thereof, and perceiv'd that the effect was no other but to have one or two take the chief Charge and Governance of the Congregation. And that in caſe they might get Dr. *Poynet*, Mr. *Scory*, Dr. *Bale*, or Dr. *Cox*, or two of them, they ſhould be well furniſh'd; if not, they would appoint one at *Strasburg*, and another ſhould come from *Zurick* to ſerve the turn. At which time Mr. *Grindall* wrote to Mr. *Scory* at *Emden*, perſuading him to be Superintendant of this Church of *Frankfort*, who in two ſeveral Letters to his private Friends, offer'd his Service to the Congregation; but before the receit thereof the Congregation had written their Letters to Mr. *Knox* at *Geneva*, to Mr. *Haddon* at *Strasburg*, and Mr. *Lever* at *Zurick*, whom they had elected for their Miniſters, and advertis'd Mr. *Scory* by a general Letter of the ſame.

Now when the Anſwer that came from *Strasburg* was read, and compar'd with the Letter written unto them, it did not in any point anſwer it. For the Congregation wrote not particularly for any certain number, but generally wiſhing all mens Preſence; neither did they require to have any Superintendent to take the chief Charge and Government, for the Choice and Election thereof (if ſuch a one had been neceſſary) ought to have been reſerv'd to the Congregation, which fully determin'd at that time to have the Church govern'd by two or three grave, godly, and learned Miniſters of like Authority, as is accuſtom'd in the beſt Reformed Churches.

The eleventh of *October* the Students of *Zurick* wrote alſo an Anſwer to the general Letters aforeſaid, in this wiſe:

*The Grace and Peace of God the Father, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all*, Amen.

AS God by his ſingular Providence hath wonderfully bleſſed us, as well in moving the Hearts of the Senators and Miniſters here, to lament our State, favour and aid us in our Requeſts, as alſo in giving happy Succeſs for all kind of proviſion to our uſe and behoof; ſo he well knoweth, that we no otherwiſe eſteem the ſame than may ſtand with his Glory, our Profeſſion, and the Comfort of his afflicted Church, but daily labour in the Knowledg of his Word, to the intent that when God our merciful Father ſhall ſo think good, we may be both faithful and ſkilful Diſpenſers thereof.

And as running in the ſweet race of our Vocation, ye have earneſtly written unto us for to repair thither, burdening us ſo ſore with your Neceſſity, that ye think our ſhrinking back in this behalf ſhould argue want of Charity, keep many in *England* ſtill, which elſe would willingly come forth; and ſhew our ſelves careleſs of that Congregation, whoſe edifying and winning to Chriſt we only pretend to ſeek: Theſe are great Cauſes, but touching us, neither ſo truly objected, ſo firmly grounded, nor yet ſo aptly apply'd, but that as ſound Reaſons on our parts might anſwer the ſame. Yet notwithſtanding, inaſmuch as you appeal to our Conſciences, which in the Day of the Lord ſhall accuſe or excuſe us in this thing and all other, we will not utterly deny your Requeſts, but ſhew our ſelves as ready to ſeek God's Glory and the Increaſe of his Kingdom, either there or elſewhere, to the uttermoſt of our powers, as ever we did pretend to do; requiring you all in the name and fear of God, that as we, all Reſpects ſet apart, and unfeignedly travelling in the neceſſary Knowledg of Chriſt, to the Profit of his Church hereafter, refuſe not for your needy Comfort to accompliſh your Deſires; ſo ye will not interrupt our Studies, urge our removing, and bring us thither, feeling here already the exceeding Goodneſs of God towards us: unleſs ye think, and that before God, that our Abſence on the one part ſhould greatly hinder, and our Preſence on the other ſide very much further your godly Attempts already begun, for the furniſhing of that Church ſo happily obtain'd, to all our comforts, for the which in our daily Prayers we give God moſt hearty and humble thanks. If by this doing ye give occaſion to break our godly Fellowſhip, to hurt our Studies, to diſſolve our Exerciſes, and utterly to avert our godly Purpoſes; ye have to anſwer even unto him which is a faithful and juſt Judg, and will give to every man according to his Deeds. Wherefore, dear Brethren, in conſideration that we be all not only of one Nation, but alſo Members of one myſtical Body in Jeſus Chriſt our Head, and ought therefore eſpecially in this time of Exile, and moſt worthily deſerv'd Croſs, by all means poſſible one to aid and comfort another, beſeeching God for his mercy's ſake to aſſuage his Wrath, to give us repenting Hearts, and patient Continuance to our Brethren at home, with pity to behold his Vineyard there ſpoil'd and trodden under foot, and to call us home after his fatherly Chaſtiſement eftſoons fruitfully to work in the ſame: We briefly make this anſwer. If upon the receit hereof, ye ſhall without cloke or forg'd pretence, but only to ſeek Chriſt, advertiſe us by your Letters, that our being there is ſo needful, as ye have already ſignify'd, and that we may altogether ſerve and praiſe God as freely and as uprightly (whereof private Letters receiv'd lately from *Frankfort* make us much to doubt) as the Order laſt taken in the Church of *England* permitteth and preſcribeth (for we are fully determin'd to admit and uſe no other) then about Eaſter next (for before we cannot) God proſpering us, and no juſt cauſe or occaſion to the contrary growing in the mean time, whereby our intent may be defeated, with one conſent we agree to join our ſelves unto you, and moſt willingly to do ſuch ſervice there, as our poor Condition and Calling doth permit. In the mean time, we ſhall moſt intirely beſeech Almighty God ſo to aſſiſt you with his holy Spirit, that your doings may help to confound Popery, ſet forth God's glory, and ſhew ſuch Light in the face of the world, that both the Wicked may be aſham'd, having no juſt cauſe of Reproach, and alſo our weak Brethren confirm'd and won to the Truth. From *Zurick*, this 23d of *October*, 1554.

*Your loving Friends,*

*Robert Horne,*
*Richard Chambers,*
*Thomas Lever,*
*Nicholas Karvile,*
*John Mullings,*
*Thomas Spencer,*
*Thomas Bentham,*
*William Cole,*
*Henry Cockraft,*
*John Parkhuſte,*
*Roger Kelbe,*
*Robert Beamont,*
*Laurence Humphrey,*
*John Pretio.*

About this time Letters were receiv'd from Mr. *Haddon*, wherein he deſir'd, for divers conſiderations, to be excuſed for coming to take the charge upon him at *Frankfort*.

The 24th of *October* came Mr. *Whitehead* to *Frankfort*, and at the requeſt of the Congregation he took the Charge for a time, and preach'd upon the Epiſtle to the *Romans*.

About the fourth of *November* came Mr. *Chambers* to *Frankfort*, with Letters from *Zurick*, which were partly an Anſwer to another Letter written unto them from *Frankfort* the 26th of *September*, which was as followeth.

*Grace, Mercy, and Peace, &c.*

AFTER long hope of your Anſwer to our Letter, we thought good to put you once again in remembrance. And as we in our former, ſo now in this alſo, in God's behalf, moſt earneſtly require you deeply to weigh this matter of God's calling, and the Neceſſity of this Congregation. We have throughly learned your Eſtate, and alſo made you privy to ours, and eftſoon wiſh we might be together to bewail our

Sins paſt, to pray together for our poor Brethren that are under Antichriſt's Captivity, to comfort, inſtruct, and profit one another; and finally to beſtow the time of our Perſecution together, and redeem theſe days which are ſo evil. And if any deſire of Knowledg ſtay you, certainly it would not be ſo little increas'd here that you ſhould juſtly repent. For as touching the Company of Learned Men (as you cannot here be without) ſo that the thing which chiefly you can require of learned mens Judgments, and Knowledg out of their Works, you may ſuck moſt plentifully, whereof with us you can lack no ſtore. We need not, Brethren, to make long diſcourſe in reaſoning, for we partly know that God's Spirit, which worketh in your Hearts, ſhall prevail with you more than diſputing; not doubting but the ſame holy Spirit knocketh at the door of your Conſciences, not only to move you of our behalf, but to admoniſh you to avoid the Inconveniences of Talks, and the Offences of our poor Brethren of *England*, whoſe marvelling cannot otherwiſe be ſatisfy'd. Remember therefore, Dearly Beloved, that we write as Brethren to our dear Brethren, who altogether ſeek our Father's Honour, our own Diſcharge, and the Comfort of our afflicted Countrymen.

The ſame ſweet Father grant for his Chriſt's ſake, that we may aſſemble together, to the building of this his Temple, to lett the falſe Workmen and Underminers, and diligently in our Vocation to help to the furniſhing of the ſame, till it riſe to Perfection. Fare ye well in Chriſt. From *Frankfort* the 16th of *September*, 1554.

*Your loving Friends, as in the Letter afore,*
*ſo under this ſubſcrib'd.*

The Anſwer to them of *Frankfort* was as followeth:

WE being plac'd here in quietneſs, with many and great Commodities for our Studies, tending all to Edification of Chriſt's Church, have, unto the earneſt Requeſts of your Letters unto us, anſwer'd in our Letters unto you, that to diſcharge all Duty in conſcience, and to increaſe and inſtruct your Congregation at *Frankfort*, with our Preſence and Diligence, will not deny to remove from hence unto you; ſo that you charg'd of Conſcience do conſtantly affirm, that ye have ſo great need of us, as by Letters was ſignify'd, and certainly aſſure us that we with you may and ſhall uſe the ſame Order of Service concerning Religion, which was in *England* laſt ſet forth by King *Edward*. And now alſo for the better underſtanding of ſuch Requeſts and charitable

Performance of Duty, upon both parts deſir'd and procur'd Mr. *Richard Chambers* our beſt Friend, a Man moſt charitable and careful for the Chriſtian Congregation, to take pains to travel unto you, and with you for us: ſo that this matter, as it is begun and mov'd in writing, may be fully debated and concluded by his faithful means and diligence. For we be all agreed, and do purpoſe to allow and perform whatſoever he ſhall ſay and promiſe in our names unto you. Wherefore, we beſeech you in God's name conſcionably to conſider the Eſtate and Condition both of you and us; and if thereupon you conclude with the ſaid Mr. *Chambers* of our coming unto you, then let him not lack your charitable Help in neceſſary proviſion for our continuance with you. And thus beſeeching God that your doings may tend to his Glory, and the ſpeedy Comfort of his afflicted Church, we wiſh you all Health and Increaſe of true Knowledg in Chriſt our Lord and Saviour. From *Zurick* this 27th of *October*, 1554.

*Yonr loving Friends, as in the Letters before.*

When Mr. *Chambers* had confer'd with the Congregation, and ſaw that they could not aſſure him the full Uſe of the *Engliſh* Book without the hazarding of their Church, he prepar'd to depart from whence he came; and by this time was Mr. *Knox* come from *Geneva*, and choſen Miniſter upon the receit of a Letter ſent him from the Congregation, which Letter was as followeth:

WE have receiv'd Letters from our Brethren of *Straſburg*, but not in ſuch ſort and ample wiſe as we look'd for; whereupon we aſſembled together, in the Holy Spirit we hope, and have with one Voice and Conſent choſen you ſo particularly to be one of the Miniſters of our Congregation here, to preach unto us the moſt lively Word of God, according to the gift that God hath given you; foraſmuch as we have here, thro the merciful Goodneſs of God, a Church to be congregated together in the name of Chriſt, and be all of one Body, and alſo being of one Nation, Tongue, and Country. And at this preſent having need of ſuch a one as you, we do deſire you, and alſo require you in the name of God not to deny us, nor to refuſe theſe our Requeſts; but that you will aid, help, and aſſiſt us with your Preſence in this our good and godly Enterpriſe, which we have took in hand to the glory of God, and the profit of his Congregation, and the poor Sheep of Chriſt

*Mark the calling of* Knox *to the Paſtorſhip.*

Chriſt diſpers'd abroad, who with you and like Preſences, would come hither and be of one Fold, whereas now they wander abroad as loſt Sheep without any Guide. We miſtruſt not but that you will joyfully accept this calling. Farewel. From *Frankfort* the 24th of *September.*

*Your loving Brethren,*

*William Wittingham,*
*John Bale,*
*Thomas Cole,*
*William Williams,*
*George Chidley,*
*William Hammon,*
*Thomas Steward,*
*Thomas Wood,*
*Edmond Sutton,*
*John Stanton,*
*William Walton,*
*Jaſper Swift,*
*John Geofrie,*
*John Gray,*
*Michael Gill,*
*John Makebray,*
*John Samford,*
*John Wood,*
*Thomas Sorby,*
*Anthony Cariar.*
*Hugh Alford.*

Now to return to the Tenour of the Letter which the Congregation of *Frankfort* wrote by Mr. *Chambers* to the Students of *Zurick.*

WE have receiv'd your two ſeveral Letters, the one dated the 13th of *October*, ſent us from *Strasburg*, and the other the 27th of the ſame, by the hands of your dear Friend Mr. *Chambers*; and have confer'd with him at large touching the Contents thereof. And whenas after divers Aſſemblies and long Debatings, the ſaid Mr. *Chambers* perceiv'd that we could not in all points warrant the full Uſe of the Book of Service (which ſeemeth to be your full ſcope and mark) and alſo weighing in Conſcience the great Benefit that God hath in this City offer'd to our whole Nation, he not only rejoic'd at the ſame, but alſo promis'd to travel in perſuading you to the furtherance thereof. As touching the effect of the Book, we deſire the Execution thereof as much as you (ſo far as God's Word doth command it) but as for the unprofitable Ceremonies, as well by his conſent as by ours, they are not to be uſed. And altho they were tolerable (as ſome are not) yet being in a ſtrange Commonwealth, we could not be ſuffer'd to put them in uſe; and better it were they ſhould never be practiſed, than they ſhould be the Subverſion of our Church, which ſhould fall in great hazard by uſing them.

The matter is not ours more than yours (except any excel others in godly Zeal) but both wiſh God's Honour.

If a larger gate be open'd there to the ſame than to us, upon your perſuaſions, ye ſhall not find us to draw back: for this is that Neceſſity, Brethren, that may not be neglected,

lected, if we wiſh the Comfort and gathering together of our diſpers'd Brethren. If any think that the not uſing of the Book in all points ſhou'd weaken our Godly Fathers and Brethrens Hands, or elſe any thing deface the worthy Ordinances and Laws of our Sovereign Lord of moſt famous memory, King *Edward* the Sixth; he ſeemeth either little to weigh the matter, or elſe, letted thro Ignorance, knoweth not that even they themſelves have, upon conſiderations of Circumſtances, alter'd heretofore many things as touching the ſame: and if God had not in theſe wicked days otherwiſe determin'd, wou'd hereafter have chang'd more, yea and in our caſe we doubt not but that they wou'd have done the like. Theſe few Lines, concerning both our Communications, we have accordingly written unto you, referring the reſt to the diſcretion of our good Friend Mr. *Chambers*, who knoweth that we have ſhew'd our ſelves moſt comfortable in all things that ſtandeth in our Powers, and moſt deſirous of your Companys according to our former Letters. The Spirit of God move your Hearts to do that which ſhall be moſt to his Glory, and the Comfort of your Brethren.

*At* Frankfort *this* Your loving Friends, *&c.*
*15th of Nov.*

The 28th of *Novemb.* Mr. *Chambers* came again to *Frankfort* from *Strasburg*, and with him Mr. *Grindall*, with Letters from the learned Men there, ſubſcrib'd with ſixteen of their hands; which Letter was as followeth.

WHen we do conſider what inward Comfort it were for the faithful People of *England*, now diſpers'd for the Goſpel, and wandring abroad in ſtrange Countrys as Sheep without Paſtor, to be gather'd together into one Congregation, that with one Mouth, one Mind, and one Spirit they might glorify God: We have at all times, and do preſently think it our Dutys, not only in heart to wiſh that thing, but alſo to labour by all means, ſo much as in us lieth, to bring the ſame to paſs. And having now perfect Intelligence of the good Minds which the Magiſtrates of *Frankfort* bear towards you, and others our ſcatter'd Countrymen; and alſo underſtanding of the free Grant of a Church unto us, wherein we may together ſerve God; and not doubting of their farther Friendſhip in permitting us frankly to uſe our Religion according to that godly Order ſet forth and receiv'd in *England*, we both give God Thanks for ſo great a Benefit, and alſo think it not fit to refuſe ſo friendly an Offer, or to let ſlip ſo good an occaſion. Therefore, neither doubting of their good furtherance hereunto, nor yet diſtruſting your good conformity and ready deſires in reducing the *Engliſh* Church, now begun there, to its former Perfection of the laſt had in *England*, ſo far as poſſibly can be attain'd, leſt by much altering of the ſame we ſhou'd ſeem to condemn the chief Authors thereof; who as they now ſuffer, ſo are they moſt ready to confirm that fact with the price of their Bloods, and ſhou'd alſo both give occaſion to our Adverſarys to accuſe our Doctrine of Imperfection, and us of Mutability, and the Godly to doubt of that Truth wherein before they were perſuaded, and to hinder their coming hither, which before they had purpos'd. For the avoiding of theſe, and the obtaining of the other, mov'd hereunto in Conſcience, and provok'd by your gentle Letters, we have thought it expedient to ſend over unto you our belov'd Brethren the Bringers hereof, to travel with the Magiſtrates and you concerning the Premiſes; whoſe Wiſdom, Learning and godly Zeal, as they be known unto you, ſo their Doings in this ſhall fully take place with us. And if they obtain that, which we truſt will not be deny'd at no hands, then we intend (God willing) to be with you the firſt of *February* next, there to help to ſet in order and ſtabliſh that Church accordingly; and ſo long altogether to remain with you as ſhall be neceſſary, or until juſt occaſion ſhall call ſome of us away.

And we doubt not but that our Brethren of *Zurick*, *Emden*, *Densburge*, &c. will do the ſame accordingly, as we have pray'd them by our Letters, truſting that you by yours will make like requeſt. Farewel. From *Strasburg* the 23d of *Novemb.*

Your loving Friends,

*James Haddon,*
*Edwin Sands,*
*Edmond Grindall,*
*John Huntington,*
*Guido Eaten,*
*John Geofrie,*

*John Pedder,*
*Thomas Eaten,*
*Michael Reymuger,*
*Auguſt. Bradbridge,*
*Arthur Saul,*

*Thomas Steward,*
*Chriſt. Goodman,*
*Humphrey Alcocſon,*
*Thomas Lakin,*
*Thomas Crafton.*

This Letter was read to the Congregation, at which time Mr. *Grindall* declar'd the occaſion of their coming, which (among other things) was chiefly for the eſtabliſhing of the Book of *England*; not that they meant (as he ſaid) to have it ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd, but that ſuch Ceremonys and Things, which the Country cou'd not bear, might well be omitted; ſo that they might have the Subſtance and Effect thereof.

Mr. *Knox* and *Wittingham* ask'd them what they meant by the Subſtance of the Book? It was anſwer'd by the other, that they had no Commiſſion to diſpute thoſe Matters, but they requeſted that the Congregation would anſwer to certain Interrogatorys, which were theſe: Firſt, that they might know what parts of the Book they wou'd admit; the Second was for a ſeveral Church; and the Third, what aſſurance they might have for their quiet habitation. To the firſt, Anſwer was made, that what they cou'd prove of that Book to ſtand with God's Word, and the Country permit, that ſhould be granted them. To the ſecond, which was for a Church, it was told them, that they underſtood by the Magiſtrates, the time ſerv'd not to move any ſuch matter till the Council brake up at *Ausburg*. To the third it was ſaid, that a general Grant was made at their firſt coming thither to the whole Nation, and the freedom of the City offer'd to all ſuch as were deſirous of it, in as large and ample manner as they cou'd require; which was to them aſſurance ſufficient.

Theſe three Queſtions thus anſwer'd, Mr. *Chambers* and Mr. *Grindall* depart back again with a Letter from the Congregation, which was as followeth.

*Grace, Mercy, and Peace*, &c.

As it was ever moſt true, ſo at this preſent we feel moſt ſenſibly, that whereſoever God layeth the foundation to build his Glory, there he continueth till he bring the ſame to a perfect Work: All Thanks and Praiſe be unto him therefore that hath mov'd your Hearts ſo, as in no point ye ſeem to forſlow your diligence to the furtherance of the ſame. And as the Work is of moſt Excellency, ſo the Adverſarys ceaſe not moſt craftily to undermine it, or at the leaſt, thro falſe Reports and defacing of the Work begun, to ſtate the Labourers which ſhou'd travel in the finiſhing thereof. But Truth ever cleareth it ſelf, and as the Sun conſumeth the Clouds, ſo Miſreports by Trial are confounded. Our Brethren ſent from you can certify you at length touching the Particulars of your Letter, to whom we have in all things agreed which ſeem'd expedient for the ſtate of this Congregation. As for certain Ceremonys, which the Order of the Country will not bear, we neceſſarily omit with as little alteration as is poſſible (which in your Letters ye require) ſo that no Adverſary is ſo impudent that dare either blame our Doctrine of Imperfection, or us of Mutability, except he be altogether wilfully ignorant, rather ſeeking how to find faults than to amend them. Neither do we diſſent from them which lie at the Ranſom of their Bloods, for the Doctrine whereof they have made a moſt worthy Confeſſion.

And yet we think not that any godly Man will ſtand to the Death in the defence of Ceremonys, which (as the Book ſpecifieth) upon juſt Cauſes may be alter'd and chang'd.

And if the not full uſing of the Book cauſe the Godly to doubt in that Truth wherein before they were perſuaded, and to ſtay their coming hither, according as they purpos'd; either it ſignifieth that they were very ſlenderly taught, which for breach of a Ceremony will refuſe ſuch a ſingular Benefit, or elſe that you have heard them miſreported by ſome falſe Brethren, who, to hinder this worthy Enterprize, ſpare not to ſow in every place ſtore of ſuch poor Reaſons. Laſt of all it remaineth that ye write, that the firſt of *February* next you will come to help to ſet in order and eſtabliſh this Church accordingly: which thing, as we moſt wiſh for your Company's ſake, and for that ye might ſee our godly Orders already here obſerv'd; ſo we put you out of doubt, that for to appoint a Journy for the eſtabliſhing of Ceremonys, ſhou'd be more to your Charges than any general Profit, except ye were determin'd to remain with us longer than two months, as ye writ to our Countrymen at *Densburg* and *Emden*; which Letters notwithſtanding are now ſtaid, and as appeareth we never the near.

We refer the reſt to our Brethren, Mr. *Chambers* and Mr. *Grindall*, who by their diligent Inquiſition have learned ſo far of our ſtate, as we wrote unto you in our former Letters; that is, that we have a Church freely granted to preach God's Word purely, to miniſter the Sacraments ſincerely, and to execute Diſcipline truly. And as touching our Book, we will practiſe it ſo far as God's Word doth aſſure it, and the State of this Country permit. Farewel. At *Frankfort* this 3d of *December*.

Your loving Friends,

*George Whetnal,*
*Thomas Whetnal,*
*John Knox,*
*John Bale,*
*William Wittingham,*
*Edward Sutton,*
*Thomas Wood,*
*William Williams,*
*John Stanton,*
*John Samford,*
*John Fox,*
*William Keth,*
*John Makebray,*
*William Walton,*
*Michael Gill,*
*Laurence Kent,*
*John Hollingham.*

The

### *The Anſwer to this Letter from* Strasburg *was as followeth.*

*Grace, Mercy, and Peace.*

WE have receiv'd your Letters, and alſo your Anſwer in writing concerning certain Articles, and do perceive as well by the ſame, as by Mr. *Chambers* and Mr. *Grindall* your ſtate. But foraſmuch as your Opinion is, that the time doth not preſently ſerve to move the Magiſtrates in thoſe requeſts, the obtaining whereof was the principal cauſe of our ſending unto you: We cannot at this preſent condeſcend upon any general Meeting, at any certain time, either to remain with you, or otherwiſe; and therefore if you ſhall certainly perceive a time convenient that the Magiſtrates may be travel'd withal, as well for the good and quiet Habitation of the Comers, and eſpecially Students, as alſo a ſeveral Church, and to know whether the exerciſe of the Book ſhall be us'd, ſuch we mean as no reaſonable Man ſhall juſtly reprove, and that the certainty of theſe matters be known to the Magiſtrates hands.

Then (if you can let us have Intelligence) we will farther conſult what is to be done on our Part, truſting God ſhall direct us to do ſo as may be moſt to his Glory in the end, howſoever the preſent time ſhall judg of it. From *Strasburg* this 13th day of *December.*

Your loving Friends, *&c.*
as in the Letters before.

When this Letter was read to the Congregation, they requeſted, that foraſmuch as the learned Men cou'd not condeſcend upon any general and certain time of meeting, as now appear'd by their Letters, they might conclude upon ſome certain Order by common Conſent ſtill to continue, and that without farther delay, and alſo to have the Holy Communion miniſtred, which the moſt part earneſtly deſir'd. At length it was agreed that the Order of *Geneva* (which then was already printed in *Engliſh*, and ſome Copys there among them) ſhou'd take place, as an Order moſt godly, and fartheſt off from Superſtition. But Mr. *Knox* being ſpoken unto, as well to put that Order in practice, as to miniſter the Communion, refus'd to do either the one or the other; affirming, that for many Conſiderations he cou'd not conſent that the ſame Order ſhou'd be practis'd, till the learned Men of *Strasburg, Zurich, Emden,* &c. were made privy. Neither yet wou'd he miniſter the Communion by the Book of *England*, for that there were things in it plac'd (as he ſaid) only by warrant of Man's Authority, or no ground in God's Word for the ſame, and had alſo a long time very ſuperſtitiouſly in the Maſs been wickedly abus'd. But if he might not be ſuffer'd to miniſter the Sacraments according to his Conſcience, he then requeſted that ſome other might miniſter the Sacraments, and he wou'd only preach: If neither cou'd be admitted, he beſought that he might be diſcharg'd. But to that the Congregation wou'd in no wiſe conſent.

Whilſt theſe things were thus in handling, came Mr. *Lever* (before elected) who aſſembling the Congregation, requeſted that he might, with their Conſents, appoint ſuch an Order as ſhou'd be both godly, without reſpect of the Book of *Geneva* or any other; requeſting farther, that foraſmuch as that Office was of ſo great Importance, and that he had not been in the like before, that he might between that and Eaſter have a Tryal of them, and they of him, and ſo at the end of that term either take or refuſe: which time of Tryal, as it was willingly granted him, ſo when they underſtood that the Order which he wou'd place and uſe was not altogether ſuch as was fit for a right reform'd Church, they wou'd in no wiſe yield to the ſame.

*Knox*, *Wittingham* and others, perceiving that theſe Beginnings wou'd grow to ſomewhat, if it were not ſtaid in time, drew forth a Plat of the whole Book of *England* into the Latin Tongue, ſending the ſame to Mr. *Calvin* of *Geneva*, and requeſting his judgment therein, and ſhewing him that ſome of their Countrymen went about to force them to the ſame, and wou'd admit no other, ſaying, that it was an Order moſt abſolute, and that if they ever came into their Country, they wou'd do their beſt to eſtabliſh it again. Now followeth the Deſcription.

## *A Deſcription of the Liturgy, or Book of Service, which is us'd in* England.

FIRST of all Morning-Prayer offereth it ſelf: The Miniſter having put on a white Garment (which they call a Surplice) beginneth with ſome Sentence of holy Scripture; as for example, *If we ſhall ſay that we have no Sin, we deceive our ſelves*, &c. or ſome ſuch of like ſort; then he taketh in hand the Exhortation, which ſtirreth up to a Confeſſion of Sins, which the Miniſter pronounceth with a loud Voice, the People ſaying after him. To this is added an Abſolution, and when theſe things are done, he rehearſeth the Lord's Prayer, and afterward, *Lord, open thou my Lips! And my Mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy Praiſe. O God, be ready to be my Help!* &c. Then, *Come and let us ſing unto the Lord*, &c. By and by alſo there follow three Pſalms together at the end of every one. Then followeth the firſt Leſſon, which containeth a whole Chapter of the Old Teſtament. After this Leſſon they ſay or ſing, *We praiſe the Lord*, or, *Bleſſed be the Lord*, &c. Then another Leſſon out of the New Teſtament, unleſs peradventure the Solemnization of ſome high Feaſt hath other ſet and appointed Leſſons. Now in Cathedral Churches they utter their Leſſons in plain Song, and then afterwards is *Benedictus* added: This Book warneth that they keep this Order throughout the whole year. Afterwards the Creed is pronounc'd by the Miniſter (all the People in the mean time ſtanding up) afterwards, falling down upon their Knees, the Miniſter ſaith, *The Lord be with you!* The Anſwer, *And with thy Spirit.*

Then *Lord have mercy upon us! Chriſt have mercy upon us! Lord have mercy upon us!* &c. *Our Father*, &c. pronounc'd out aloud of all, with all boldneſs. Then the Miniſter, when he ſtandeth up, ſaith, *O Lord ſhew us thy Mercy!* The Anſwer, *And give unto us thy ſaving Health. O Lord ſave the King! In the day wherein we ſhall call upon thee. Indue thy Miniſters with Righteouſneſs! And make thy choſen People joyful. O Lord ſave thy People! And bleſs thine Inheritance. Give Peace in our time O Lord!* &c. At length Collects are had in place of a Concluſion; the firſt for the Day, the ſecond for Peace, the laſt is for the obtaining of Grace. Now the Evening-Prayers are ſaid in a manner as the other are, ſaving that after the firſt Leſſon followeth, *My Soul doth magnify the Lord.* After the ſecond Leſſon, *Now Lord*, &c. and inſtead of that Collect, *God, which art the Author of Peace*, is us'd, *O God, from whom all holy Deſires*, &c. Beſides, there is a caution added, that all Miniſters ſhall exerciſe themſelves continually as well in Morning Prayers as Evening Prayers, except perhaps by ſtudy in Divinity, or ſome other Buſineſs, they be greatly and neceſſarily lett or hinder'd. Beſides, upon every Sabbath-day, Wedneſday and Friday, there are yet in uſe certain Suffrages deviſ'd of Pope *Gregory*, which begin after this manner: *O God the Father of Heaven, have mercy upon us miſerable Sinners! O God the Son, Redeemer of the World*, &c. only leaving out the Invocation of Saints, otherwiſe we uſe a certain conjuring of God: *By the Myſtery of his Incarnation, by his holy Nativity and Circumciſion, by his Baptiſm, Faſting, and Temptation; by his Agony and bloody Sweat,* &

&c. yea, it comprehendeth in plain words a Prayer to be deliver'd from ſudden Death, the People anſwering to the end of every Clauſe, either *Spare us, good Lord!* or elſe, *Good Lord, deliver us!* or, *We beſeech thee to hear us, good Lord! O Lamb of God, that takeſt away the Sins of the World,* is thrice repeated: Then *Lord have mercy upon us* thrice, and then the Lord's Prayer, with this Prayer alſo, *O Lord, deal not with us after our Sins*, to the ſame adjoin'd; paſſing over ſome things, leſt we ſhou'd ſeem to cite all thoſe Droſſes which remain ſtill among us.

Now the manner of the Supper is thus: The number of three at the leaſt is counted a fit number to communicate, and yet it is permitted (the Peſtilence or ſome other common Sickneſs being among the People) the Miniſter alone may communicate with the ſick Man in his Houſe. Firſt therefore the Miniſter muſt be prepar'd after this manner, in a white linen Garment (as in ſaying the other Service he is appointed) and muſt ſtand at the North ſide of the Table. Then is had the Lord's Prayer after the cuſtom, then he reciteth the Collect, and after follow in order the Ten Commandments, but ſo notwithſtanding, that every one of the People may anſwer, *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this Law.* After the rehearſal of the Commandments, the Collect of the day (as it is call'd) and another for the King is read. By and by the Epiſtle and Goſpel followeth, to wit, ſuch as the Calendar appointeth for that day. And here in this place it is to be noted, that every Holiday hath its Collect, Epiſtle and Goſpel, which fill ſeventy three great Leaves of the Book, when the reſt fill ſcarce fifty, for all Holidays are now in like uſe as were among the Papiſts, only very few excepted.

Then he goeth forwards to the Creed, and after that to the Sermon (if there be any) afterwards the Pariſh-Prieſt biddeth the Holidays and Faſts on their Eves, if there be any that Week. And here the Book warneth that none defraud the Pariſh-Prieſt of his Due or Right, eſpecially on thoſe Feaſt-days that are dedicated to Offerings. Then followeth a Prayer for the State of the Church-Militant, and that not without a long heap and mixture of Matters, until they come (after a certain Confeſſion of Sins) to *lift up your Hearts*; the People anſwering, *We give Thanks to the Lord. Let us give Thanks to our Lord God*; the Anſwer, *It is meet and right ſo to do. It is very meet, right, and our bounden Duty,* &c. until they come to that Clauſe, *O Lord, holy Father,* &c. and ſo the Preface according to the Feaſt is added. Afterwards he ſaith, *Therefore with Angels and Archangels*, and ſo endeth with *Holy, holy, holy Lord God,* till he come to *Hoſanna in the higheſt.* Now the Prieſt boweth his Knee, acknowledging our Unworthineſs in the name of all them that ſhall receive; and ſetting out God's Mercy, he beſeecheth God that our Bodys may be made clean by his Body, and that our Souls may be waſh'd thro his Blood. And then he again ſtandeth up, and taketh in hand afreſh another Prayer appointed for this purpoſe, in which are contain'd the words of the Inſtitution; all which being done, he firſt communicateth: then by and by he ſaith to another, kneeling, *Take, and eat this, in remembrance that Chriſt died for thee, and feed on him in thy Heart by Faith with Thankſgiving.*

Now about the end the Lord's Prayer is us'd again, the Miniſter ſaying it aloud, and all the People following; to conclude, they have a giving of Thanks in the end, with Glory to God in the higheſt, as it was us'd among the Papiſts: If it happen that there be no Sermon, only a few things are omitted, but all other things are done in order aforeſaid.

In Baptiſm the Godfathers are demanded in the name of the Child, *Whether they renounce the Devil and all his Works, the Luſts of the World,* &c. and they anſwer, *I renounce them.* Then, *Whether they believe the Articles of the Faith?* which being confeſs'd, *Wilt thou* (ſaith he, turning himſelf to both the Witneſſes) *be baptiz'd into this Faith?* and they ſay, *Yea, I will.* After a few things rehears'd, he taketh the Child and dippeth it in, but warily and diſcreetly, as it is in the Book; upon whoſe Forehead alſo he ſhall make a Croſs, in token forſooth that when he is old he ſhall not be aſham'd to confeſs the Faith of Chriſt crucify'd. Afterward, ſending away the Godfathers and Godmothers, he chargeth them *that they bring the Child to be confirm'd of the Biſhop as ſoon as he can ſay the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.* And ſeeing there be many Cauſes, as the Book ſaith, which ſhou'd move them to the Confirmation of Children, this forſooth of all others is the weightieſt, that by Impoſition of Hands they may receive Strength and Defence againſt all Temptations of Sin, and the Aſſaults of the World and the Devil; becauſe that when Children come to that Age, partly by the frailty of their own Fleſh, partly by the aſſaults of the World and the Devil, they begin to be in danger. And leſt any ſhou'd think any Error to be in this Confirmation, therefore they take a certain Pamphlet of a Catechiſm, which conſiſteth of the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and all this is diſpatch'd in leſs than two Leaves.

To theſe is join'd their manner of Marriage, of which, that we may paſs over many petty Ceremonys, theſe Follys who can ſuffer? The Husband layeth down a Ring upon the Book, which the Miniſter taking, he giveth it in his hand, and biddeth him to put it on the fourth finger of his Wife's left hand: Then he uſeth this form of words, *With this Ring* (ſaith he) *I thee wed, with my Body I thee worſhip, with all my worldly Goods I thee endue: In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.*

A little after the Miniſter ſaith to the new marry'd Perſons, kneeling before the Lord's Table, *Lord have mercy upon us, Chriſt have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us; Our Father which art,* &c. *Lord ſave thy Servant and thy Handmaid,* &c. and ſo a few things being rehears'd, they muſt be brought to the Lord's Supper. The Viſitation of the Sick is after this manner, *Peace be to this Houſe.* The Anſwer, *And to all that dwell in the ſame. Lord have mercy upon us,* &c. *Our Father,* &c. *Lord ſave thy Servant.* Anſwer, *Which truſteth in thee. Send forth thy help from thy holy Hill, and with ſpeed ſave him,* &c. As in the other Prefaces with Queſtions and Anſwers. Of the Burial:

The Prieſt meeteth the Corps at the entrance of the Churchyard, either ſinging or ſoftly pronouncing, *I am the Reſurrection and the Life,* &c. *I know that my Redeemer liveth,* Job 19. Being come to the Grave, it is ſaid, *Man born of a Woman,* Job 14. When the Earth is thrown in, *We commit* (ſaith he) *Earth to Earth, Duſt to Duſt,* &c. *the Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. I heard a Voice from Heaven, ſaying, Bleſſed are the Dead which die in the Lord, Lord have mercy upon us,* &c.

The Purification of Women in Childbed, which they call giving of Thanks, is not only in all things with us almoſt common with the Papiſts, but alſo with the Jews, becauſe they are commanded inſtead of a Lamb or Dove to offer Mony.

Knox *and* Wittingham *aſham'd to open ſome things.*

Other things, not ſo much Shame it ſelf, as a certain kind of Pity compelleth us to keep cloſe; in the mean ſeaſon, nothing diminiſhing the Honour due to thoſe reverend Men, who partly being hindred by thoſe times, and by the Obſtinacy, and alſo multitude of Adverſaries (to whom nothing was ever delightful beſides their own Corruptions) being as it were overflown, did always in their Mind, continually as much as they cou'd, ſtrive to more perfect things.

*Note, That this Deſcription is very favourably put down; if ye confer it with the Book of Order in all points, and the Uſage of the Book in many Churches of this Realm, you can confeſs no leſs. And hereof ye may gather what Mr.* Calvin *would have written, if they had noted all the Abuſes of the ſame.*

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## *The Anſwer and Judgment of that famous and excellent learned Man, Mr.* John Calvin, *the late Paſtor of* Geneva, *touching the Book of* England, *after that he had perus'd the ſame faithfully tranſlated out of Latin by Mr.* Wittingham.

*To the godly and learned Men, Mr.* John Knox, *and Mr.* William Wittingham, *his faithful Brethren at* Frankfort, *&c.*

THIS thing truly grieveth me very much, and it is a great ſhame that Contention ſhou'd ariſe among Brethren, baniſh'd and driven out of their Country for one Faith, and for that cauſe which only ought to have holden you bound together, as it were with an holy Band, in this your Diſperſion. For what might you do better in this dolorous and miſerable Plague, than (being pull'd violently from your Country) to procure your ſelves a Church, which ſhou'd receive and nouriſh you (being join'd together in Minds and Language) in her motherly Lap? But now for ſome Men to ſtrive as touching the Form of Prayer and for Ceremonys, as tho ye were at Reſt and Proſperity, and to ſuffer that to be an Impediment that ye cannot there join into one body of the Church (as I think) it is too much out of ſeaſon.

Yet notwithſtanding I allow their Conſtancy which ſtrive for a juſt cauſe, being forc'd againſt their wills unto Contention; I do worthily condemn frowardneſs, which doth hinder and ſtay the holy carefulneſs of reforming the Church.

And as I behave my ſelf gentle and tractable in mean things (as external Ceremonys) ſo do I not always judg it profitable to give place to the fooliſh ſtoutneſs, which will forſake nothing of their own wonted Cuſtom. In the Liturgy of *England*, I ſee that there were many tolerable fooliſh things; by theſe words I mean, that there was not the Purity which was to be deſir'd. Theſe Vices, tho they cou'd not at the firſt day be amended, yet ſeeing there was manifeſt Impiety, they were for a ſeaſon to be tolerated: Therefore it was lawful to begin of ſuch Rudiments or Abcedarys,

*Many tolerable fooliſh things in the Book, by* Calvin'*s judgment.*

cedarys, but ſo, that it behov'd the learned, grave and godly Miniſters of Chriſt to enterprize farther, and to ſet forth ſomething more fil'd from Ruſt, and purer. If godly Religion had flouriſh'd till this day in *England*, there ought to have been a thing better corrected, and many things clean taken away. Now when theſe Principles be overthrown, a Church muſt be ſet up in another place, where ye may freely make an Order again, which ſhall be apparent to be moſt commodious to the Uſe and Edification of the Church. I cannot tell what they mean which ſo greatly delight in the leavings of Popiſh Dregs: They love the things whereunto they are accuſtom'd: Firſt of all, this is a thing both trifling and childiſh; furthermore, this new Order far differeth from a Change.

*The Book trifling and childiſh by* Calvin's *Judgment*

Therefore, as I would not have you fierce over them whoſe Infirmity will not ſuffer to aſcend an higher ſtep; ſo wou'd I advertiſe others, that they pleaſe not themſelves too much in their fooliſhneſs; alſo, that by their frowardneſs, they do not lett the courſe of the holy Building: Laſt of all, leſt that fooliſh vain-glory ſteal them away. For what cauſe have they to contend, except it be for that they are aſham'd to give place to better things? But I ſpeak in vain to them which perchance eſteem me not ſo well, as they will vouchſafe to admit the Counſel that cometh from ſuch an Author. If they fear the evil Rumour in *England*, as tho they had fallen from that Religion which was the cauſe of their Baniſhment, they are far deceiv'd; for this true and ſincere Religion will rather compel them that there remain, faithfully to conſider into what deep Gulf they have fallen; for their Downfal ſhall more grievouſly wound them, when they perceive you going forward beyond midcourſe, from the which they are turn'd. Farewel, dearly beloved Brethren, and faithful Servants of Chriſt, the Lord defend and govern you. From *Geneva* this 22d of *January*, *Anno* 1555.

Yours,

*John Calvin.*

When the Letter of *Calvin*'s was read to them of the Congregation, it ſo wrought in the hearts of many, that they were not before ſo ſtout to maintain all the parts of the Book of *England*, as afterwards they were bent againſt it. But now to return: Whilſt theſe things were in doing, the Congregation (as you have heard before) cou'd not agree upon any certain Order; till after long debating to and fro, it was concluded,

ded, that Mr. *Knox*, Mr. *Wittingham*, Mr. *Gilby*, Mr. *Fox*, and Mr. *T. Cole* ſhou'd draw forth ſome Order meet for their ſtate and time; which thing was by them accompliſh'd and offer'd to the Congregation (being the ſame Order of *Geneva* which is now in print.) This Order was very well liked of many; but ſuch as were bent to the Book of *England* could not abide it: yea, Contention grew at length ſo hot, and the one Party which ſought Sincerity, ſo ſore charg'd with new Fangledneſs and Singularity, and to be Stirrers of Contention and Unquietneſs, that Mr. *Gilby* with a godly Grief (as well appear'd) kneel'd down before them, and beſought them with tears to reform their Judgments, ſolemnly proteſting that in this matter they ſought not themſelves, but only the Glory of God, as he was verily perſuaded; wiſhing farther that that Hand which he then held up were ſtricken off, if by that a godly Peace and Unity might enſue and follow. In the end, another way was taken by the Congregation, which was that Mr. *Knox* and Mr. *Wittingham*, Mr. *Parry* and Mr. *Lever* ſhould deviſe ſome Order, if it might be, to end all Strife and Contention.

*The Humbleneſs of* Gilby, *and his godly Zeal.*

Theſe four aſſembled for that purpoſe. And firſt Mr. *Knox* ſpake to the reſt in this wiſe: Forſomuch, ſaith he, as I perceive no end of Contention is to be hoped for, unleſs the one part ſomething relent, this will I do for my part, that Quietneſs may enſue. I will ſhew my Judgment how (as I think) it may be beſt for the Edification of this poor Flock, which if ye will not accept nor follow (after that I have diſcharg'd my Conſcience) I will ceaſe, and commit the whole matter to be order'd by you, as you will anſwer before Chriſt Jeſus at the laſt day, and to this his Congregation in this Life, &c. Whereupon after ſome Conference, an Order was agreed upon; ſome part taken forth of the *Engliſh* Book and other things put to, as the State of the Church requir'd.

*The Modeſty of* Knox.

And this Order, by the conſent of the Congregation, ſhould continue to the laſt of *April* following. If any Contention ſhould ariſe in the mean time, the matter then to be determin'd by theſe 5 notable learned Men, to wit, *Calvin*, *Muſculus*, *Martyr*, *Bullinger*, and *Vyret*. This Agreement was put in writing. To that all gave their conſents. This Day was joyful. Thanks were given to God, brotherly Reconciliation follow'd, great Familiarity uſed, the former Grudges ſeem'd to be forgotten. Yea, the holy Communion was upon this happy Agreement alſo miniſtred. And this

*This Order was taken the ſixth of* Febr.

*Dr.* Cox *with others come to* Frankfort.

Friendſhip continu'd till the 13th of *March* following; at which time Dr. *Cox* and others with him, came to *Frankfort* out of *England*, who began to break that Order which was agreed upon: firſt, in anſwering aloud after the Miniſter, contrary to the Church's Determination. And being admoniſh'd thereof by the Seniors of the Congregation, he, with the reſt that came with him made anſwer, that they would do as they had done in *England*, and that they would have the face of an *Engliſh* Church. And the Sunday following, one of his Company, without the conſent and knowledg of the Congregation, got up ſuddenly into the Pulpit, read the Litany, and Dr. *Cox* with his Company anſwer'd aloud; whereby the Determination of the Church was broken. The ſame Sunday at Afternoon it came to Mr. *Knox*'s turn to preach, who having paſs'd ſo far in *Geneſis* that he was come to *Noah* as he lay open in his Tent, he ſpake theſe words following:

*The Effect of* Knox's *Sermon.*

'As divers things, ſaith he, ought to be 'kept ſecret, even ſo ſuch things as tend to 'the diſhonour of God, and diſquieting of his 'Church, ought to be diſclos'd and openly 'reprov'd. And thereupon he ſhew'd, how that after long Trouble and Contention among them, a godly Agreement was made, and how that the ſame that day was ungodlily broken; which thing became not (as he ſaid) the proudeſt of them all to have attempted: alledging furthermore, that like as by the Word of God we muſt ſeek our warrant for the eſtabliſhing of Religion, and without that to thruſt nothing into any Chriſtian Congregation; ſo foraſmuch as in the *Engliſh* Book were things both ſuperſtitious, impure, and imperfect (which he offer'd to prove before all men) he would not conſent that of that Church it ſhould be receiv'd; and that in caſe men would go about to burden that free Congregation therewith, ſo oft as he ſhould come in that place (the Text offering occaſion) he would not fail to ſpeak againſt it.

He farther affirm'd, That among many things which provok'd God's Anger againſt *England*, Slackneſs to reform Religion (when Time and Place was granted) was one. And therefore it became them to be circumſpect how they laid their Foundation. And were ſome men aſham'd not to ſay, that there was no lett or ſtop in *England*, but that Religion might be, and was already brought to perfection, he prov'd the contrary by the want of Diſcipline. Alſo by the Troubles which Mr. *Hooper* ſuſtain'd for the Rochet, and ſuch-like, in the Book commanded and allow'd.

And for that one Man was permitted to have three, four, or five Benefices, to the great ſlander of the Goſpel, and defrauding of the Flock of Chriſt of their lively Food and Suſtenance. Theſe were the chief Notes of his Sermon, which was ſo ſtomach'd of ſome, eſpecially of ſuch as had many Livings in *England*, that he was very ſharply charg'd and reprov'd ſo ſoon as he came out of the Pulpit, for the ſame.

*Dr.* Cox *ſharply rebuk'd him.*

The Tueſday following was appointed to talk of theſe things more at large. When all were aſſembled, earneſt Requeſt was made that Dr. *Cox* with his Company might be admitted to have Voices in the Congregation. Anſwer was made by others, That the matter yet in controverſy among them, ought firſt to be determin'd. Secondly, that they ſhould ſubſcribe to Diſcipline as others had done before them; and farther, it was greatly ſuſpected that they had been (ſome of them) at Maſs in *England*, and others had ſubſcrib'd to wicked Articles, as one of them ſhortly after, even in the Pulpit, ſorrowfully confeſs'd. For theſe Conſiderations, and ſuch-like, the Congregation withſtood the Admiſſion of Dr. *Cox* and his Company. *Knox* at laſt began to make intreaty that they might have their Voices among the reſt; to whoſe Requeſt when certain had yielded, they then became the greater part, and ſo were by them admitted as Members of the Church. They being thus admitted by the moſt part, Dr. *Cox* forthwith forbad *Knox* to meddle any more in that Congregation.

*But that they refuſed, and at length overthrow it.*

*Mr.* Jewel.

Knox *put out by thoſe which he brought in.*

The next Day being Wedneſday, *Wittingham* went to Mr. *John Glauburge* (who was the chief means in obtaining the Church) and brake the matter unto him, declaring how that certain, now come out of *England*, had forbidden their Miniſter appointed to preach that day, and intended to ſet up an Order, which he doubted would not be well taken. And therefore, leſt any Inconvenience ſhould happen, he thought good to make him privy thereto. Whereupon the ſaid Magiſtrate ſent immediately, and gave commandment that there ſhould be no Sermon that day. Afterward he ſent for *Valeran* the *French* Miniſter, commanding him that two learned Men ſhould be appointed of either part, and that he and they ſhould conſult and agree upon ſome good Order, and to make report unto him accordingly. Then were appointed Dr. *Cox* and *Lever* of the one ſide, and *Knox* and *Wittingham* on the other ſide. To decide the matter, *Valeran* was appointed to put down in writing what they ſhould agree upon. But when in this Conference they came to the Order of Mattins, and that Dr. *Cox* ſaid, *Ego volo habere*, there could be no agreement among them, and ſo brake off. Whereupon the Congregation drew up a Supplication in *Latin*, and preſented it to the ſaid Maſter *Glauburge*, requeſting him to endeavour that the ſame might be conſider'd of among the Senators: the *Engliſh* whereof was as followeth.

## *The Supplication to the Senate.*

LET it not moleſt you, moſt grave and worthy Senators, that your Affairs are letted with a few words. And leſt we ſhould trouble you with prolixity, you ſhall underſtand the matter briefly. When your great and unſpeakable Humanity, thro the Providence of God, had granted us a Church; we undertook forthwith (as became us) to conſult about the Orders of the ſame, and to ſet out a Liturgy. And becauſe we ſaw that in the prolix and ceremonious Book of the Liturgy of *England*, be many things (that we may ſpeak no worſe of it) not moſt perfect; it ſeem'd beſt to reduce it to the perfect Rule of the Scriptures, and to accommodate our ſelves to the Examples of that Church wherein we teach, and to whom we have ſubſcrib'd. But when this Enterpriſe offended ſome of our Countrymen (altho the greateſt number agreed unto us) for that we would decline from the Decrees of our Elders; hereupon there grew to us for a few months no ſmall trouble.

*To wit, the* French *Church.*

At the length, when there appear'd no end, for peace and concord ſake we gave place to their Will, and ſuffer'd them at their pleaſure to pick out of their Book the chiefeſt or beſt things, upon this condition, that the ſame ſhould continue without alteration, at the leaſt unto the laſt Day of *April*; at the which day (if there ſhould any new Contention ariſe) that then all the matter ſhould be refer'd to theſe five notable Men, *Calvin*, *Muſculus*, *Martyr*, *Bullinger*, and *Vyret*. What need many words? This Condition was willingly accepted, and the Covenant ratify'd on both parts. A writing was alſo thereof to teſtify the Promiſe made of the one to the other. Moreover, thanks were given to God with great joy, and common Prayers were made, for that Men thought that day to be the end of Diſcord. Beſides this, they receiv'd the Communion as the ſure Token or Seal of their mutual Agreement, which was omitted before by the ſpace of three months.

*Valeran* alſo, the *French* Miniſter, was partaker of this Communion, and a Furtherer of Concord, and a Witneſs of theſe things. Now of late days, certain of our Countrymen came to us, who have endeavour'd by all means to obtrude that huge Volume of Ceremonies upon us, to break the Covenant, and to overthrow the Liberty of the Church granted by your Benevolence. And no doubt, this they enterpriſe and mind to do under the title and name of your Defence, whereby they may abuſe the Authority of your Name, to ſatisfy their Luſt. We are here compel'd to omit many things which would make for our Cauſe, no leſs rightly than profitably; but we remit theſe to our Brethren for Concord ſake.

You have here, moſt honourable Senators, a brief Sum of our Caſe and Contention, whereby you may eaſily underſtand what to judg of the whole matter.

What manner of Book this is for which they ſo cruelly contend, ye may conſider by the Epiſtle that *Calvin* lately wrote unto us; in the which he hath ſignify'd his mind, as well plainly of the Book, as alſo of the Uprightneſs of our Cauſe. We could have pointed out unto you the fooliſh and fond things of the Book; but paſſing over an infinite number of things, this one will we bring for many, the which ſhall be neceſſary well to be mark'd. Within theſe three years aroſe a great Conflict between the Biſhops of the Realm and the Biſhop of *Glocester* Mr. *Hooper*, a Man worthy of perpetual memory, whom we hear to be burnt of late. This Man being made Biſhop by King *Edward*, there was obtruded by other Biſhops of the ſame Order (according to this Book) a Rochet and a Biſhop's Robe: This Man being well learned, and a long time nouriſh'd and brought up in *Germany*, as ſoon as he refus'd theſe proud things that Fools marvel at, he was caſt into priſon, and at length by their importunity overcome; and relenting, he was compel'd, to his ſhame, to give place to their Impudency, with the common Grief and Sorrow of all godly Minds.

*The Letter a little before.*

*This Controverſy hath been ſince K.* Edward*'s Reign, as ye ſee.*

But wherefore ſpeak you of theſe things, will ye ſay, that appertain nothing to us? Yes verily, we think it touches you very much: for if theſe Men, arm'd by your Authority, ſhall do what they liſt, this Evil ſhall be in time eſtabliſh'd by you, and never be redreſs'd, neither ſhall there for ever be any end of this Controverſy in *England*. But if it would pleaſe your honourable Authority to decree this Moderation between us, that this whole matter may be refer'd to the Judgment

ment of the five above-nam'd; not we alone that are here preſent, but our whole Poſterity, yea our whole *Engliſh* Nation and all good men, to the perpetual memory of your Names, ſhall be bound unto you for this great Benefit. We might have uſed more words in this Narration, for we fear'd not that we ſhould take Reaſons, but rather that Time ſhould fail you, letted with more ſerious Buſineſs. Therefore we by theſe things leave the reſt to the Conſideration of your Wiſdoms.

The 22d of *March* Mr. *Glauburge* came to the *Engliſh* Church, and ſhew'd the Congregation, that it was commanded them by the Magiſtrates (when by his procurement the Church was granted) that they ſhould agree with the *French* Church both in Doctrine and Ceremony; and that they underſtood how the falling from that Order had bred much Diſſenſion among them. Therefore he ſtrictly charg'd and commanded, that from thenceforth they ſhould not diſſent from that Order; if they did, as he had open'd the Church-door unto them, ſo would he ſhut it again. And that ſuch as would not obey thereunto, ſhould not tarry within that City, willing them to conſult together out of hand, and to give him an anſwer before he departed. Dr. *Cox* then ſpake to the Congregation in this wiſe; *I have* (ſaith he) *read the* French *Order, and do think it to be both good and godly in all points*; and therefore he wiſh'd them to obey the Magiſtrates commandment: whereupon the whole Congregation gave conſent; ſo as before the Magiſtrate departed the Church, Dr. *Cox*, *Lever*, and *Whittingham* made report unto him accordingly. Dr. *Cox* alſo at that preſent requeſted that it would pleaſe him, notwithſtanding their ill Behaviour, to ſhew unto them his accuſtom'd Favour and Goodneſs, which he moſt gently and lovingly promiſed.

At the next meeting of the Congregation that Order was put in practice, to the comfort and rejoicing of the moſt part. Nevertheleſs, ſuch as would ſo fain have had the Book of *England*, left not the matter thus. And for that they ſaw *Knox* to be in ſuch credit with many of the Congregation, they firſt of all eſſay'd by a moſt cruel, barbarous, and bloody Practice, to diſpatch him out of the way, to the end they might with the more eaſe attain the thing which they ſo greatly ſought, which was the placing of their Book. They had among them a Book of his, intitled, *An Admonition to Chriſtians*, written in the *Engliſh* Tongue; wherein by occaſion he ſpake of the Emperor, of *Philip* his Son, and *Mary* then Queen of *England*. This Book certain of them preſented to the Magiſtrates, who (upon receit of the ſame) ſent for *Wittingham*, and ask'd him of *Knox* their Miniſter, what manner of man he was? *Wittingham* anſwer'd, that ſuch a one there was among them, and to his knowledg both a learned, wiſe, and godly Man. Then one of the Magiſtrates ſaid unto him, certain of your Countrymen have accus'd him unto us, *Læſæ Majeſtatis Imperatoriæ*, that is, of High Treaſon againſt the Emperor, his Son, and the Queen of *England*. Here is the Book, and the Places which they have noted, the true and perfect Senſe whereof we command you (*ſub pœna pacis*) to bring unto us in the *Latin* Tongue at one of the clock in the Afternoon: which thing he did accordingly; at which time (after certain communication among themſelves) they commanded that *Knox* ſhould preach no more till their Pleaſure were further known. The words concerning the Emperor were theſe, ſpoken in the Pulpit in a Town of *Buckinghamſhire*, in the beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, as by the ſaid Book appears, where it is ſaid; *O* England, England, *if thou wilt obſtinately return into* Egypt, *that is, if thou contract Marriage, Confederacy, or League with ſuch Princes as do maintain and advance Idolatry, ſuch as the Emperor (who is no leſs Enemy to Chriſt than was* Nero) *if for the Pleaſure and Friendſhip, I ſay, of ſuch Princes thou return to thine old Abominations before us'd under Papiſtry; then aſſuredly (O* England) *thou ſhalt be plagued and brought to Deſolation by the means of thoſe whoſe Favour thou ſeekeſt, and by whom thou art procur'd to fall from Chriſt and ſerve Antichriſt.* There were other eight Places, but this was moſt noted, in that it touch'd the Emperor. But it ſeem'd the Magiſtrates abhor'd this bloody, cruel, and outrageous Attempt; for that whenas certain of *Knox*'s Enemies follow'd the Magiſtrates to know what ſhould be done with him, they did not only ſhew moſt evident ſigns of diſliking their unnatural Suit, but alſo ſent for Mr. *Williams* and *Wittingham*, willing them that Mr. *Knox* ſhould depart the City; for otherwiſe (as they ſaid) they ſhould be forc'd to deliver him, if the Emperor's Council (which then lay at *Ausburg*) ſhould upon like information ſend for him.

Knox *accuſed of Treaſon.*

*The Places in all were eight.*

*The Baniſhment of* Knox.

The 25th of *March* Mr. *Knox*, the night before his departure, made a moſt comfortable Sermon at his Lodging to fifty Perſons, or thereabouts, then preſent; which Sermon was of the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt, and of the unſpeakable Joys which were prepar'd for God's Elect, who in this Life ſuffer Trouble and Perſecution for the Teſtimony of his bleſſed Name. The next day he was brought three or four mile in his way by ſome of thoſe unto whom the night before he had made that Exhortation; who with great Heavineſs of Heart and Plenty of Tears committed him to the Lord.

*Many of the learned Men were now come from all places.*

The very ſame day, being the 26th of *March*, one * *Adulphus Glauburge* (a Doctor of Law, and Nephew to Mr. *John Glauburge* the Senator) whom Dr. *Cox* and the reſt had won unto them, ſent for *Wittingham*, and told him that there were preſented to the Magiſtrates three Doctors, thirteen Batchelors of Divinity, beſides others; and that the Magiſtrates at their ſuits had granted them the full Uſe of the *Engliſh* Book: commanding and charging him therefore not to meddle any more to the contrary; for (as he ſaid) it was fully concluded that ſo it ſhould be. And ſuppoſing that *Wittingham* would let it what he might, the next day again he ſent for him home to his Houſe, where he gave the like Charge (Dr. *Cox*, and others preſent, by whoſe procurement the ſame was done) *Wittingham* anſwer'd, that if it were ſo concluded he would willingly obey, not doubting but that it might be lawful for him and others to join themſelves to ſome other Church. But Dr. *Cox* beſought the Lawyer that it might not ſo be ſuffer'd; whereto *Wittingham* anſwer'd, That it would be too great cruelty to force Men, contrary to their Conſciences, to obey their diſorder'd Doings; offering, that if it would pleaſe the Magiſtrates to give him and others the hearing, they would diſpute the matter againſt all the contrary part, and prove that the Order which they ſought to eſtabliſh, ought not to take place in any Reformed Church. The Doctor of Law made a plain Anſwer, That Diſputation there ſhould be none; uſing his former words of charging and commanding not to deal further in that matter.

*Mark the placing of the* Engliſh *Book, and of rejecting the other.*

Whenas the Congregation heard of the cruel and more than tyrannical Dealings of this Doctor, Mr. *Gilby* and others with him, were ſent to Mr. *John Glauburge* (by whoſe commandment, as ye heard, they had receiv'd the *French* Order) putting him in remembrance of the ſame, and ſhewing him that certain lately come among them had ſought (as they were credibly inform'd) to overthrow their Church by placing the *Engliſh* Book among them. To this Mr. *Glauburge* made anſwer, that he was inform'd how that both Parties were fully agreed and contented, and that thereupon he had committed the whole matter to the Lawyer his Couſin. Then he ask'd for *Wittingham*: It was anſwer'd that ſtrict charge was given him, that he ſhould meddle no more in that matter. The Magiſtrate ask'd again of whom he had that Commandment; and when it was told him that the Doctor his Couſin had given him that Charge, he then began very gently to perſuade with Mr. *Gilby* and the reſt, that they ſhould be contented, and he would ſee that nothing ſhould be uſed, but that which ſhould be tolerable; and ſo Mr. *Gilby* and the reſt departed.

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* *This* Adulphus *was before this time a great Furtherer of the Church, and the Orders of the ſame, howſoever he was turn'd.*

*Mark this practice.*

The 28th of *March* Dr. *Cox* aſſembled all ſuch as had been Prieſts and Miniſters in *England* to his Lodging, and there declar'd how the Magiſtrates had granted them the Uſe of the *Engliſh* Book, and that he thought requiſite that they ſhould conſult together, whom they thought moſt meet to be Biſhop, Superintendent, or Paſtor, with the reſt of the Officers, as Seniors, Miniſters, and Deacons. Whereunto Mr. *Chriſtopher Goodman* anſwer'd, That his Opinion was, that they ought firſt to agree upon ſome perfect and godly Order for the Church, and thereto to have the conſent of the Congregation, whereby it might appear that they contemn'd not the reſt of their Brethren: And further, to proceed to the Election, which he thought alſo ought not to be attempted without the conſent of the whole Church. To this was anſwer'd, That for the Order it was already determin'd, and other Order than the Book of *England* they ſhould not have: ſo that the Perſuaſions of *Goodman* nothing at all prevail'd, neither in one thing or other. Yea, the Proceedings of ſundry Perſons (which I could name) were ſuch, as if there had been neither Orders, Officers, or Church there before their coming, or any Promiſes to be kept on their parts after they came, as may more plainly appear to the Reader by this Letter following, written by Mr. *Wittingham* to a Friend of his in *England*; which Letter is of his own hand to be ſeen.

*At length they agreed upon the Name* Paſtor.

*Grace, Mercy, and Peace, thro Chriſt our Lord.*

As you require a brief Anſwer to your ſhort Letter, ſo neither time permitteth, nor I intend to trouble you farther than the very neceſſity of the matter asketh. And firſt, for that ye ſeem to hang in ſuch extreme perplexity, partly becauſe of ſundy Talks and divers Let-

*An Anſwer to a Letter ſent him out of* England.

ters of Men of good credit, which cauſeth you not a little to marvel; and partly by reaſon of the good Opinion once conceiv'd and yet retain'd, of certain Perſons both godly and learned, which maketh you to doubt: I think it beſt, briefly and ſimply to open a few chief Points, upon which the reſt of the matter dependeth. After certain months that we had here lived in great Conſolation and Quietneſs, it chanc'd that as our Number did increaſe, ſo ſome entred in, who buſily undermin'd our Liberty, and labour'd to overthrow our Diſcipline; which Troubles grew at length in ſo great quantity, that by the greateſt part it was concluded, that no man ſhould need hereafter to ſubſcribe to any Diſcipline, foraſmuch as they preſuppos'd that none would come hither who ſhould have need thereof. Which done, they alter'd our Orders in Prayers and other things, thinking to bring in place the full Uſe of the great *Engliſh* Book; which notwithſtanding, by reaſon of divers Imperfections, we could not admit: So that to grow to a common Concord, it was agreed, and the Name of God invocated, that the whole matter ſhould be refer'd to Mr. *Calvin*, Mr. *Muſculus*, Mr. *Martyr*, Mr. *Bullinger*, and Mr. *Vyret*; that both parts ſhould draw their Orders, and that to be receiv'd, which by the Judgments of theſe five excellent Men ſhould be thought moſt agreeable to a Reformed Church. In the mean time, every man to ſtand content with that Order which was then agreed upon and uſed. But within a few days after, this Determination was broken; a Stranger craftily brought in to preach, who had both been at Maſs, and alſo ſubſcrib'd to blaſphemous Articles. Many taunting bitter Sermons were made (as they thought) to our defacing; inſomuch as Mr. *Knox*, being deſir'd thereunto by divers, was enforc'd to purge himſelf in ſundry Points, and ſpake his mind freely in the Pulpit, as well in reproving certain parts of the *Engliſh* Book, as declaring the Puniſhment of God, which partly had fallen upon our Country for ſlackneſs in Religion: ſo as they ſeem'd to take the matter ſo to heart, that by their falſe delation in accuſing him before the Magiſtrates of Treaſon againſt the Emperor and the Queen, in a certain Book of his writing to our Countrymen of *England*; he was commanded to depart.

And the Magiſtrates underſtanding their Fetches, and greedy ſearching of their own Glory (who ſeem'd to ſpare no kind of Contention to purchaſe the ſame) commanded that we ſhould receive the *French* Order, which is according to the Order of *Geneva*, the pureſt reformed Church in *Chriſtendom*: Whereupon all agreed, and Dr. *Cox* with others commending the ſame to the Congregation, gave thanks to the Magiſtrate in all our Names. Here you may note their double Faces, who, bearing the Magiſtrate in hand that they receiv'd his Commandment joyfully, privily practis'd, and ſo labour'd underhand, that they made this Magiſtrate unſay, and ſo obtain'd their Book; promiſing notwithſtanding, both to the Magiſtrate and certain of the Congregation, as well to prove by the Word of God ſo much of the Book as they would uſe, as alſo to ſet forth the ſame in writing, that they (before the foreſaid Order ſhould be chang'd) might judg of the Equity thereof. But preferring the Joy of their unhoped Victory before their Promiſe, did neither the one, becauſe they could not, neither the other, becauſe they durſt not. And yet have they not made an end of their Triumph. For beginning in *March* not only to neglect all Orders in the Election of their Miniſters and other Officers, but alſo to ſcoff and taunt others in their daily Sermons, do not yet ceaſe, as now appeareth by their ſlanderous and lying Letters.

But to the end we might be deliver'd from this inſupportable Yoke, God of his mercy hath provided better for us, and for this Incommodity hath granted us a double Benefit; inſomuch as, contrary to their Hope, he hath not only at *Baſil* moved the Magiſtrates hearts towards us in granting us a Church, but alſo at *Geneva*, where God's Word is truly preach'd, Manners beſt reform'd, and in earth the chiefeſt Place of true Comfort. Thus in few lines I have gone about to ſatisfy your Requeſt, bearing with Time which haſteth, and alſo following mine own Judgment, which perſuadeth me rather to give you a Taſte of things (which I moved in Conſcience write as moſt true) than to fill you with the whole Diſcourſe, which if this may not ſuffice, you may by continuance have at your commandment. Pray for us, Brother, in this our Baniſhment, that the Fruits of this incorruptible Seed may ſpring moſt abundantly; as we pray continually that our Heavenly Father would ſo ſtrengthen you with his Spirit of Boldneſs, that you may not only reſiſt, but alſo triumph over all your Enemies, to the Glory of God and the Confuſion of the Adverſaries. Know before you judg, and believe not all flying Tales; keep one ear open, and report the beſt.

Yours, *William Wittingham.*

Whereas Mr. *Wittingham* in this his Letter makes mention of a Church granted them before at *Baſil* and *Geneva*, it is to be noted that he himſelf was the Man which the oppreſs'd Congregation requir'd to travel therein, and thro God's great Mercy obtain'd it with great Favour; who in his Journey paſs'd by *Zurick* to know of Mr. *Bullinger* what he thought of the Book of *England*, for that he (who had reported to Mr. *Williams*, *Wittingham*, *Gilby*, and others, that *Cranmer* Biſhop of *Canterbury* had drawn up a Book of Prayer an hundred times more perfect than this that we now have; yet the ſame could not take place, for that he was match'd with ſuch a wicked Clergy and Convocation, with other Enemies) even he, I ſay, ſtood in this, that Mr. *Bullinger* did like well of the *Engliſh* Order, and had it in his Study. But when *Wittingham* had demanded that Queſtion, *Bullinger* told him, that indeed Mr. *H.* and Mr. *C.* ask'd his Judgment concerning certain Points of that Book, as Surplice, private Baptiſm, Churching of Women, the Ring in Marriage, with ſuch like, which (as he ſaid) he allow'd not, and that he neither could if he would, neither would if he might, uſe the ſame in his Church, whatſoever had been reported.

*Wittingham* paſſing from thence to *Geneva*, Mr. *Calvin* ſhew'd him a Letter from Dr. *Cox*, and from fourteen more of *Frankfort*; in which Letter they partly excus'd themſelves, that they put Order in their Church without his Counſel ask'd, and partly rejoicing for that they had (as they ſaid) brought the moſt part that had withſtood their Doings to their Opinion, which notwithſtanding was far otherwiſe.

They wrote alſo, that they had elected a Paſtor, two Miniſters, four Seniors, and two Deacons, *&c.* but how partially they proceeded in their Elections (thoſe that were in Office neither diſcharg'd, nor yet their Conſents requir'd) I leave to the Conſciences of them which ſaw thoſe Diſorders.

To this Letter of theirs, the Contents whereof are above touch'd, Mr. *Calvin* anſwereth in this wiſe.

*To the Worſhipful and Loving Brethren in the Lord, Mr.* Richard Cox, *and the reſt of the* Engliſh *Men which now remain at* Frankfort.

PEradventure I anſwer your Letter, Worſhipful Friends and Brethren, more ſlowly than either ye hop'd or look'd for; but foraſmuch as ye know the ways for a time ſo to be beſet with Thieves, that no Meſſenger almoſt could paſs from hence to you, the Excuſe of my long delay towards you ſhall be the eaſier.

I expreſs'd my mind frankly to our beloved Brother *Tho. Sampſon*, of that whereof I was inform'd by the Letters of certain men, as touching the Contention unluckily ſtir'd up among you. For certain of my Friends found themſelves griev'd, that you would ſo preciſely urge the Ceremonies of *England*; whereby it might appear that ye are more given and addicted to your Country

try than Reaſon would. I confeſs that I heard certain Reaſons alledg'd on your behalf, which would not ſuffer you to depart from the receiv'd Order; but they might be ſoon and eaſily confuted. Now, as I counſel'd mine own Friends who diſſented from you, to yield ſomewhat, if they might conveniently; ſo it offended me that there was nothing granted or relented on your parts. Becauſe there was no Man named unto me, I durſt not enterpriſe to meddle with the matter, leſt my Credit ſhould incur the Suſpicion of Raſhneſs. Now that ye are more mild and tractable in this Controverſy, and that ye have, as ye ſay, ſtilled the matter with quietneſs, I am very glad.

Verily no Man well inſtructed, or of a ſound Judgment, will deny (as I think) that Lights and Croſſings, or ſuch-like Trifles, ſprang or iſſu'd out of Superſtition: whereupon I am perſuaded that they who retain theſe Ceremonies in a free choice, or when they may do otherwiſe, are over-greedy and deſirous to drink off the Dregs. Neither do I ſee to what purpoſe it is to burden the Church with trifling and unprofitable Ceremonies; or as I may term them with their proper name, hurtful and offenſive Ceremonies, whenas there is liberty to have a ſimple and pure Order. But I keep in and refrain my ſelf, leſt I ſhould ſeem to begin to move a new Contention of that matter, which, as you report, is well ended.

All good Men will allow the Paſtors and other Miniſters Elections with common Voices, ſo that none complain that the other part of the Church was oppreſs'd fraudulently and with crafty practices. For it ſtandeth your Wiſdoms in hand to conſider, that how much Commodity the Goodneſs of the Senate doth deſerve, ſo much Envy ſhall you be guilty of, or charg'd withal, if you have abus'd their Lenity or Gentleneſs, which were ſo well affected towards your Nation. Yet I would not have this ſo taken, that I go about to be prejudicial to any man, but I had rather ſhew plainly what may be ſaid, than to nouriſh an ill Opinion by ſilence, or in holding my peace. But certainly, this one thing I cannot keep ſecret, that Mr. *Knox* was, in my judgment, neither godly nor brotherly dealt withal; if he were accus'd by the ſubtil Suggeſtion of certain, it had been better for them to have tarried ſtill in their own Land, than unjuſtly to have brought into far Countries the Firebrand of Cruelty, to ſet on fire thoſe that would not be kindled.

Notwithſtanding, becauſe it grieveth me to ſpeak ſlightly of theſe Evils, the remembrance whereof I would wiſh to be buried in perpetual Forgetfulneſs; therefore I only counſel

*They begin prettily.*

you (not without cauſe) to be wounded, that ye apply your ſelves to make them amends for the Fault committed.

When I heard that the one part was minded to depart from thence, I earneſtly admoniſh'd them (as it became me) that if they could not well remain there, that the diſtance of place ſhould not diſſipate, or rend in ſunder their brotherly Agreement; for I fear'd much, leſt that ſome privy Grudge of the former Contention remain'd. And certainly, nothing could more comfort my Heart, than to be deliver'd from this fear. For if any haply come to us, it would grieve me that there ſhould be (as it were) but a Suſpicion of any ſecret Debate between you.

Therefore as touching that ye have written of your Agreement, I deſire that it may be firm and ſtable; that if it chance the one part to go to another place, yet, that you being ſo ſundred by diſtance of places, may keep ſure the holy Band of Amity: for the Fault already committed is too much, altho thro Diſcord it creep no further. Wherefore it ſhall well beſeem your Wiſdoms (that ye may be Friends) to purge diligently whatſoever remaineth of this Breach. Fare ye well, Brethren; the Lord ſuccour you with his Aid, and govern you with his Spirit; pour his Bleſſings upon you, and mitigate the Sorrow of your Exile. From *Geneva* this laſt of *May*, *Anno* 1555.

Yours, *John Calvin.*

Becauſe that Mr. *Calvin* in his Letter maketh mention of Lights, ſome might gather that he was untruly inform'd, that in the *Engliſh* Book Lights were preſcrib'd (the contrary whereof appeareth by the Deſcription before) where it is manifeſt to ſuch as be learned, that he uſeth the Figure *Auxeſis*, and that this is his Argument, *a majore ad minus*; foraſmuch as Lights and Croſſings be two of the moſt antient Ceremonies, having continu'd in the Church above thirteen hundred Years, are yet for ſuch cauſes aboliſh'd; how much more ought all other, that have not had the like continuance (and yet abus'd) be utterly remov'd?

And for that Mr. *Calvin* in this Letter earneſtly wiſh'd that all Strife ſhould ceaſe, and if that any were minded to depart, their Departure might be ſuch, as all Occaſions of Offence might be cut off and clean taken away; it was thought good by ſuch as were determin'd to go away, within three weeks after, to follow his Counſel. And the rather, for that ſome which took themſelves to be learned, had openly term'd their Departure a Schiſm; whereupon they wrote to the

Paſtor, Miniſters, and whole Congregation this Letter following, and deliver'd it in the open Congregation.

FOrſomuch as thro the Benefit of God we have obtain'd a Church in another place, we thought it good to advertiſe you of the ſame. And to the intent that not only ſlanderous Reports may ceaſe, but alſo if any Offence be either taken or given, the ſame may come to trial; we deſire that you for your part would appoint two Arbiters, and we ſhall appoint other two: Who hearing our matters throughly open'd, may witneſs where the Fault reſteth. At which time we will undertake to defend our Departure to be lawful, contrary to the ſlanderous Reports of ſome, who unlearnedly term it a Schiſm. Thus far, Brethren, we thought good to ſignify unto you, thinking this to be the only means of our mutual Quietneſs; whereof how deſirous we are, our tedious and chargeable Journey may be a ſufficient proof: being throughly perſuaded that hereby Strife may be ended, Charity reviv'd, Friendſhip continu'd, God's Glory advanc'd, and our Brethren edify'd. Fare ye well, this 17th of *Auguſt*.

*William Williams*,
*William Wittingham*,
*Anthony Gilby*,
*Chriſtopher Goodman*,
*Thomas Cole*,
*John Fox*,
*Thomas Wood*,
*William Kethe*,
*John Kelke*,
*John Hilton*,
*Chriſto. Soothous*,
*Nicholas Purfote*,
*John Eſcot*,
*Thomas Crafton*,
*William Walton*,
*Laurence Kent*,
*John Hellingham*,
*Anthony Carier*.

When the Paſtor had read this Letter openly to the Congregation, and was deſir'd to know when they ſhould have an Anſwer, he ſaid unto them, That ſo far as he perceiv'd, it requir'd none but that which might preſently be made; which was, that they might depart, ſeeing they were ſo minded. It was reply'd, that forſomuch as it was manifeſt that they had been ſlander'd not only by Letters into divers parts, but alſo by ſome that then were preſent, who had affirm'd their Departure to be a Schiſm; and further, that they could find no Indifferency at their hands: it was thought neceſſary to commit the Hearing of that Controverſy to learned and indifferent Judges, by both Parties to be choſen, whereby the Fault might appear where it was indeed, and ſo they either excus'd or found guilty.

Dr. *Cox* at length told them, that their Letter ſhould be conſider'd of, and Anſwer ſhould be given them the Friday after. On Friday the 30th of *Auguſt* both Parties met: The Paſtor (accompany'd with the Miniſters and Elders) ſpake this unto them: ‘ It ſeemeth very fond that Arbiters ſhould be appointed to take up Strife that may come hereafter, as your ‘ Letter ſignifieth. And furthermore ye write, If any Offence ‘ be taken or given, which ſeemeth as ſtrange; for this word ‘ *If* importeth a Doubt; ſo that if ye doubt, it is but folly ‘ to appoint Arbiters. Finally, to excuſe your Departure, ‘ you call them unlearned who judg it a Schiſm; but, ſaith ‘ he, term it as you liſt, yet can you not lett Men to think. ‘ And if Arbiters ſhould pronounce it to be none, yet Mens ‘ Opinions will be divers.

‘ Now therefore your Anſwer ſhall be, That if any Man be ‘ offended either with any private Man, or publickly, let ‘ him or them complain to us, and if they refuſe us, to the ‘ Magiſtrate. As for Arbiters we will appoint none.

Then ſpake *Wittingham*, and ſaid, ‘ That it was to him no ‘ ſmall wonder that Men of ſuch Learning and Wiſdom ſhould ‘ ſo ſhrink in a moſt equal Requeſt, and ſo without all reaſon ‘ to cavil where no matter was offer'd. For as concerning, ‘ ſaith he, the firſt Point, it was not unknown to them ‘ that at that time thro their occaſion there was no ſmall ‘ Contention; and that ſeeing they had given ſuch offence, ‘ it could not be but that mens Minds were moved.

‘ And therefore, to the end that Contention ſhould grow ‘ no further, Arbiters were very neceſſary; who needed not ‘ to deliberate (as he ſaid) of things to come, which were ‘ uncertain: but as the Letter truly purporteth, of Injuries ‘ long ago begun, yet continu'd, and hereafter not like to be ‘ ended, except ſome good means were us'd to ſtay their ‘ ſlanderous Letters and falſe Reports, to the utter periſhing ‘ and loſs of men's good Names. And where ye ſeem to ‘ be offended that the Letter ſhould call them ‘ unlearned, who term our Departure a Schiſm ‘ (You omit, ſaid Dr. *Cox*, the ſecond Point, ‘ which is of no ſmall importance) To whom he anſwer'd, ‘ That he thought he did them ‘ a pleaſure in omitting things of ſo ſmall value, notwithſtanding he would obey his Will; but (ſaith he) as touching this word *unlearnedly*, it was not unadviſedly plac'd. For ‘ either they be without Learning, and therefore may be ſo ‘ call'd indeed, or if they bear the name of Learning, yet in ‘ this they ſhew'd their Unſkilfulneſs, foraſmuch as every Departure from a Congregation was not a Schiſm, neither were ‘ any that departed for juſt cauſes Schiſmaticks, as we (ſaith ‘ he) will prove unto you, if you will take our reaſonable and ‘ moſt equal Offer. Nay, ſaith the Paſtor, Arbiters in this ‘ point can little avail; for be it, they judg'd it none, yet ‘ mens

Wittingham *here interrupted.*

‘ mens Thoughts are free: and we know that all Men be not ‘ of one mind in Sacraments and Predeſtination; Should Men ‘ therefore take Arbiters? Alſo, ſaith he, Mr. *Calvin* and ‘ *Bullinger* are againſt you. To this was anſwer'd, That ‘ Thoughts, if they were not grounded upon God's Word, ‘ were evil; neither was this Controverſy of like force with ‘ the matter of the Sacraments and Predeſtination: notwith‘ſtanding would to God that not only the difference in thoſe ‘ Articles, but alſo in all other, which be of weight and im‘portance, might be decided by the Authority of God's ‘ Word, and Arbitrement of godly learned Men. But men ‘ may juſtly ſuſpect your Cauſe to be nought, who refuſe the ‘ Judgments of the Wiſe and Godly.

‘ And where you ſay, that *Calvin* and *Bullinger* are againſt ‘ us, you abuſe your ſelf and their Names; for we know both ‘ what they and other write as touching this matter.

Then the Paſtor ask'd, what Schiſm was, but cutting off from the Body? and that it was *Calvin*'s Definition. To this *Wittingham* anſwer'd, That he would undertake, firſt to prove that Definition to be falſe; and ſecondly, to be none of *Calvin*'s Definition: For if every cutting off from the Body ſhould be a Schiſm, then you and all other which once had ſworn to the Pope, and now have refus'd him, are Schiſmaticks. Then the Paſtor added, From a Church reform'd. Anſwer was made, That a Church well reform'd muſt be built upon the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles; the Unity whereof St. *Paul* comprehendeth in theſe words, *One God, One Faith, One Baptiſm*; not beggarly Ceremonies and Obſcurations, altho that ſundry cauſes beſides mov'd them to depart.

Then Mr. *Treherne* ask'd, whether the *Donatiſts* were Schiſmaticks? Yes, ſaith *Wittingham*, and alſo Hereticks; but you are deceiv'd, if you think that they ſeparated themſelves for Ceremonies. It is manifeſt, ſaid *Treherne*, that the Churches of *Aſia* were excommunicated as Schiſmaticks, for that they kept not Eaſter at the ſame time that the *Roman* Church did. And it is no leſs evident, ſaith *Wittingham*, that *Irenæus*, and other godly Men, as well of that time as ſince, have ſharply reprov'd and condemn'd Pope *Victor* for the ſame.

Here Dr. *Cox* put *Wittingham* in remembrance, that he had not anſwer'd to the Faults of the Letter. *Wittingham* told him, that as touching that poor word *If*, he marvel'd how it could miniſter any Cavillation, ſeeing the Text joining thereto was ſo plain, which declareth both the Offences by you given, and by us taken. And alſo your Conſciences bear you witneſs, the thing to be moſt true, except a Man will be wilfully

blind,

blind, and find a knot in a Ruſh: ſo that that word *If* meant not that we do doubt who were oppreſs'd with infinite Wrongs, but if they would diſſemble ſo far that they might ſeem to doubt thereof, yet at the leaſt they would abide the trial thereof before theſe Arbiters. But here the Diſputation brake up with this plain and final Anſwer, That Arbiters they ſhould have none; and that if they found themſelves griev'd, they ſhould ſeek remedy where they thought good; and he, the Paſtor, with the reſt of the reſt of Congregation, would anſwer them.

The next day the Paſtor, Dr. *Cox*, Mr. *Parry*, and Mr. *Aſhley*, ſent for *Wittingham*, *Thomas Cole*, *John Fox*, *William Kethe*, *Roger Hart*, *John Hilton*, with certain others, demanding of them what ſhould be the cauſe of their Departure. *Wittingham* made anſwer, that the day before they had declar'd ſufficiently, and yet would further ſhew Reaſons, if they would permit the Controverſy to Arbitrement. And to the intent they ſhould not counterfeit Ignorance (among other) theſe were ſome cauſes: Firſt, their Breach of Promiſe, eſtabliſh'd with Invocation of God's name: Secondly, their orderleſs thruſting themſelves into the Church: Thirdly, taking away the Order of Diſcipline eſtabliſh'd before their coming, and placing no other: Fourthly, the Accuſation of Mr. *Knox* their godly Miniſter of Treaſon, and ſeeking his Blood: Fifthly, their overthrowing of the common Order taken and commanded by the Magiſtrate: Sixthly, the diſplacing of Officers without any cauſe alledg'd: Seventhly, the bringing in of Papiſtical Superſtitions and unprofitable Ceremonies, which were Burdens, Yokes, and Clogs; beſides other things, which, if they would abide the trial, they ſhould hear at large. When he and ſome of the reſt had render'd their Reaſons for their departure in this effect, certain warm words paſs'd to and fro from the one to the other; and ſo in ſome heat departed.

Not many days after, the oppreſs'd Church departed from *Frankfort* to *Baſil* and *Geneva*, ſome ſtaying at *Baſil*, as Mr. *Fox* with others. The reſt came to *Geneva*, where they were receiv'd with great Favour and much Courteſy, both of the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and People. So ſoon as they enter'd their Church, they choſe *Knox* and *Goodman* for their Paſtors, and *Gilby* requeſted to ſupply the room till *Knox* return'd out of *France*.

The Learned Men, who came from all places to *Frankfort* about this matter, when they had done that which they came for, return'd again from whence they came, and ſome to other places, where they might ſave charges, and not be either burden'd or bound to the Exerciſes of the Congregation; ſo that the Exile, which was to many a poor Man full bitter, grievous, and painful, was to ſome of the greateſt Perſecutors of their poor Brethren (as it were) a pleaſant Progreſs or Recreation.

But now it ſhall be neceſſary to declare what Order was taken in this new-erected Congregation, for the proſperous Continuance of the ſame; which thing to do, I cannot by a better mean, than placing here this Letter following, which Mr. *Cole* (late Dean of *Sarum*) wrote to a Friend of his, whilſt yet he ſtaid (behind his Company) in *Frankfort* among them: His Letter is yet to be ſeen.

*The Holy Spirit of God, that guideth the Children of God in Truth and Godlineſs, be your Comfort, thro our Mercy's Seat, Jeſus Chriſt, now and for ever.* Amen.

THE Tempeſts of the ſwelling Seas, which in times paſt threaten'd ſhipwreck to every Veſſel that ſail'd with a fair Wind and full Sails to the Port of bleſſed Truth, which of her ſelf is ſtrong enough, without any Bar or Wall of mans Inventions; are ſomewhat (the Lord be prais'd) calm'd to me ward, ſo that without farther reaſoning they permit me to my Conſcience, as touching their Ceremonies.

The cauſe, I judg, is not for that they bear leſs love to them than in times paſt; but that they perceive the ſturdy defending of them, to work them that they look'd not for, or rather that which they are loth to ſee, namely the decreaſing of their Company; yet they labour with Policy what they may or can, to prevent this Danger: but yet that which they fear, I ſuppoſe, will fall upon them, unleſs God give them to repent their old Faults, and humble them more to know themſelves.

They have ſet up an Univerſity, to repair again their Eſtimation by maintenance of Learning (which ſurely is well done) that was fondly brought in decay by wilful Ignorance, in defending of Ceremonies, to the which Mr. *Horne* is choſen to be the Reader of the *Hebrew* Lecture, Mr. *Mullings* of the *Greek*, and Mr. *Traherne*, when he is ſtrong, ſhall take the Divinity Lecture in hand. Mr. *Whitehead* was appointed thereunto, but becauſe he would eſcape the Labour of the Lecture (for juſt cauſes as he ſaid) he forſook the Paſtoral Office alſo, ſtoutly (as you know) denying to be in Office any longer. Great hold there was about this matter in the Congregation, inſomuch as they haſted to a new Election, and very few (as it ſeem'd) were of a contrary mind; no, not his own Feiends, Friends, ſaving Mr. *Makebray* and Mr. *Sorby*, who deſir'd him to take reſpite, and the Congregation to give it. But ſome looking for the Office themſelves, would not in ſuch a matter ſuffer delay, but again demanded of Mr. *Whitehead*, whether he would keep his Office, or not? ſuppoſing that he who had ſo ſtoutly deny'd it in word, would not ſoon be flexible to the contrary. But he perceiving that ſome would have had him out on the one ſide, and by leaving of it his Eſtimation was like to decay on the other ſide (for many rough words were given him) when occaſion of Intreaty was offer'd, *non reſpuit conditionem*; by that means bringing to himſelf wittily a triple Commodity: one, the preventing of them which look'd for the Office; another, the Refuſal of the Divinity Lecture; thirdly, a faſter grounding himſelf in that Office, which he left in mouth, but as it ſeem'd, not in heart. Thus ended that Comedy.

But ſhortly after (notwithſtanding a vehement Sermon made for the Purgation from Man's Inventions) the Seas begin again to ſwell (ſo fickle an Element is Water) for Mr. *Bent* having a Child to chriſten, purpoſing to have it done ſimply without beautifying of mens Traditions, came with his Child according to the *French* Order, which we once receiv'd, and one to hold it there to profeſs his Faith, if requir'd; but the Paſtor deny'd the Chriſtning, unleſs two Godmothers were had, after the Order of the Book. As concerning the Godfather, Mr. *Makebray* (who is now come to that Office) ſupply'd it. A lucky matter is attain'd at *Wezel* in *Weſtphalia*, an open Church for our *Engliſhmen*; to which, becauſe of nighneſs, they fear many will go from hence; but more will come out of *England* to it. I pray you commend me to *M.* tell him that Mr. *Wiſedome* rail'd on them that were gone to *G.* calling them Mad-heads, with many pretty Names, I will not ſay unwiſely, but I may well ſay uncharitably; in which Sermon, he ſhew'd himſelf an Antagoniſt for the Book of *England*, &c.

Yours, *Thomas Cole.*

Shortly after theſe things, to wit, the ſixth of *January*, whenas Mr. *Whitehead* gave up of his own good will, as he ſaid, the Paſtoral Office; Mr. *Horne* was in the Election to ſucceed him, who proteſted that he would not meddle therewith, till he were clear'd of certain Suſpicions which ſome had bruited to the diſcredit of the Miniſtry: and obtaining his Requeſt, he with the Seniors enter'd the Church the firſt of *March*, Ann. Dom. 1556. where they receiv'd all ſuch Perſons

ſons (as Members of that Church) which were contented to ſubſcribe and ſubmit themſelves to the Orders of the ſame. For which time forward the Troubles and Contentions were ſo ſore among them, that whoſo ſhall well weigh it with due Conſideration, I ween, he ſhall think it to be the juſt Judgment of our righteous God that fell upon them, for ſupplanting a Church there before them, in great Quietneſs, and of much Sincerity.

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## *The Hiſtory of that Stir and Strife which was in the* Engliſh *Church at* Frankfort, *from the 13th Day of* January, *Ann. Dom.* 1557. *forward.*

THERE fell a certain Controverſy the 14th Day of *January* at Supper, between Mr. *Horne* the Paſtor, and Mr. *Aſhley*; which Controverſy was handled with ſomewhat more ſharp words than was meet: but yet they ſo departed, by the Induſtry and Labour of ſome certain Perſons, that they drank Wine one to another, and all that Strife and Contention was thought to be wholly taken away. Afterward, to wit the 16th Day of *January*, at one of the clock in the afternoon, three of the Elders ſent for Mr. *Aſhley* into an Houſe of one of the Elders, and they began to debate the matter with him touching an Injury done, not to the Paſtor only, but to all the Elders (as they affirm'd) and to their Miniſtry; which thing Mr. *Aſhley* deny'd that he ever did at any time.

The next Day, being the 17th of *Jan.* after that publick Prayers were ended, Mr. *Aſhley* was by the Paſtor and all the Elders call'd into the Church; and there, in the name of them all, it was objected unto him, that he had ſpoken upon the 13th Day of *January*, in Supper-while, certain words tending to the ſlander of them and their Miniſtry.

*Aſhley* anſwer'd, that he perceiv'd and underſtood that they all were offended as in their own matter, and that therefore he would not anſwer before them as competent Judges of the cauſe; but would refer the Cauſe that he had againſt the Paſtor and them (ſeeing they ſhew'd themſelves an adverſary part to him) to the whole Church and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. Then the Paſtor exhorted him that he would not ſo proceed, for if he ſo did, that then they were minded to ſeek and demand Help of the Magiſtrate againſt him. After that, the 24*th* of *Jan.* *Aſhley* himſelf handled his own Cauſe in his own name before the Paſtor and Elders, and then in the Afternoon he ſent two men of the Church, who, in his name, require the Paſtors and Elders that they wou'd not proceed againſt him in that Cauſe, wherein they themſelves were a part, and therefore not fit or competent Judges; but to give over the whole matter to eight or ten Men upright in Conſcience, and inclining to neither part, by whoſe judgment, if he were found in fault, he wou'd willingly ſubmit himſelf to all Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. Anſwer was made him by the Paſtor in the name of them all, that they had receiv'd their Authority from the whole Church, and wou'd retain and keep the ſame till ſuch time as they, from whom they had receiv'd it, wou'd again demand it. And in the mean while they purpos'd to proceed thereafter againſt all ſuch as had offended, and ſo much the more ſeverely and ſharply againſt Mr. *Aſhley*, by how much it might be more profitable for the whole Church, to make him, being a worſhipful Man, an enſample to others to take heed and beware by. *Aſhley* (that Anſwer being receiv'd the 26th of *Jan.* which was a day of ſolemn Prayer) fearing thoſe things which *Horne* had ſaid before, threatning him with the Magiſtrate, when Common-Prayer was ended, declar'd the whole matter to the Church, and deſir'd that the Church wou'd underſtand the whole matter between the Paſtor and Elders as the one Party, and himſelf as the other.

Whereupon certain Men did, in the name of the whole Church, demand of the Paſtor and Elders, whether they were apart againſt *Aſhley*. The Paſtor anſwer'd in all their names, that they were not apart againſt him, but that *Aſhley* had ſlander'd them all. Again, it was demanded, in the name of the Church, who were his Accuſers? To which when the Paſtor anſwer'd nothing, neither in his own name, nor in the name of the Seniors, *Aſhley* was commanded by the Church publickly and openly to read thoſe things which he had comprehended in writing concerning his Cauſe. Afterward the Paſtor and Elders were ask'd, whether thoſe things which *Aſhley* had read were true? The Paſtor anſwer'd in all their names, that they wou'd not anſwer either more largely, or any otherwiſe, to any Queſtions than they had before anſwer'd; and ſo the Congregation was diſmiſs'd without Anſwer, yet not without Contempt as was thought. The ſame day at Afternoon Mr. *Hales* (who was abſent when theſe things were done) underſtanding that this matter tended to more grievous Strife and Contention, wrote Letters to ſome certain Perſons that ſeem'd deſirous of the Peace of the Church, and deſir'd that they wou'd come the next day after to the Church, to conſult and deliberate which was the beſt way to pacify this Trouble and Turmoil before it wax'd too ſtrong, or ſhou'd be more publiſh'd abroad, or made better known to the Senate or Magiſtrates.

The very drift and purpoſe of the Letters, together with them that were call'd, as they alſo which came to the place appointed, doth appear by the Letters themſelves, the Copy whereof inſueth.

The Superſcription.

*To the Brethren of the* Engliſh *Church.*

Mr. *Crawley*,
Mr. *Railton*,
Mr. *Warcope*,
Mr. *Falconer*,
Mr. *Nowel*,
Mr. *Carell*,
Mr. *Kethe*,
Mr. *Kelke*,
Mr. *Davies*,
Mr. *Bentham*,
Mr. *Brikbeke*,
Mr. *Sutton*,
Mr. *Chriſt. Hales.*

John Hales *ſendeth greeting in the Lord.*

I Hear, Brethren, that which is to me grievous to hear, to wit, that Strifes are riſen in our Church, which tend either to the Diſſolution of the Church, or to the Hurt and Deſtruction of the Poor; wherefore I pray you, whoſe Names are in the Superſcription of the Letters, that (if you ſhall ſo think good) we may meet to morrow in the morning in our Church, there to conſult and take Advice what may be the beſt way to quiet this ſtir, to the Glory of God, and our own Quietneſs. God give us his Peace, this 26th of *Jan.* 1557.

Your loving Brother,

*John Hnles.*

*I pray you, that ſo many of you as will meet at the Time and Place appointed, to put down your Names, leſt ſome perhaps may come in vain. Now all thoſe, whoſe Names are before rehears'd, came, except Mr.* Warcope.

After Conſultation and Advice taken, it ſeem'd beſt to all them that were call'd together and met there, that the next day after, one of them, in all their Names, ſhou'd deal with the Paſtor and Elders; that ſince *Aſhley* complain'd that they were an adverſary part unto him, they wou'd ſuffer the Church, or ſome ſuch certain Perſons as the Church ſhou'd appoint, to take knowledg of the cauſe, and to hear firſt whether they were an adverſary part to *Aſhley*; which if they were not found to be, then the knowledg of the matter ſhou'd be put back again to them, and that with ignominy and ſhame of him that had appeal'd from them; but if they were found to be an adverſary part, that then it ſhou'd ſeem unjuſt that they ſhou'd ſit in their own Cauſe as Judges, but more meet and upright it wou'd be that then the Church ſhou'd know and underſtand of the whole matter. Whereupon the next day after, that is to ſay, the 18*th* of *Jan.* when Prayers were ended, the matter was propos'd to the Paſtor and Elders by one appointed for that purpoſe. When this Counſel was once known, the Miniſter, by the Conſent of the Elders, drew out of his Boſom a Decree which the Magiſtrate of that City had made, and read it with a loud Voice before the whole Church. The Decree being read, he added in grave words, that theſe our Aſſemblys and Meetings wou'd be very dangerous, not to us only, but to all the Congregations of Strangers; for it was greatly to be fear'd leſt the Magiſtrate, being offended with ſuch Meetings, did not ſhut up the Gates of our Church alone, but alſo of all the ſtrange Churches. And therefore that he (to the end he might in good ſeaſon provide for ſuch dangers) wou'd ſurely, by Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, handle according to his deſert Mr. *Hales* (who then by occaſion of Sickneſs was abſent) the Author of that Aſſembly, and that he wou'd pronounce of us generally, that if it were not ſchiſmatical, yet that it did without doubt tend to Schiſm, howſoever we excus'd our Minds and Purpoſes. Moreover, he affirm'd that we had done very ill, in that we had excluded and ſhut out certain which came into the Church in the time of our Conſultation and Meeting. Anſwer was made, in the name of the Church, that that Decree of the Magiſtrate was by them before, both read over thorowly, and alſo very diligently weighed, and that they judg'd that Decree to be moſt upright, and juſtly to be fear'd of wicked and leud Men, ſuch as were Sectarys and factious Perſons; and that they did aſſuredly know that the Threats of that Decree did nothing at all concern them who were met together to make Peace and Unity; and that they for this Deed did ſo little fear the Anger and Diſpleaſure of the Magiſtrate, that they truſted the Magiſtrate wou'd praiſe them for this matter, if perhaps he knew of the thing it ſelf; and that therefore they were aſſembled and come together, that the whole matter might be quietly ended among themſelves, and not brought before the Magiſtrate. For where we (ſay they) were baniſh'd Men, and had, by the means of a very good Magiſtrate, receiv'd that ſingular and moſt excellent benefit of Reſt and Quietneſs, we ſhou'd do that which ſhou'd be moſt unfit and unſeemly for us, if we ſhou'd, by occaſion of our Strifes and Hurliburlies, trouble the Magiſtrate, and render unto that very good Magiſtrate Unquietneſs, Troubles and Stirs, which ſhou'd be very evil Thanks for ſo great a benefit of Quietneſs and Reſt as we have receiv'd. And we affirm, that we ſo much the more diligently and willingly labour'd in pacifying and ending this Controverſy, becauſe there were amongſt us certain, who raſhly and without Advice, brought unto the Magiſtrate all light and ſmall Controverſys, which might eaſily have been determin'd and ended among our ſelves; herein deſerving no favour at all, either at the hands of ſo good a Magiſtrate, whom they ofttimes without cauſe troubled, or of their Countrymen, whom they by theſe their privy Complaints and Accuſations did among Strangers ſlander as unquiet and troubleſom Men; and that they had done no leſs Diſpleaſure to the Goſpel we profeſs (which by occaſion of ſuch Accuſations is commonly evil-ſpoken of among the Adverſarys) than to that ſo good a Magiſtrate, and to their own Countrymen. And that we therefore (to the end the Magiſtrate might not be troubled, nor our Nation ſlander'd as unquiet and troubleſom, nor the Word of God thro us evil-ſpoken of) met together to take Counſel and Advice how all the matters might be peaceably ended, and for no other cauſe or purpoſe. And where it was objected, that in that Decree of the Magiſtrate there was no mention at all made either of the whole Church, or of the Authority of the whole Church: We anſwer (ſay they) that we do not ſo interpret the Magiſtrate's Decree, as tho it were the Magiſtrate's Mind and Pleaſure to take from the Church the Right and Authority due to the Church, and make the whole Church ſubject to ſome certain Perſons; for we both well enough know, by the example of the *French* Church in a like Controverſy, and we have try'd that ſo very good a Magiſtrate hath very great care of the Church. And as concerning Mr. *Hales*, it was anſwer'd, that he was then abſent, by reaſon of his Sickneſs, and not for fear, or that he was guilty to himſelf of any Ill.

And concerning our whole Purpoſe and Buſineſs, becauſe it was ſaid, Tho our Minds perhaps were upright, yet the Deed it ſelf was, if not ſchiſmatical, yet verily tending to Schiſm: Anſwer was made in all our names, that we wou'd render account as well of our Minds and Purpoſe before God, as of our Deed before the whole Church, and that under peril and pain of the laſt Puniſhment that Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline can appoint; or if the matter ſo require, before the Civil Magiſtrate in pain of our Life. And as touching them that were not admitted into the Church to our Conſultation; it was anſwer'd, That we were unjuſtly accus'd, for that it was not a publick and common Aſſembly of the whole Church, but a Meeting of ſome certain Perſons to conſult of that which might be profitable; and therefore they had no greater injury done them in not being at the Conſultation, to which they were not call'd or ſent for, than if they had not been admitted into ſome certain private Stove or Houſe. For as touching the Church, ſeeing it was then empty and void of People, it was as it were a private Houſe. Neither is every Aſſembly met there to be counted the Church: For when the Paſtor, or ſome other readeth there a Lecture, or moderateth the Diſputations, it is not then a Church, but a School; and therefore not the Place, but the Company of Men gather'd together did make a Church or Congregation. Afterwards, it was ſcarcely by many words obtain'd of the Paſtor and Seniors, that the Church might without their favour and good-will meet together for the finiſhing and taking up of this Controverſy, and uprightly determine whether the ſaid Paſtor and Elders were an adverſary part to *Aſhley* yea or no, which thing yet at the length the Paſtor and Elders granted to the Church: and the Paſtor and Elders being requir'd and deſir'd that they wou'd together be preſent with us in the Congregation; they anſwer'd, that there was no ſuch need, neither that they wou'd at any hand hinder us. The next day after, to wit, the 29th of *January*, the Paſtor and Elders agreeing thereto, as it is ſaid before, when the whole Church was met together, Mr. *Hales*, who then was ſomewhat better, and was preſent when they began to take Advice and Counſel, roſe up and ſpake to this purpoſe: My Brethren (ſaith he) ſeeing I am accus'd of the Paſtor before the whole Church as the Author of Schiſm, or of a ſchiſmatical Fact, or at the leaſt tending to Schiſm, if you alſo judg of me in like ſort I will depart out of this Company, as one being unmeet to tarry among you in this Aſſembly. This being ſaid, he addreſs'd himſelf to depart. Afterwards he was call'd back by all the Men there aſſembled, and intreated to abide among them. Afterward he drew forth thoſe Letters by which he had call'd certain Men together to make Peace and end the ſtir, as is before ſaid, and prefer'd them to the Church to be openly read: Which Letters being read, that his Deed was judg'd of all them that were preſent both honeſt and moſt meet for a Chriſtian Man, neither that any Man, that had call'd either others to make Peace by their Meeting, was for ſuch a fact to be accounted a Schiſmatick. They then were all deſir'd, that ſeeing they had ſo judg'd and determin'd, they wou'd appoint this their Sentence to be regiſtred and put down in writing, that it might ſtand inſtead of a Record and Teſtimony, not for Mr. *Hales* only, but for all other in the like caſe; and withal, that this new and preſent upſtarting matter might by their judgments be decided and ended, leſt it might bring forth and ſtir up new Contentions among them. Whereupon it was put down in writing to this effect: If two, four, eight, twelve, or more or leſs, met in the Church, when it was void of People, Prayer and other Exerciſes, or elſe in private Houſes to make Peace between ſome Members of the Church, or to conſult of any other thing profitable for the Church, that that their Deed and Act ſhou'd not in any caſe be judg'd or eſteem'd unorderly, ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, or tending to Schiſm.

Neither that he, which either by writing or word of mouth, had ſo call'd them together, ſhou'd be thought to be the Author of any Schiſm, or a ſchiſmatical Fact, or tending to Schiſm and Diviſion. And becauſe now no place of ſpeaking in the Congregation, without offence, did ſeem any more to be left to any Man; It was ordain'd the ſaid 29th of *Jan.* that it ſhou'd be lawful for any Man, having before deſir'd of the Paſtor, Elders and whole Church licenſe and liberty to ſpeak, to ſhew his Judgment and Opinion in the Church, without any reproach of a diſorder'd Deed therefore, ſo it be that he did it godly, quietly and ſoberly: If he ſhou'd ſpeak any ungodly thing, that then it was lawful for the Paſtor and Seniors, or any of them, forthwith to command him to hold his Tongue. The laſt day of *Jan.* being the Sabbath-day, after Morning-Prayer was ended, Pardon was offer'd of all private Offences, by the Paſtor in his own name, and the name of the Elders, to all the People of the Church, and in like ſort the People were deſir'd to pardon them; yet in ſuch ſort this was done, that the Paſtor and Elders wou'd reſerve to themſelves ſuch Cauſes as concern'd their Miniſtry, to be purſu'd and follow'd of them. It was anſwer'd again, in our names of the Church, that we in like ſort did pardon all Men all private Grudges, yet that the Church did, according to their example, reſerve unto it ſelf publick Cauſes belonging to the Church, and the liberty thereof, quietly and chriſtianly to be purſu'd and follow'd; which Anſwer, altho it were meaſur'd by the rule of that Pardon and Forgiveneſs which the Paſtor had before offer'd, yet it did no whit at all pleaſe him, which thing alſo I warrant you he did not diſſemble. Afterwards the Paſtor and Elders ſuffer'd that the ſame day in the Afternoon the Church ſhou'd again meet, and ſhou'd try out and know the matter between them and *Aſhley*; to wit, whether they were an adverſary part to *Aſhley*, yea or no: But the Paſtor and Elders being deſir'd that they alſo wou'd be preſent, they wou'd not thereto agree. Wherefore the Church being gather'd together in the Afternoon, it was judg'd by the Teſtimony of ſome meet Men, and by this alſo, that in the whole Church there cou'd no other be found that wou'd accuſe *Aſhley* but the Paſtor and Elders (for it was three times very diligently enquir'd of, and publiſh'd among the People, that if there were any in the whole Church that either wou'd or cou'd accuſe Mr. *Aſhley*, he ſhou'd then utter it) it was, I ſay, judg'd and determin'd, that the Paſtor and Elders were an adverſary part to Mr. *Aſhley*, and that therefore they were not fit and competent Judges in that matter. Furthermore, it was fully decreed, that the Paſtor and Elders in ſuch Cauſes, as in which they were an adverſary part, were not fit Arbiters or Judges, but that ſuch Cauſes did appertain and belong either to the knowledg of the Congregation, or of ſuch as the Congregation wou'd appoint to that purpoſe. And becauſe the Paſtor and Elders have been oftentimes deſir'd to be preſent with us, and yet wou'd not (notwithſtanding that they themſelves ſuffer'd the Congregation to meet together) leſt perhaps ſome deceit might be among many of the Congregation, as tho it were not of it ſelf lawful, or to ſmall purpoſe, to appoint any thing without the Paſtor and Elders (which thing was afterward try'd) it was decreed, that if the Paſtor and Elders were requir'd to be preſent at an Aſſembly, and wou'd not come, the Aſſembly was lawful, notwithſtanding their Abſence, and that thoſe things which they decreed, ſhou'd be had and eſteem'd as a lawful Decree. Theſe Eccleſiaſtical Decrees and Ordinances, which even now we rehears'd, were ſubſcrib'd unto, with the names of 33 Perſons, which is a great deal the bigger part of the Church, and the 2d of *February* were offer'd up to the Paſtor and Elders in the name of the whole Church, with this Proteſtation following: We preſent unto you theſe our Decrees and Ordinances, agreeing with Right and Reaſon, and not contrary to the Holy Scriptures, deſiring to have you know them, and further requiring that you wou'd with us conſent, yield and ſubſcribe to the ſame; or if ye will not do ſo, ſhew we pray your upright reaſons and good cauſes why ye refuſe; for we are ready to correct and amend our faults, if they be ſhew'd us, at the mention of any private Perſon, much more at yours the Paſtor and Elders: For as we deſire their Wiſdoms to come to perfect Truth, ſo we will not, thro ſtubbornneſs, defend any Error, being ſhew'd unto us to be an Error indeed. Yet notwithſtanding afterward,

*Mr.* Nowel *was the mouth for the reſt.*

ward, upon the aforeſaid day of *February*, the Paſtor did in his own name, and in the name of the Elders, openly read certain written Letters, to which he and the Seniors had before, in the preſence of the Church, ſubſcrib'd their Names. The ſum whereof was this: Seeing the Church had left unto them a vain ſhadow only of Authority, without any other matter, that therefore they did in our Preſence ſhake off from themſelves, and utterly forſake all Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry and Service to the Church.

Among other things they added this, That we had given them a cauſe to complain of us to the Magiſtrates, but that for our ſakes they wou'd not do it. Afterward ſome of them departed, and ſat down in private mens places, neither wou'd they ſuffer ſo much as to be call'd by the name of Paſtors and Elders: Then one, in the name of the whole, having fully ſhew'd before that there was no juſt cauſe given them by the Church ſo to forſake their Miniſtry, did afterward, in the name of the whole Church, earneſtly deſire them, that they wou'd not in ſuch manner forſake and leave the Church, that had deſerv'd no ſuch thing at their hands.

This was, with moſt earneſt and effectual words, requir'd of them three or four times in the name of the whole Church, but they remain'd wilful and obſtinate in their purpoſe, not ſo much as once ſuffering themſelves to be call'd by the name of Paſtors and Elders. Then at the length it was ſhew'd unto them, in the name of the whole Church, that the Church wou'd not admit that their forſaking of their Miniſtry, but wou'd ſtill take and receive them for their Paſtor and Elders. And when one, in the name of the Church, did accuſe the Paſtor and *Chambers* to be ſuch as had abus'd the Church, leaving and forſaking it in ſuch a manner, without any cauſe or reaſon ſhew'd; and did, in the name of the Church, deſire them to make Anſwer unto him concerning this great Deed, they utterly refuſed the ſame: but *Horne*, who was then Paſtor, haſtily taking a Pen, wrote to this purpoſe in a piece of Paper in his own name, and in the name of the Elders: Whereas we are urg'd and preſs'd by one, in the name of the Church, to make Anſwer, We generally anſwer, that whenſoever we ſhall be ordinarily demanded before the Church, or them which the Church ſhall appoint, we will then anſwer; or if we ſhall be call'd before the Civil Magiſtrate, we will there anſwer. Other Anſwer than this they wou'd give none, to any of the Queſtions which we had propos'd in all our names of the Church (and they aſſign'd this Writing by putting to their Names) whereas indeed this was not only to anſwer nothing at all, but alſo to pretend a clok'd cauſe of anſwering nothing at all. Moreover, they were deſir'd, in the name of the Church, that they wou'd deliver to the Church the Letters ſign'd with their own hands, by which they had ſhew'd their renouncing and denying of the Miniſtry; or if they wou'd not do that, that then againſt a certain day they wou'd grant and give to the Church a Copy thereof. But neither wou'd they give them the Letters which they had in their Boſom, neither wou'd promiſe any Copy to the Church, who moſt earneſtly requir'd the ſame of them. At laſt the Paſtor and Elders departed, ſome certain few following them, but the multitude remain'd, and ſo far forth as they cou'd remember committed to writing the Acts of that day, and the ſum of thoſe Letters (by which the Paſtor and Elders had willingly put themſelves from the Miniſtry) and for Witneſs ſubſcrib'd thereto with Thirty and their Names. The next day after, that is, the 3d of *February*, the Paſtor and the Elders being call'd of the Church by the Deacon, to intreat of making Peace, they came together and met; but the Paſtor and Elders ſet themſelves down in private places. Afterwards the Paſtor (becauſe one ſpeaking in the Congregation, did not by and by, ſo ſoon as he bad him, hold his Peace) fain'd that he wou'd depart; but when he perceiv'd that very few follow'd him, and by ſome counſell'd, he return'd, and ſuddenly plac'd himſelf in the Paſtor's place, and call'd the Elders to him; which thing before he had refus'd to do, altho he were by the whole Church very inſtantly and earneſtly requir'd thereto. Then he ſpake to this effect: We indeed (ſaith he) did diſplace our ſelves from the Miniſtry, notwithſtanding abſolutely and fully we did it not, but under this condition only, if you ſhou'd proceed to deal in ſuch ſort as you have done againſt the old and receiv'd Diſcipline. Now then, if ye go forward as you have appointed and purpos'd, then will we wholly and altogether diſplace our ſelves from our Miniſtrys; but if you will obey the old Diſcipline, then will we continue Paſtor and Elders as we are. Anſwer was made, that there was nothing at all contain'd in the old Diſcipline, whereby they might meddle with, or proceed againſt the Paſtor and Elders, if perhaps they were found faulty and in ſome offence. Moreover, that there was nothing put down concerning ſuch cauſes, as in which the Paſtor and Elders were an adverſary part, and therefore it was deſir'd that they wou'd ſuffer the Diſcipline in that behalf to be amended, and to be made more perfect. Now the Paſtor being offended as it ſhou'd ſeem with ſo free Speech, wou'd immediately again have been gone, and ran even to the Church-door; but yet ſeeing but few following him, by the Counſel and Advice of certain Perſons, he return'd and ſat himſelf down in the Paſtor's place with the Seniors.

And in like ſort, by and by again upon the ſudden, he ran for the third time; but within a little while after he return'd and planted himſelf in the Paſtor's accuſtom'd place. Afterwards Intreaty was made with the Paſtor and Elders, in the name of the Church, that they wou'd ſuffer *Aſhley*'s Cauſe (in which matter they themſelves were found at length to be an adverſary Party) and the hearing thereof, to come before the Church, and that the Church wou'd (if *Aſhley* were found faulty) very ſharply and ſeverely puniſh him, and in this behalf abundantly ſatisfy the Paſtor and Elders, and all good Men; but the Paſtor and Elders wou'd at no hand ſuffer that. And as concerning the amending of the Diſcipline, the Paſtor ſaid, that he and the Elders with certain others, by the Authority of the Church, being join'd unto them, wou'd (if the Church ſo thought good) amend the Diſcipline. But Anſwer was made to both, in the name of the Church: Firſt, That it was very unjuſt that the Church ſhou'd not be ſuffer'd to have Judgment and Determination; for thereby the Authority and Right of the Church was wholly as it were taken from the Church. To the Second, it was anſwer'd, That ſince ſuch Ordinances and Decrees were to be made, as by which the Paſtor and Elders ſhou'd be hereafter detain'd in Duty (ſome of them alſo being already accus'd) it ſhou'd be unjuſt dealing to admit them to the framing and making of ſuch Decrees. And when they affirm'd they wou'd anſwer no other thing, and they were deſir'd to ſuffer thoſe things to be committed to writing which were done already, they wou'd not agree; but the Paſtor ſaying he was a cold, made himſelf ready to depart, and going his way, a few following him, he pronounc'd that he diſſolv'd the Aſſembly. But the Company that tarry'd in the Church, and wrote the Doings of the day by their Decree, and appointed eight Men to amend the Diſcipline, and afterwards to offer it to the Church to be ſeen of them, did alſo appoint other eight Men (of which eight three always ſtuck to the Paſtor) Arbiters and Judges to decide the Cauſe between the Paſtor and Elders, and *Aſhley*. Theſe are their names, Mr. *Railton*, Mr. *Warcope*, Mr. *Relke*, Mr. *Falconer*, Mr. *Bentham*, Mr. *Cockroft*, Mr. *Carell* and Mr. *Wilſon*, three of which were addicted to the Paſtor, but Mr. *Bentham* and Mr. *Relke* always ſhew'd themſelves indifferent and equal to both ſides. From that time forwards the Paſtor and Elders, and certain others being oftentimes call'd of the Church by the Deacons, and certain others, to intreat of making Peace and Agreement, wou'd never appear or be preſent.

Moreover, the Paſtor and the Deacons, and certain painful poor men, ceas'd both from Preaching, and alſo the Eccleſiaſtical Lectures and other ordinary Functions and Charges which they ought to have executed, neither wou'd they come to ſolemn and publick Prayers in the Church. Notwithſtanding the Church yet, thro God's favour, obſerv'd both publick Prayers, Sermons and Eccleſiaſtical Lectures, and all other things accuſtom'd, and minded to keep them ſo long as the godly Magiſtrates ſhou'd ſuffer and grant the ſame. And no other matter did ſo much ſpread abroad throughout the City, as the Fame and Report of our Strifes, and as the Deed of Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers*: For when they of themſelves had forſaken the Church, and had by their Example ſtir'd up ſome other with their Familys to do the like, aad ſome of theſe now frequented and went partly to the *French* Church, and partly to the *German* Churches; the matter now cou'd not any longer be hid and in ſecret, ſeeing it was publiſh'd and known, not thro the City only, but the Fame thereof ran to other Strangers alſo: which matter and buſineſs with their Brethren, wou'd to God they had choſen rather to have had it ended quietly and peaceably in their own Church, than in ſuch troubleſom ſort to have conſulted ſo greatly both to their own Diſhoneſty and ours. The fourth day of *February*, which was Thurſday, and appointed for publick Prayer, the Paſtor, who that day ſhou'd have preach'd, and all the Elders, were abſent. Now the Paſtor, being before the Deacon deſir'd in the name of the Church, that either he himſelf wou'd preach, or appoint ſome other in his place; made Anſwer, That neither wou'd he preach himſelf, nor appoint any other, for that matter did nothing at all belong unto him. After Prayers were ended, ſome there were that diſputed and reaſon'd in the Paſtor's behalf, and ſaid, That that Aſſembly which remain'd after the Paſtor's departure (in as much as he had Authority to call together the Church, and to break up the Aſſembly, and he going his way, ſaid, that he brake up that Aſſembly) was no lawful Aſſembly. To whom it was (in the name of the Church) anſwer'd, That Mr. *Horne* had put out himſelf from his Paſtoral Duty, and therefore, both for that matter, and many other recited before among the Acts of the 2d of *February*, he had not any Authority, or any manner of right either to gather together or to break up the Aſſembly. And altho it were granted that he was their lawful Paſtor, yet it was affirm'd the Church was above the Paſtor, and not the Paſtor above the Church; and that therefore tho the Paſtor departed before the Acts of that day were confirm'd, and pronounc'd that he brake up the Aſſembly, yet was the Aſſembly which remain'd and tarry'd behind a lawful Aſſembly, and had Authority to make effectual Decrees, by which they might bind all and every Member of the Church without exception. And that this Queſtion (whether the Pope was above the Church, or the Church above the Pope) was ſtir'd up in the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and was decided alſo by the Authority of the School of *Paris* join'd thereto. Now they which reaſon'd in the Paſtor's behalf, did ſeem by the ſpace of certain days after to approve theſe two Councils, for they plac'd the Paſtor above the Church. They brought forth openly all the old ſtore and houſhold-ſtuff of *Pighius* and *Eckius* of the Primacy of the Pope, under the name of the Paſtoral Authority; and for proof thereof, the Acts and Diſputations of that day were in teſtimony ſign'd and confirm'd with two and thirty names. The 5th of *February*, Mr. *Horne* and the Seniors being requir'd of the Congregation by a Deacon to come and treat of Reconciliation, wou'd not appear. After this there were three Meſſengers ſent from the Congregation unto them, of whom one was to be ſpecially reverenc'd of all that be of the Congregation, both for his Age and Gravity; the other two ſpecially well-learn'd, to the end they ſhou'd be mov'd by theſe ſo honeſt a Company of Meſſengers ſent by the Congregation. Theſe Men, when they had, in the Churches name, inſtantly deſir'd and pray'd them that they wou'd come to the Congregation, and there commune brotherly among themſelves for a quiet agreement to be had, ſo as the matter might not come to the Magiſtrates Ears, nor be bruited any farther abroad, to the great infamy of our Nation, cou'd do no good with them at all, for they ſaid they wou'd not come unleſs they were ordinarily call'd; as for other Anſwer, at that preſent they wou'd make none. When this Anſwer was declar'd to the Congregation, it was determin'd, that foraſmuch as *R. Horne* had openly put himſelf out of his Paſtorſhip by Writing, ſubſcrib'd with his own Hand, and confirm'd the ſame by Words and Deeds, in long abſtaining from Preaching and other Paſtoral Functions, and affirming, that ſuch matters were no point of his Charge; inaſmuch as now being call'd of the Church, he will not appear, and ſo abſtaineth altogether from publick Prayers and all Eccleſiaſtical Meetings. And foraſmuch alſo as the Seniors come not at the Meetings of the Church, leſt the Congregation, thro the frowardneſs of the ſaid *R. Horne*, and abſence of the Seniors, being void and deſtitute of Common Prayer, Preaching and Reading the Scriptures, ſhou'd be utterly diſſolv'd, that certain Men ſhou'd take charge of the Church, and for all things to be done in the Congregation, as it hath by God's Goodneſs been yet hitherto done.

Other Decrees alſo, which are ſpecify'd in the Acts of the 5th day of *Feb.* they eſtabliſh'd; all which, every one that was preſent, confirm'd by his name ſubſcrib'd with his own hand, as they were wont to do in other Acts and Decrees, and to the Decrees of that day ſubſcrib'd 33 hands. But in this behalf both Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers*, and others in their behalf, did find very much fault with us, for that we had proceeded unordinarily, that is (you muſt underſtand) contrary to the old Diſcipline; for where they cou'd not juſtly find fault with thoſe things that the Church had done, they made cavillation at the manner of doing of things, as an unordinary manner. And we anſwer'd, as well many other things grew now by occaſion of that matter, as this chiefly: In caſe Mr. *Chambers*, or any other man, either wou'd or cou'd ſhew any ordinary way in the old Diſcipline, whereby the Congregation, or any other might commence matter, and proceed againſt him, or againſt the Senior or Seniors being accus'd; or how we might proceed ordinarily according to the old Diſcipline in Cauſes, wherein he and the Seniors were the one part, as they now were prov'd to be; and if Mr. *Horne*, or any other Man, either wou'd or cou'd ſhew the Title or Words in the old Diſcipline, wherein this ordinary way is ſet forth and contain'd; then we wou'd confeſs that we had gone amiſs out of the ordinary way and old Diſcipline. But if neither he, nor any other wou'd or cou'd ſhew in Deed, that they wou'd not be diſcontent at us that reduc'd the Congregation to their right Authority, and amended that old Diſcipline as a thing amiſs, or fill'd it up as a thing unperfect, and brought the matter to the hearing of the Church, as it ought to be; that they wou'd at length give over to vaunt themſelves ſo of the Order which they never had, or to blame us hereafter for proceeding unordinarily. The ſum of this Anſwer we divided into certain Articles, and ſent them privately to Mr. *Horne* to peruſe, requiring his Anſwer to the ſame; and alſo we ſtick'd them upon the Pulpit in the Church, where they remain'd a great many days. And where it was requir'd in that ſame Writing, that Mr. *Horne* or the Seniors, or ſome other man ſhou'd make anſwer unto theſe matters; there is no man yet hitherto that hath made any anſwer, either by word or writing, ſaving that Mr. *Horne* falling to his old general Anſwer, ſaid, He wou'd make Anſwer when he was ordinarily call'd or queſtion'd with: for by this ſhift he thinketh he undoeth all Doubts at once; whereas indeed to anſwer after that ſort, is to anſwer nothing at all, but to pretend falſe Cauſes to hold his Tongue, when he is able to ſhew no reaſon for himſelf. For this was his meaning, that he is not ordinarily call'd nor queſtion'd withal, nor accus'd ordinarily, ſaving only before himſelf, and the Seniors as Judges; whereas they both in their giving over of their Miniſtry, and in the principal cauſe againſt Mr. *Aſhley*, were the adverſary part: ſo that by his judgment there is no ordinary way to meddle againſt the Paſtor and Seniors, except they call themſelves to be Hearers of their own Cauſe, and their own Judges themſelves; for other ordinary ways againſt the Paſtor and Seniors in that old Diſcipline of theirs, neither he or any other ſhall be able to ſhew.

After this, when thoſe eight Perſons, which were appointed by the Church to hear the variance between Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* on the one ſide, and Mr. *Aſhley* on the other ſide, ſhou'd proceed in the hearing of that matter, Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers*, who had abſented themſelves now eleven days from the Church, were commanded by the Magiſtrate the 12th of *February* (for that day they and certain others were ſeen with the Magiſtrate) that they ſhou'd in no wiſe come at our Church. When we heard of it, we had marvel; firſt that the matter was come to the Magiſtrate's ear (for Mr. *Horne* and the reſt teſtify'd the 2d of *February*, by their own Hand-writing, that they wou'd never open it to the Magiſtrate) and, Secondly, ſeeing Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* cou'd by no means be intreated to come to the Church, it ſeem'd a wonder that it was commanded by the Magiſtrates that they ſhou'd not come, as tho they had been deſirous to come, which indeed needed not.

Therefore the moſt part thought that that Commandment was obtain'd by their own Suit at the Magiſtrate's hands, both that ſuch Perſons as knew not the matter ſhou'd be perſuaded that it was long of the Magiſtrate's Commandment that they did not their Offices in the Church; whereas before this Commandment was given, they had of a purpos'd frowardneſs abſented themſelves now already more than ten days from the Congregation. And alſo beſides, that the Congregation might not proceed againſt them, ſeeing the Magiſtrate commanded them that they ſhou'd not appear. And this was the very lett indeed why the Congregation proceeded not in hearing and determining of the variance between Mr. *Horne* and *Chambers* of the one part, and *Aſhley* on the other.

And in this they burden'd us maliciouſly without cauſe, as tho we wou'd have *Aſhley* rid from judgment of that matter, and as tho that were the only thing which was ſought in our Contention; whereas indeed it was long of them that his Cauſe was not determin'd. We therefore, having knowledg of this matter, for fear leſt we ſhou'd be falſly accus'd, as tho we had utter'd it to the Magiſtrate, and he ſeem'd firſt to have accus'd our Brethren unto the Magiſtrate, which we might not abide to do, aſſembled together in the Church the 13th of *February*, and there was openly recited in writing this that followeth: Foraſmuch as our Contention is already bruited abroad, not only thro this City, but alſo come to the Magiſtrate's Ear (for we hear that Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* were commanded by the Magiſtrate yeſterday, that is, the 12th of *February*, that they ſhou'd in no wiſe come at the Congregation till the Magiſtrate had fuller knowledg of the matter) we profeſs that neither Mr. *Horne*, nor Mr. *Chambers*, nor no Man elſe was complain'd upon to the Magiſtrate by us or any of us, or by our means; but that we ſought rather by all diligent endeavour that the matter ſhou'd not come abroad, but that all matters might have been ſecretly agreed among our ſelves, and that we wou'd all Men ſhou'd underſtand by this our writing. This done, thoſe that knew themſelves to be of an upright Conſcience in this behalf, were requir'd to ſet their hands to that Writing, and ſo there were 37 hands ſubſcrib'd, as appeareth in the Acts of the 13th of *February*. And where Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* being ſo often deſir'd by all inſtant means of the Congregation, that they wou'd be content to have all matters pacify'd among us by brotherly Communication, did never ſuffer themſelves to be talk'd withal of any matter, leſt they ſhou'd afterward alledg to ſuch as knew not the matter, that they did it of force becauſe of the Magiſtrate's Commandment, which forbad them to come to the Congregation. All the time wherein they abſented themſelves, and contemn'd ſo many Deſires and Intreaties of the Church to have met upon Agreement-making, before any Commandment was given them of the Magiſtrate (which Commandment notwithſtanding may ſeem that they at length, for the Cauſes before-mention'd, procur'd themſelves) was recorded among the Acts of that 13th of *February*, and confirm'd by the Teſtimonys of 37 names ſubſcrib'd, as in the Act appeareth more at large.

The 14th of *February* thoſe eight which were appointed the 3d of *February* by the Congregation to amend the Diſcipline, preſented the Book of the Diſcipline to the Congregation again, and the Congregation allow'd it. And thoſe matters that were alter'd or augmented in the Diſcipline, were ſuch as ſpecially pertain'd to thoſe Cauſes, wherein the Paſtor and the Seniors were the one part. And how it muſt be proceeded againſt the Paſtor and Seniors, in caſe any of them were accus'd (for concerning theſe things there was never a word in the old Diſcipline) and where, in the old Diſcipline, there was no certain mention how the Church ſhould be govern'd, and ſeeing Mr. *Horne* and others had now utterly forſaken the Congregation, who in leaving their Offices had drawn away with them the moſt part of them that were appointed Preachers, and diſpoſing of the Church-mony, were more largely and more truly ſet forth and expreſs'd.

For where Mr. *Chambers* had authority to gather all godly mens Alms for the poor of the Congregation, confirm'd unto him (as he himſelf requir'd) in writing, ſign'd by the Paſtor and Seniors, and certain other of the chief men of the Church with their own Hands; and had exercis'd the ſame, gathering now a year and half, and that he alone ſhould receive all, and he alone diſtribute, and be accountable to no man, and he alone to be privy to the Mony: that matter (were he never ſo faithful a man) ſeem'd very ſuſpicious to him, and hurtful to the Church, if he ſhould die ſuddenly, as the ſtate of man is caſual; and the Example alſo ſhould ſeem pernicious to the Church, leſt perhaps another man of ſmall fidelity ſhould by the ſame reaſon draw all the Church-mony into his own hands only.

And foraſmuch as the Deacons (unto whom the Charge of the Church-mony ſeemeth to appertain by the Word of God, and by the Example of all rightly inſtituted Churches) in our Congregation had not a Mite to beſtow (for there were made Deacons honeſt Men indeed, but yet ſuch as for their Poverty ſeem'd not fit Men to whom the common Mony ſhould be committed) and by that colour Mr. *Chambers* thought he might, without controling, receive all the common Mony in his own hands alone: The Congregation thought good to have a Deaconſhip appointed more uprightly, according to the Rule deſcrib'd in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Example of other godly inſtituted Churches; and to the intent the Church-mony might be meddled withal by the Deacons without all ſuſpicion, it is provided in the amending of the Diſcipline, that ſuch Men ſhould be choſen Deacons, as be not only of a moſt approved good Fidelity, but alſo ſuch as were able handſomly to live of their own, without any need of the Church's Alms. And indeed this ſeem'd to be now ſo much the more neceſſary, for that many complain'd, ſome that the Alms which they receiv'd before privately of private Friends was taken up by the way, ſince Mr. *Chambers* began to gather, as indeed Mr. *Horne* then Paſtor threaten'd openly out of the Pulpit in his Sermon, ſaying, That he would ſtop all mens Vents (as he term'd it) and Receipts. Again, ſome complain that they could have nought at Mr. *Chambers*'s hand, but after beſeeching

ing and unreaſonable long Delays: ſome that they could have nothing without bitter Upbraidings; and ſome, that they could obtain nothing of Gift, but only of Loan; and other ſome, that they could get nothing at all. So that now it ſeem'd requiſite of neceſſity to ſeek ſome Remedy for theſe Miſchiefs. All which Complaints we ſhall be conſtrain'd of extreme neceſſity to put into one ſeveral piece of Work touching the whole matter, and communicate it to good men. And concerning the Diſcipline, ſeeing there was no certain expreſs way in the old Diſcipline how the Congregation ſhould be govern'd, neither could any long Quietneſs endure, ſo long as Mr. *Horne* had the Government of that Diſcipline; and ſeeing now Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* have utterly forſaken the Church, not only themſelves, but alſo have drawn away with them many other, and of them the moſt part ſuch as were appointed Preachers and Readers of the Scriptures; ſo as they might plainly appear to ſeek nothing elſe but that the Congregation being deſtitute of preaching and reading (as tho it could not ſtand without thoſe Men) ſhould be utterly broken up: the Congregation was of neceſſity enforc'd to deviſe and provide for ſome certain way for the governing of the Church, whereby the Congregation might be ſet at a firm and a conſtant Quietneſs.

After this, *Febr.* 14. two Preachers of the *French* and *Flemiſh* Churches, and Mr. *Valeran Pullain* came to the Congregation with the Magiſtrates Edict. The meaning of the Edict was, that Mr. *Horne*, Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Iſaac*, and the reſt of the Seniors ſhould be reſtor'd unto their former full Authority, and that Mr. *Horne* ſhould do the Office of Paſtor, and they of Seniors in our Church, till the Magiſtrates might have the hearing and determining of the matter more at large. And it was commanded, that all ſuch Men as had any thing to ſay againſt Mr. *Horne* and the reſt, ſhould exhibit the ſame to the Magiſtrate in writing. Mr. *Horne*, the Decree being read, conſulting firſt with ſome of his Complices, as in a new matter that he never knew before, ſaid to this effect: That he was ready to obey the honourable Magiſtrate, as concerning other Functions belonging to the Paſtor, that is to ſay, Conſultations with the Seniors, and Adminiſtration of Diſcipline; but he would not meddle with Preaching, becauſe his Miniſtry was infamed by ſome men, he could not do it without the offence of himſelf and of many. Anſwer was made in the Church's name, For that the honourable Magiſtrate had ſent the Seniors again to the Church, the Church was glad of it: for they were all ſorry for their departure, and now were very joyous of their coming again. Concerning Mr. *Horne*, forſomuch as he refus'd the chiefeſt part of the Paſtor's Office, wherein he hath behav'd himſelf well (if in any thing well) that is, in the Office of Preaching. Again, where he would take upon him that part wherein he is juſtly reprehended, as wanting Diſcretion and Soberneſs therein, that is, the Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline with the Seniors, he overſhooteth himſelf in both theſe points.

Therefore inaſmuch as he exempteth himſelf from that Office wherein he might profit the Congregation, the Congregation in like caſe will not admit him to that Office, wherein he both ill behav'd himſelf before, as the Congregation (if need ſhall be) ſhall declare unto the Magiſtrates; wherein likewiſe the Congregation cannot admit Mr. *Chambers* to the Office of Senior, for certain cauſes. And for the reſt of the Seniors, We (ſay they) give unto the Magiſtrates right humble Thanks.

This done, thoſe three men which came unto them with the Magiſtrate's Edict, did earneſtly exhort, firſt in the Magiſtrates name, and eftſoons in their own, to fall to a quiet Agreement among themſelves; for that were more honeſty than to accuſe one another unto the Congregation: which thing, as it is moſt unworthy of Chriſtian men, ſo it is unto us ſpecially that profeſs our ſelves baniſh'd for the Goſpel's ſake, Anſwer was made in the name of the Church as followeth: We wiſh for a brotherly Peace from the bottom of our Hearts, praying Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* inſtantly to bend their minds unto Quietneſs, and moſt heartily beſeeching theſe three men, our Brethren, and baniſh'd for the ſame Goſpel that we are, that they will help with their Authority to ſet a Quietneſs among us, ſo as the matter ſhould come no more to the Magiſtrates ear. Theſe three anſwer'd, That they would hear what anſwer Mr, *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* would make. Hereto Mr. *Horne* anſwer'd, Seeing the matter is already before the Magiſtrate, the Magiſtrate ſhall have the hearing and determining of it. If any had ought againſt him, let them put it in writing before the Magiſtrate, for he was ready to anſwer all men; and either he would try his Innocence, or (being found faulty) ſuffer Puniſhment for the ſame. Mr. *Chambers* made like anſwer for himſelf.

Then foraſmuch as there could be no other end, the Congregation requeſted thoſe three grave and learned Preachers to make report to the Magiſtrate of their Deſire and Readineſs to have Agreement. And ſo they (as ſoon as theſe things were put in writing) departed: And the Church alſo made an Act of that Day, ſubſcribing with their hands to the ſame. The ſame day at afternoon, the Magiſtrates having more plain Intelligence of the matter, commanded by their Edict, ſubſcrib'd with their hands, that Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* ſhould meddle no more, the one with the Paſtorſhip, and the other with the Seniorſhip, till all the Controverſies were throughly heard and decided. And Commandment was given, that the eighth day after (which was the third of *March*) ſuch as had to ſay of any part ſhould be preſent. This matter was grievous to the Church (as may be thought) that things ſhould grow to ſuch extremity.

When they had gather'd certain matter, they exhibited it to the Magiſtrates, whenas they came to the *Engliſh* Church, where all the Company were aſſembled before them, which was the laſt of *February*. Where the Magiſtrates made an end (by their own Authority) of the Controverſy, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

The laſt of *February* the Magiſtrate came to our Temple, a little before ten of the clock; and there of his Authority reconcil'd certain of the Congregution that were at variance among themſelves, and took order that all former Offences ſhould be utterly extinct and bury'd in the Grave of Forgetfulneſs. Whereupon at the commandment, and in the preſence of this Magiſtrate, the Parties join'd hands together, in token that they were reconcil'd, and were good Friends and Lovers. Afterward the Paſtor, Elders, and Deacons, were put from their Eccleſiaſtical Functions by an Edict ſign'd and ſubſcrib'd with three of the Magiſtrates Hands, and were all made private Men, as the reſt of the Congregation: And by the ſame Edict of the Magiſtrates it was decreed that that Congregation might freely, when they would, chuſe either them, or other Miniſters. Likewiſe it was permitted and granted, that according to the Ability of the Congregation they might chuſe one or many Miniſters of the Word, or Doctors. Moreover, Order was taken by the ſame Edict, that the Treaſure or common Mony of the Congregation ſhould be kept and diſtributed by the Deacons: And that Deacons ſhould at certain appointed times give up an account of it before the Miniſters of the Word, and Seniors.

We were licens'd by the ſame Edict of the Magiſtrates, to draw out an Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, whereby the Congregation ſhould be govern'd. Afterward there was Thanks given to the Magiſtrate in the name of the whole Congregation, for his Good Will and Affection to the Congregation. And the Magiſtrate departed, wiſhing well in like ſort to the Company. But by whoſe means the Magiſtrate came thus unto us, and took ſuch order, or whether the Magiſtrate of himſelf wrought this device, we cannot certainly ſay. But that we of the Church were not the cauſe that any ſuch thing was done, we take God and our Conſcience, and the Magiſtrate to witneſs, who knoweth the whole matter.

The morrow after, which was the firſt of *March*, the Magiſtrate gave us counſel by a few Lines that he wrote unto us, to draw forth the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline out of hand, whilſt we were as yet all private men, and therefore might beſt take counſel for that which ſhould be moſt behovable for the whole Company; leſt that if we defer'd the doing of it until the Miniſters were choſen and appointed, our Conſultation ſhould be more troubleſom, whilſt the Miniſters on the one ſide, and the Congregation on the other, might pluck and force more unto themſelves than of right they ought. This moſt wholeſom and profitable Counſel of the Magiſtrate was next day after, which was the ſecond of *March*, propos'd in the Congregation, and it lik'd and pleas'd the whole Company: notwithſtanding, becauſe Mr. *Horne* made ſome matter, for that ſome were abſent, the matter was defer'd unto the next day.

The third of *March*, by the Advice of that good and godly Magiſtrate, eight and thirty of the Congregation choſe by Voices fifteen men to write Eccleſiaſtical Laws. Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers*, and almoſt to the number of fourteen more ſat by, and would give no Voices, notwithſtanding that we requeſted and intreated them: but they requir'd they might have leave to put down their minds in writing. So then being requeſted to write down their minds, Mr. *Horne* roſe up, and wrote in the Paper theſe words following: *My mind is, That the old Diſcipline be kept ſtill and not mended.* Mr. *Chambers*, and Mr. *Iſaac* and others, to the number of fourteen, wrote down their minds to the ſelf-ſame purpoſe. Now when we ſaw, far beyond our expectation, and otherwiſe than we look'd for, that there was a new Diſſenſion ariſing between us, being ſet at one, and reconcil'd one to the other, not ſcarce three days before, and in witneſs thereof had given hands each to other, we could not otherwiſe do but be griev'd and ſorrow greatly, to ſee the Ground-work of more Troubles and Diſſenſions laid.

And becauſe thoſe fourteen gave to underſtand, by their Hands put down unto it in writing, that they thought it not good to alter their old Diſcipline, to the end that it might evidently appear, how many we were that had conſented upon the choice of fifteen Men, who ſhould ſet down in writing a Form of Diſcipline, according as the Magiſtrate had commanded; we on the other ſide truſted, that we thought it for the behoof and profit of the Congregation, that a Form of Diſcipline ſhould be made and put down as the Magiſtrate had commanded. And to this Determination and Sentence, being put in writing, we in number eight and thirty ſubſcrib'd our Names, with Proteſtation that we did nothing but that was good and lawful, and according to the Magiſtrates Will and Mind, requeſting them to give their Conſent, and to agree with us.

*The ſimple Subtilty of his factious Head.*

But they, after much debating, and many words to and fro for their old Diſcipline, that it needed not to be diſplac'd or alter'd, came to this paſs at the length, That they ſaid, we had to conſult of correcting, but not of making a Diſcipline; and very inſtantly and earneſtly urg'd the ſame upon the words of that Advice and Counſel which the Magiſtrate had given touching the ſpeedy Diſpatch of the Diſcipline of the Church before the Election of the Miniſters. We therefore who thought it not much material whether it were term'd a new-made or a corrected Diſcipline, to have no occaſion of Diſſenſion, chang'd our Copy, and put inſtead of theſe words, *Diſcipline ſhould be made*, ſhould be corrected. And ſo thoſe fourteen, which made a ſhew before as tho they would not ſuffer any one jot of the old Diſcipline to be alter'd and chang'd, calling to mind (I ſuppoſe) either the fewneſs of their Number, or the odds of the matter, becauſe that old Diſcipline was utterly taken away by the Magiſtrates Edict, the laſt of *February*, as the chiefeſt cauſe of our Controverſies; or elſe foreſeeing, that the Magiſtrate would be offended with that their Diſſenſion: they all jointly together, Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* beginning the Dance, put their Hands to ours, for the Correction of the Diſcipline.

Horne *and his Company ſubſcribe to the other part.*

Then did Mr. *Horne* requeſt, that ſeeing now they had conſented unto us for the writing down of the Diſcipline, he and the reſidue for that fourteen might freely give their Voices for the chuſing of thoſe fourteen which they had already appointed, or ſome ſuch other as they would. But we, becauſe we had before requeſted them to give their Voices, and three refus'd, conſidering that thoſe fourteen drew all one line, and were fully bent in all points to do one as the other, being all like affected; and by that means might of purpoſe wholly beſtow their Voices upon ſome certain, and ſo overthrow our Election, which they knew already, deny'd to grant and ſuffer them: and yet we ſaid, that if they would, we would not refuſe to appoint another day, to chuſe the ſaid fourteen Men or other; yet giving Mr. *Horne* in the mean while to wit, that that matter which might have been quietly diſpatch'd in three hours, would ſcarcely by his means be finiſh'd in three days.

At the length Mr. *Horne*, after conſultation had with certain, ſpake aloud in the name of the fourteen in this wiſe: Altho (ſaid he) it were meet that we all ſeverally give our Voices, yet that we may be no longer an hinderance, I pronounce in all their names, that we all do by our Voices chuſe thoſe fourteen Men whom you have already appointed. When the reſidue were ask'd whether they conſented to this or no, Mr. *Iſaac* anſwer'd, that all agreed; otherwiſe, if any were contrary minded, he would ſpeak. And thus by a general Conſent of all, not one man excepted, fifteen men were choſen to write Eccleſiaſtical Laws the third of *March*.

*Mr.* Horne *came not till two.*

The fifteen elected agreed between themſelves to aſſemble and come together the fourth of *March*, at one of the clock at afternoon. When they came together, there was much ado a great while, whether the old Diſcipline ſhould be corrected, or a new made. We (of the Church) alledg'd, that all occaſions of old Controverſies (whereof the old Diſcipline, but unperfect and nought, was one) were utterly taken away by the Magiſtrates Edict. Some urg'd this word *corrected* or *amended*, which was in the Advice and Counſel that the Magiſtrate gave us for the ſpeedy diſpatch of Diſcipline. For, ſay they, this is not corrected which is clean taken away. At length, the Book of the old Diſcipline, and another of the new Diſcipline, which was corrected in the abſence of Mr. *Horne* and others, were read, and ſo they departed for that day, appointing to meet again the eighth of *March*, the ſame hour.

*The Book of Diſcipline brought forth and read.*

*Mr.* Horne *came at three.*

The eighth of *March* theſe fifteen Men aſſembled again, and there agreed upon Articles for making of Diſcipline; which were ſet down in a Paper, and ſubſcrib'd all unto them, ſaying, that Mr. *Horne*, Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Iſaac*, and Mr. *Bentham* would not ſubſcribe to that Article concerning the having of two Miniſters of the Word; and yet notwithſtanding they all agreed upon this, that it was a matter indifferent, whether there ſhould be one, or many Miniſters of the Word: for it is not defin'd in the Scriptures, but left free. Afterward Mr. *Hales* gave to Mr. *Chambers* a Book of Diſcipline (which was written in the abſence of Mr. *Horne* and others, and was of the ſame Articles as the Congregation had made and agreed upon)

upon) that Mr. *Horne*, and He, and Mr. *Iſaac* might read it over; and if they allow'd ought therein, that it might be annex'd to the Diſcipline that was in hand. But afterward, when Mr. *Horne*, thro occaſion of talk about the correcting of the Diſcipline, ſaid that there had been no other Diſcipline in the Church but that old Diſcipline, and that therefore the Magiſtrate ſpake of correcting of that, not of the utter aboliſhing thereof; and that it was anſwer'd, that the ſame other Book of Diſcipline being written when he was abſent, might as well be underſtood to be meant as that ſame old Diſcipline, both for that there was more equity in it, and alſo was ſubſcrib'd unto of ſo many, as well as that old Diſcipline which he ſo extol'd: Then Mr. *Horne* brake out into moſt ſpiteful words againſt all his Countrymen that had agreed to that Diſcipline, which were at the leaſt thirty ſix Perſons; affirming, that all they who had thus conſpir'd together for the eſtabliſhing of thoſe Articles (according to the ſhortneſs of the time wherein they met) were in a certain degree guilty of Treaſon againſt the Magiſtrate, againſt the Senate, and (to be ſhort) againſt the whole City.

Then Mr. *Hales* (underſtanding by Mr. *Horne*'s words, that nothing was ſought but new Trouble, and being put in mind alſo of Mr. *Bentham*) rehearſeth again that Book of Diſcipline, which a little before was offer'd to Mr. *Chambers*; affirming, that he underſtood they went about to ſeek rather an occaſion of challenging at the Book by reading of it, than a way of making a new Diſcipline.

The eleventh of *March* the fifteen Men met again upon certain Articles, to which (except one which Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* would not ſubſcribe) they all ſubſcrib'd.

A little before our departure, it was thought profitable that thoſe things which we had collected and agreed upon, ſhould be brought into a certain Form of a Book, adding either out of the old Diſcipline, or by occaſion, as we were gathering theſe things together, ſuch things as might ſeem profitable. Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* being intreated that they would gather thoſe things in ſuch ſort, or elſe be preſent to confer with others that read, Mr. *Horne* anſwereth, that he would not, neither that there was any ſuch need. The 16th day of *March* they met again in the Church, and there a certain Bill (in which were written certain Articles tending to Diſcipline) is exhibited unto them, that among the fifteen it might be deliberated upon and debated. Mr. *Iſaac* ſpake many things very ſharply againſt one Article, as very dangerous and perillous againſt thoſe good men, thro whoſe Liberality the Poor of the Church were ſuſtain'd; and making wiſe, as tho he would know that matter better, he requeſted the Bill, which being reach'd unto him, he putteth it up in his boſom, neither would he give it again: and ſo by this means he took away the matter for us to work upon, ſince that we had no other Copy.

Afterward the Book in which thoſe things were written that were agreed upon among the fifteen, and certain things out of the old Diſcipline, and other alſo were gather'd into ſome order, was brought out among them to be conſulted upon; and being read, Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* firſt of all complain'd that Book was gather'd, they not witting thereof, and had been long beaten upon among certain of them; and therefore that it was reaſon that a Copy ſhould be given to them and to Mr. *Iſaac*, and a farther time alſo to deliberate: Mr. *Iſaac* affirm'd, that he needed two months, or one at the leaſt, to conſider of that Book. It was anſwer'd, that altho Mr. *Horne* and *Chambers* complain'd that they were not admitted to the collecting of the Book, in that they did us wrong; for being of us thereunto requir'd, they refus'd it, and left it to others. In that they requir'd a Copy, it ſeem'd unjuſt (ſeeing that the Church had decreed that we the fifteen ſhould debate together as concerning the writing of the Diſcipline), for that thing tended again to a new Diſſenſion. Again, that they requir'd ſo long a time to deliberate, and eſpecially Mr. *Iſaac*, it was moſt unjuſt. For ſeeing the Mart was now at hand, it was profitable, or rather neceſſary, that our Church ſhould with ſpeed be eſtabliſh'd, and our Miniſters elected, leſt to our great infamy, men coming hither out of all *Europe*, they might alſo ſee the Broils of our Church, and ſo ſpread them far abroad among all Nations: moreover, that it would fall out to the great hurt of the Poor, if godly men being offended with our Diſſenſions (being before beneficial to the Poor) withdraw now their Liberality; and that therefore there was need of ſpeedy Help in pacifying and quieting the Church before the Mart, being now at hand. Mr. *Horne* anſwereth, that he requireth not too much time; two or three days ſhould be enough for him to deliberate, notwithſtanding that the Copy ought to be granted for no leſs time, ſeeing many things were contain'd in that Book, and ſome alſo dark and doubtful things, and to him before that time unheard of, or at leaſt unknown: and that therefore he requeſted that all ſhould be ask'd, man by man, whether they thought not this reaſonable and juſt that he requir'd; for if to the moſt it ſhould ſeem reaſonable, he would at any hand have a Copy of that Book. Every man therefore was ask'd, beginning at Mr. *Bentham*: He, as well for the cauſes before alledg'd, as alſo that no occaſion of wrangling might ariſe of the Book, and leſt the Book ſhould come to the hands of any other before it were brought to the Congregation, and for certain other cauſes, thought it not meet that any Copy ſhould be given to any; but that the Book ſhould be brought forth among them, and all they hearing it that were appointed of the Congregation, it ſhould be after read, and that time enough ſhould be given to ſtand upon every Decree and Sentence, and more exactly to examine them; and that this ſeem'd to him very juſt and reaſonable. And this Judgment is condeſcended to of all the reſt; and ſo Mr. *Horne* leaveth off from requeſting the Copy. Afterwards the Book is begun to be read from the beginning, and in examining of every of the Decrees long time is ſpent, and of ſome Articles in the beginning, much Diſputation and Debating * is had But Mr. *Horne*, Mr. *Chambers* and *Iſaac*, being ask'd their Judgments, would not anſwer, no not in the plaineſt matters, and known of all men, either to allow or diſallow; as for example, there was one Article, *We profeſs the ſelf-ſame Doctrine which is contain'd in the Canonical Books of all the Holy Scriptures, to wit, in the Books of the Old and New Teſtament, in which is contain'd fully all Doctrine neceſſary for our Salvation.* To this and ſuch other, being moſt plain and manifeſt, Mr. *Horne* anſwer'd as to all the other, that he would anſwer nothing without great Deliberation: By which his doings he gave occaſion to all men to wonder. And ſo ſome other Decrees of that Book being examin'd, a meeting of the Fifteen was appointed againſt the next day, and ſo they departed. The next day being the 17th of *March*, and again the day following being the 18th, twelve of the fifteen met; for Mr. *Iſaac*, Mr. *Horne*, and *Chambers* came not. Upon both days the Diſcipline was more diligently read and examin'd, and eleven of them which were appointed, allow'd and ſubſcrib'd unto it. Upon the 20th day of *March* the Diſcipline was offer'd to the whole Congregation, that it might of them either in the whole, or in part be allow'd or diſallow'd, and the ſame day was it twice read over.

After the reading, Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* require a Copy of the Diſcipline, that at their leiſure they might farther deliberate upon it. It was anſwer'd, that it was to be openly read and read again, both to them and others, as often as they would, with time enough given to every man more diligently to examine every Article; but ſeeing the Magiſtrates had commanded that we ſhould exhibit to them a Copy of the Diſcipline turn'd into *Latin*, ſo ſoon as poſſibly might be, therefore we durſt not ſcatter any Copy before the Magiſtrate had ſeen it. Beſides, that we fear'd leſt Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* (who were among the Fifteen appointed of the Church for the writing of the Diſcipline, who might alſo when they would not only hear the Diſcipline, but alſo examine the ſame diligently, and yet would not meet with the others at the appointed time) would requeſt a Copy not ſo much to know the Diſcipline, as to ſtir up new Broils. Nevertheleſs, when the Magiſtrate had once ſeen it, leave to be given to any man that would to ſee it. With this Anſwer they and ſome others being offended, at the ſecond reading of the Diſcipline they departed away, and abſtain'd again with their whole Houſholds from the Church, from publick Prayers and Sermons; which thing blew up and increas'd the Report of our Diſagreements and Strifes. Neither would they from that time forward, unleſs they were commanded by the Magiſtrate, come to the Church; whenas notwithſtanding they could not ſhew us any juſt cauſe to be given them why they ſhould ſo depart from the Church, and refrain the publick Prayers and godly Sermons, as if we had been Ethnicks or Publicans.

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* *If Mr.* Horn *took ſuch deliberation before he would ſubſcribe to that Article, what meaneth this, that poor ignorant Men and Women muſt thus ſubſcribe upon the ſudden, or elſe to* Newgate ?

The 25th day our Diſcipline was read the third time, and the 26th day it was read the fourth time by the commandment of the Magiſtrate; at the reading whereof all *Engliſh* men that were of the Church were commanded to be preſent. The 30th of *March* it was read the fifth time; and ſo at divers times there ſubſcrib'd Forty two in the good allowance thereof, which was the greater part by a great deal of the Church: For the whole Church at that preſent had not above Sixty two. And becauſe now the Mart was at hand, that there might be ſome better Form of a well-order'd Church, five were appointed of the Church the 20th of *March* to nominate certain, from among whom, according to the Magiſtrates Decree, ſhould be choſen the Miniſters of the Word, the Seniors, and Deacons. The 21ſt of *March* the Names of twenty men, or thereabout, were propon'd to thoſe five appointed of the Church; and therewithal declar'd, that if any would or could reprove any of them that were nam'd, either in Doctrine or Manners, they ſhould ſhew it the 23d day after. Upon the 23d, none finding any fault in any of thoſe whoſe Names were propounded, it was again decreed, that

yet

yet if they had any thing to ſay againſt any man, they ſhould declare that the 21ſt day following.

The 25th of *March* Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Binks*, Mr. *Ade*, Mr. *Bricbeck*, Mr. *Bentham*, who were among them that were nam'd, told the Church, that if peradventure they ſhould be choſen, for certain cauſes they could not ſerve the Church; and that they ſignify'd this to the Church in time, leſt the Election were fruſtrate. But when no man could object any Fault in theſe, or other that were nam'd, the Election of the Miniſters was made *March* 29th, and the ordaining of them that were choſen was appointed of the Church the day following. In the mean ſeaſon, Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers*, and certain others, left not off to ſue to the Magiſtrates, that both our Election might be hinder'd, and alſo that it might be lawful for them to be of our Church, and yet not to ſubſcribe to our Diſcipline; the thing that they themſelves notwithſtanding would never grant to any others.

The 27th of *March* after dinner it began to be mutter'd of certain, that the Magiſtrate had forbidden that we ſhould go forward in the Election, the which thing ſurely griev'd us; for by that means we ſaw that we ſhould have no Form of a Church before the Mart, and that therefore we ſhould become a Reproach to all men, which ſeem'd ſhould be ſpread among all Nations. But this Rumour was altogether vain; for the 28th of *March*, which was the Day before the Election ſhould be, after the Sermon, the Decree of the Magiſtrate was openly read in the Church, wherein it was commanded that we ſhould take in hand and perform the Election of the Miniſters in the ſame order, and upon the ſame day that we had appointed; and that all *Engliſh* men that were of our Church ſhould be preſent the ſame day at the Election, and give their Voices.

The 29th day of *March* after Prayers, the Sermon, and publick Faſt, a little before twelve, the Election of the Miniſters began to be made; and when we were in the midſt of the Election, Mr. *Horne*, Mr. *Chambers*, and others, to the number of eighteen men (who before were neither with us at the Sermon nor at Prayers, but had kept themſelves in ſome Houſes not far from the Church, being warn'd of their ſide that had watch'd us in the Church) came in ſuddenly on a troop together into the Church, and there each one ſtriveth who ſhall caſt in his Bill firſt upon the Table, ſtanding in the midſt of the Church; all which Bills contain'd one matter, and written almoſt with like words, to wit, That they could not give their Voices in the ſame Election, becauſe they could not of their Conſciences allow that Diſcipline by which the Election was made. And that they might inlarge their number, they brought with them two Bills of thoſe that were abſent, and of ſome others which never were accounted of the Church. And ſo after they had troubled our Election, and after Mr. *Horne* alſo, walking with another a little while overthwart in the midſt of the Church, all in a manner departed again.

Afterwards the Election was fully ended; at one of the clock at afternoon, there were choſen two Miniſters of the Word, ſix Seniors, and four Deacons. Now the Deacons were (beſides the wonted Cuſtom of our Church) of the number of thoſe that could live of their own; for that the common Treaſure might ſeem without all ſuſpicion to be committed to ſuch, rather than to the poorer ſort. Now, in that Mr. *Horne*, neither any of the other that were before in the Miniſtry (except only Mr. *Wilford*) were choſen again to the Miniſtry, was ſpecially thro their own fault. For Mr. *Horne* never almoſt ceas'd for certain days, to profeſs openly that he would never exerciſe again any Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry in that Church; and being before appointed by the Magiſtrate to preach in our Church, he would never ſo much as once preach. And Mr. *Chambers*, when his Name among the reſt to be choſen was propounded, the 25th of *March* he profeſs'd openly in the Church (all men hearing it) before the Election, that tho he were choſen of us to ſome Miniſtry, yet that he would never uſe it; and therefore that we ſhould not in any caſe chuſe him, unleſs we would have our Election to be fruſtrate.

Wherefore it is no marvel if they were not choſen, who, leſt they ſhould be choſen, did themſelves openly denounce it. And therefore in this they do us great wrong, who would ſeem to bear men in hand, that they were at the firſt thruſt out of their Miniſtry by us, or long of us they were not choſen in again.

Mr. *Iſaac*, in like manner, Mr. *Binks*, Mr. *Brickbeck*, and Mr. *Eſcote* openly profeſs'd, that they would in no wiſe uſe any publick Miniſtry in our Church. And hereupon it came ſpecially to paſs, that only Mr. *Wilford* (who had not made any ſuch exception) was from among them, which were before in the Miniſtry, choſen again.

The third of *April* the Magiſtrate, who deſir'd that theſe Church-Diſſenſions of ours might be pacify'd and quieted; and he now, becauſe of the Mart, had no leiſure to do the ſame, writeth his Letters to Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Sands*, and Mr. *Bartue*; in which he exhorteth them, if they could by any convenient means, as Arbiters of ſome eſtimation, to end this Strife among us.

Now when either ſide was come before them, and all we in the name of the Church (for all had granted our Controverſies to be heard and determin'd without any exception at all to them and to other Arbiters whatſoever, whom they ſhould call unto them) and had offer'd this thing to the Arbiters written, and all our Names ſubſcrib'd unto it; Mr. *Horne*, Mr. *Chambers*, and others, firſt requeſted that Mr. *Horne* might be reſtor'd to his Office of Paſtorſhip; Mr. *Iſaac*, Mr. *Chambers*, and others into their Offices of Seniors, and the old Diſcipline into its former place and authority, ſo as they were in the beginning of theſe Controverſies; for then, ſaid they, will we leave all Controverſies to the Arbiters. When we had refus'd this as moſt unjuſt and unreaſonable, then they requeſted, that ſeeing we would not reſtore the old Diſcipline, and them to their former Authority, then we would ſuffer our Diſcipline and Miniſters to be none otherwiſe than their old, without all Authority, and no Miniſter at all, nor Diſcipline to be in our Church; bnt that the matter ſhould remain in that ſtate and condition that it was in the laſt of *February*, when the Magiſtrate having put all the Miniſters from their Offices, departed from us: and ſo ſhould the matter be left to Arbiters.

When we remember'd what and how great Travels that Diſcipline and Election of Miniſters had coſt us, and ſaw that by this means our Church ſhould be made deſtitute of Miniſters, and a large Window be open'd for new Contentions, and had alſo deny'd that thing; Mr. *Horne* requeſted that it might be lawful for him to go a little aſide, and to conſult with ſome of his ſide about the whole matter. A little after returning again, and ſaying, that they would leave no way unſought after, whereby Peace might be gotten, altho they yielded much from their right: Then he readeth a certain Bill to thoſe three (appointed of the Magiſtrate) and to us written in his own name, and the names of others which I have added under here, written word for word, leſt any man ſhould think that any thing of purpoſe were alter'd by us.

## *The Bill of Mr.* Horne *and others:*

WE offer and permit with moſt willing minds (having the licence of the Magiſtrate as it may well be for this purpoſe) that all our Controverſies and Contentions whatſoever, which have been ſown and brought in among us ſince the beginning of this Breach, and ſince the firſt day we began to ſtrive; until this preſent time and hour, to be debated, decided, and determin'd by Arbiters, being none of this our Congregation; and yet from among the Brethren, our Countrymen, equally and indifferently, by the Parties diſagreeing, to be choſen upon this condition, that not only the Election of Miniſters, and beſides all others, things done by the order of the ſaid Diſcipline, ſtand in ſuſpence, to be allow'd or diſallow'd by the Determination and Judgment of the Arbiters to be choſen, as is aforeſaid. Written the fifth of *April*, 1557.

And that the indifferent Reader may, by comparing their Offer and ours, ſee which is moſt reaſonable, we have added ours alſo, written word for word as we offer'd it up before the foreſaid Mr. *Bartue*, Dr. *Cox*, and Dr. *Sands*, and to the diſſenting Brethren.

*The Copy whereof is this.*

WE ſubmit our ſelves, and are contented to commit all manner of Controverſies that have heretofore riſen amongſt us in the Church, to ſuch Arbiters as the Magiſtrate hath appointed, and to all ſuch as they call unto them to the hearing and determining thereof, according to God's Word and good Reaſon. And thus ſimply and plainly, without any manner of exception or condition. In witneſs whereof we have ſubſcrib'd our Names the fifth of *April*, Anno 1557.

Thou may'ſt ſee here (gentle Reader) that albeit we had our Diſcipline written and allow'd by eleven of the fifteen men whom the Congregation, by the Magiſtrates Authority, had appointed, to wit, the Diſcipline, and thereupon confirm'd with the Hands of forty two men, which was the greateſt part of our Church by a great deal; albeit we had alſo all Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, by the Magiſtrates Decree, and the Authority of the Congregation, lawfully elected: yet for quietneſs ſake, we put all to the Arbiters wholly, either to be allow'd or diſallow'd, without any manner of exception. But Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers*, and others, ſeeking more their own Will than any quiet Agreement, would not at the firſt admit thoſe three Arbiters appointed by the Magiſtrates. For Mr. *Horne* made exception againſt ſome of them: And afterwards would abide no Order or Offer, unleſs we would with our Subſcriptions ſuffer and commit our Diſcipline, the Election of Miniſters, and all other matters of our Church to ſtand in ſuſpence (as they call it) ſo that by their drift we ſhould have had no Diſcipline, no certain Miniſtry, no Order, and ſo conſequently no Church. They would that

*Theſe three Arbiters had their being out from the* Engliſh *Churches.*

theſe Arbiters ſhould be choſen indifferently from among ſuch as were our Countrymen, but not of our Congregation; ſo that it ſhould be lawful for them to chuſe where they liſt, and whom they liſt. Now conſider with me, whoſoever thou art (indifferent Reader) if we, firſt having given and ſeal'd our Writing in the name of the whole Church, had granted our Diſcipline, Miniſters, and all other Orders of our Church, to ſtand in ſuſpence, until they ſhould either be allow'd or diſallow'd of the Arbiters choſen in ſuch ſort, and till Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* according to their canvaſing Craftineſs, now enough and more than enough known unto us, had choſen Arbiters for their part out of far places, who either could not, or elſe would not meet together about this matter; or (which was moſt certain to come to paſs) if Mr. *Horne*, and Mr. *Chambers*, whereſoever at length they had choſen Arbiters, had not for all that choſen ſuch for their ſide, who, unleſs things were done according to their own mind, would decree nothing at all. But the Arbiters diſagreeing on both ſides, the matter ſhould be left undone: What then ſhould have become of our Church, with theſe their ſuſpenſive Miniſters, and with the Diſcipline and all other things? For the Condition offer'd up of Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* was declar'd to be this, That ſo long all ſhould remain in ſuſpence, till they ſhould be diſallow'd by the Arbiters; ſo that if the Arbiters ſhould have been divided equally (as many times it cometh to paſs) the Miniſters of the Church might determine nothing, but the Diſcipline and all other things muſt continually hang in ſuſpence. Again, the Church (tho it were in great peril and danger, yet leſt it ſhould leave any way unproved for the obtaining of Peace) becauſe they thought that ſome of thoſe three were not meet whom the Magiſtrates had appointed for Arbiters, offer'd up another Bill containing altogether the ſelf-ſame matter, and writ with the ſame words, that they would ſtand to the Judgment of any other Arbiters whoſoever, being choſen indifferently by the other Party from among our Countrymen, and leave all things to them plainly and ſimply, without any exception or condition, to be determin'd and decided. But they would allow no Condition offer'd of us, unleſs we would firſt, by the ſubſcribing of our Names, allow that moſt unjuſt and and unreaſonable Condition of theirs, and by our Prejudice condemn our Miniſters, our Diſcipline, and all other things that we had done: And ſo by this means had open'd a gap to them to overthrow our Church. And when they had thus behav'd themſelves before Mr. *Bartue*, Dr. *Cox*, and Dr. *Sands*, yet certain of them (when now the Mart was in the chief flower) reported throughout the whole City, that we had rejected their moſt juſt and peaceable requeſts, and that we were altogether troubleſom Men, and plainly bent to ſuffer no Peace nor Quietneſs; howbeit we had rather that they ſhou'd ſhew theſe things that are falſe of us to others, than that they together with others ſhou'd openly deride our Folly (if we had yielded to ſuch requeſts) as they that with our great toil and travel had (to the quiet of the Church) eſtabliſh'd ſome Church, and now upon a ſudden by the ſubſcribing of one Bill, through headineſs and fooliſh facility, ſhou'd have overthrown the whole. But they, when they cou'd not obtain this, went about this very buſily, that the whole Church might then be diſſolv'd and broken up: For Mr. *Chambers* for half a month's ſpace and more, would give nothing to any man that remain'd in the Church, and follow'd not Mr. *Horne* and him, departing from the Church.

To certain others alſo he would give nothing at all, which were in the publick Miniſtry, to preach the Word, and read Lectures, and alſo in the exerciſe of diſputing by his own appointment, and the order taken by Mr. *Horne* always from the time ſince they came to our Church, when now they were for their board in debt to their Hoſteſſes for four months; neither had done any other fault, unleſs it were becauſe they remain'd in their Functions of preaching and reading Lectures, in which they were plac'd by Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers*, leſt the Church ſhou'd altogether be deſtitute both of Sermons and Lectures; only becauſe in this Diſſenſion they agreed not with them and took their parts, and had with them withdrawn themſelves from the Church, that it might be utterly ſcatter'd; whenas notwithſtanding (which is moſt unhoneſt) they had promis'd to give three months warning before they would forſake them; which notwithſtanding Mr. *Chambers* affirm'd they wou'd never do, unleſs it were that they were conſtrain'd by extreme neceſſity. About the midſt of the Mart, or a little after, there began a rumour to be ſpread of the departure of Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* from this City; but whither they would go, or whether they would at all depart, it was yet uncertain: For neither was it likely that Mr. *Chambers*, having gather'd ſo much common Mony, and that by the Authority and in the name of the Church, ſeeing he had been here ſo long without making of any account to the Church, wou'd go away in ſuch ſort: Neither was it credible that Mr. *Horne*, who had govern'd in his Paſtoral Office and Charge ſo long (no Reconciliation nor Pacification being made for ſo great Offences) would ſo depart, yea not ſo much as have taken his leave of the Church. In the mean time it is incredible to be ſpoken, but more ſhameful to be heard, what Reports certain had ſpread that Mart-time ſecretly, and eſpecially among the richer ſort that were able to help the poor of our Church, forſooth that there were certain Traitors among us: That we deſir'd to know the names of thoſe Perſons that were liberal towards the poor of our Church, to the end to betray them and undo them: That we had caſt our Paſtor and Miniſters out headlong from their Miniſtrys and Offices; in all which things they went about nothing elſe but to ſtir up new Brauls and Contentions, and that they may alienate the Hearts of the wealthy ſort from us, and ſo bring the Poor of our Church, firſt to Famine, and then us into deadly hatred of them, as tho they were by us thrown into theſe Miſeries. But foraſmuch as all theſe things are vain and untrue, and feign'd by the ſecret ſlights of thoſe privy Whiſperers, who dare ſpeak nothing openly, we have thought them rather to be contemn'd than to be anſwer'd; hoping that at laſt, when they are weary of lying, they will be quiet. But if they go forward ſtill to bely us ſo impudently and outragiouſly, ſurely we will not neglect our Fame and honeſt Eſtimation; but we will diligently wipe away all their Slanders with one Spunge, and therewithal will open to the World their wicked Endeavours againſt our Church. In the mean time, nothing diſtruſting the Lord's Mercy (howſoever the Deceits of Men wou'd let it) hoping that neither Living nor Food ſhall ever want to our poor Congregation, who alſo feedeth the Ravens, and that he will always be preſent by his Spirit to us, and to our whole Church continually; which thing that it may pleaſe him to bring to paſs, we beſeech thee good Reader (whoſoever thou art) pray unto God together with us, and farewel.

## *Here followeth the Exhortation of the Magiſtrate for the amending and eſtabliſhing of the Diſcipline.*

*In* Engliſh *thus.*

WE think it good and profitable for the eſtabliſhing of Peace and Tranquillity of your Church, that you all together conſult and determine as concerning the amending of Diſcipline now, whilſt ye be all yet private Men and without any Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry. For whilſt none of you doth yet know, whether he ſhall be a private Perſon, or elſe ſhall have any Authority Eccleſiaſtical, every man will apply his Mind and Study to that which ſhall ſeem moſt reaſonable and profitable, as well for the Congregation as for the Miniſters. But after that the Miniſters be once elected, it is to be fear'd leſt they will draw ſomewhat more than reaſon to themſelves, and in likewiſe the Congregation to it ſelf: and ſo your Conſultation may chance to be ſomewhat troublous, which we would not ſhould happen. Wherefore that all things may proceed as well as may be to the eſtabliſhing of ſure Peace, we exhort you that with all ſpeed ye take in hand this Conſultation about the amending of your Diſcipline, with mind and means moſt appliable to Tranquillity, which Almighty God grant ye may happily bring to paſs. The firſt of *March*, 1557.

*John Glauburge.*

## *Now followeth the Diſcipline, both the old, and that which was by the Magiſtrate's Appointment corrected.*

### *The Order of the old Diſcipline in the City of* Frankfort.

*The old Diſcipline.*

THere be two parts of the Order of Diſcipline in the Church, the one pertaining to the whole Church, the other pertaining to the Miniſters and Elders alone.

*Of the firſt part.*

In the Diſcipline pertaining to the whole Church, is firſt to be appointed the Order of receiving Men into the Congregation, which is this.

*The manner of receiving of all ſorts of Perſons into the ſaid Congregation.*

*Firſt*, Every one, as well Man as Woman, who deſireth to be receiv'd, ſhall make a Declaration or Confeſſion of their Faith before the Paſtor and Seniors, ſhewing himſelf fully to conſent and agree with the Doctrine of the Church, and ſubmitting themſelves to the Diſcipline of the ſame.

If any Perſon ſo deſirous to be receiv'd into the Congregation be notoriouſly defam'd, or noted of any corrupt or evil Opinion in Doctrine, or ſlanderous Behaviour in Life, the ſame may not by the Paſtor and Elders be admitted, till he have either purg'd himſelf thereof, or elſe have declar'd himſelf to the Paſtor and Elders penitent for the ſame.

*The good Behaviour and godly Converſation requir'd of ſuch as are receiv'd.*

*Secondly*, All the Members of the Church, ſo admitted and receiv'd, ſhall diligently obſerve and keep all ſuch godly Diſcipline and Orders appointed within the Church, which tend to the Increaſe of Knowledg and Godlineſs of Life, as the appointed times of Prayer, Preaching and Hearing God's Word, the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, with ſubmiſſion to all godly Diſcipline of the Church.

*This Article I find ras'd in the Copy, what they meant by it I know not.*

*Thirdly*, Such alſo as being in *England*, after knowledg receiv'd, have communicated with the Popiſh Maſs contrary to their Conſciences, by reaſon of Fear, Weakneſs, or otherwiſe, may not be receiv'd till they have confeſs'd their Fall before the Paſtor and Seniors, and have ſhew'd themſelves penitent for the ſame.

### *How the Youth ſhall be catechis'd.*

Alſo for the increaſe of godly Knowledg and Vertue, all the Youth ſhall reſort to the Church every Saturday at two of the Clock at Afternoon, and when we have a ſeveral Church at one of the Clock on the Sunday in the Afternoon, there to be inſtructed in the Catechiſm, and not to be admitted to the Communion till they be able to make Profeſſion of their Faith before the whole Congregation. And alſo to have an honeſt Teſtimony of towardneſs in godly Converſation; and that every Member of the Church do not refuſe to read a Declaration of their Faith before the Paſtor and Elders, whenſoever they ſhall be thereto requir'd.

### *The Order of Correction for private and privy Offences.*

*Fourthly*, Foraſmuch as no Charge is ſo perfect but Offences may ariſe, for godly charitable redreſſing and reforming of ſuch, this Order is to be obſerv'd.

1. If any of the Congregation be offenſive in Manners or Doctrine to any of the Brethren, ſo that Offence be private and not publickly known, there can be no better Order deviſ'd than that which Chriſt himſelf hath appointed; which is, firſt brotherly to admoniſh him alone; if that do not prevail, call one or two Witneſſes; if that alſo do not profit, then to declare it to the Paſtor and Elders, to whom the Church hath given Authority to take Order in ſuch Caſes, according to the quality and grievouſneſs of the Offence and Crime.

### *Of the Order of Correction for publick and open Crimes.*

But if any Perſon ſhall be a notorious known Offender, ſo as he is offenſive to the whole Church; then ſhall the Paſtor and Elders immediately call the Offender before them, and travel with him to reduce him to true Repentance and ſatisfying of the Congregation; which if he obſtinately refuſe to do, then the Paſtor ſhall ſignify his Offence and Contempt to the whole Congregation, deſiring them to pray for him, and further to aſſign him a day to be denounc'd Excommunicate before the Church, except in the mean time the Offender ſubmit himſelf before the Paſtor and Seniors to the Order of Diſcipline.

Finally, In caſe any Perſon of this Congregation be known to be an Hinderer or a Defacer of any of the godly Uſages now exercis'd in the ſame Congregation, either privily or openly, by Word, Letter or Deed; the ſame ſhall acknowledg his Offence with ſatisfaction to the Church, according to the true Order of Diſcipline.

### *The ſecond part of Diſcipline concerning the Miniſters and Elders, and their Elections.*

*Firſt*, For the Election of Miniſters and Elders, the Qualitys of the ſame are to be examin'd and conſider'd according to the rule of St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 3. whereof this is the ſum, That no Man be elected whoſe Doctrine or Life can juſtly be reprov'd and condemn'd. As concerning the Order and Form of Electing, the ſame is to be obſerv'd which hath already been practis'd, and is hereunto annex'd.

### *Of their Offices and Functions.*

The Paſtor, according to the Commandment of the Holy Ghoſt in the Scriptures, ought, with all paſtoral care, diligently to attend to his Flock, in preaching God's Word, in adminiſtring the Sacraments, in example of good Life, in exhorting, admoniſhing, rebuking, and as the chief mouth of the Church, to open and declare all Orders taken by him and the Elders which are to be open'd and publiſh'd, to whom no man may in the face of the Congregation reply. But if any think himſelf to have cauſe to ſpeak, let him come before the Elders in the place appointed for their Meeting, and there to open his Mind, and to be heard with all Charity indifferently.

### *The Office of Preachers and ſuch as are learned in the Congregation.*

The Office of Preachers, and ſuch as are learned in the Church, is to aſſiſt the Paſtor in preaching the Word, miniſtring the Sacraments, and in all Conſultations and Meetings of him and the Elders, eſpecially in cauſes of Doctrine, and alſo at other times when they ſhall be requir'd.

### *The Office of Elders.*

The Office of Elders is to be (as it were) Cenſors, Overſeers of Manners and Diſorders, and to be with the Paſtor in all Conſultations for the publick Order of the Church, and that all Corrections and Exerciſes of Diſcipline be done with their common Counſel.

### *Deacons.*

Conſidering alſo the preſent State of the Church, it is thought requiſite that the Deacons, beſides the ſpecial Office appointed in the Acts of the Apoſtles, in caring and providing for the Poor, do alſo viſit the Sick, and be aſſiſtant in catechiſing the Youth, if they ſhall be thereunto requir'd.

The ſame Order and Form is to be us'd for reformation of Offences and Crimes in Miniſters and Elders, which is deſcrib'd for other Offenders, and to be done towards them rather with more Severity.

## *Now followeth the Diſcipline reform'd and confirm'd by the authority of the Church and Magiſtrate.*

*The new Diſcipline.*

1. IT is moſt comely and godly, that Chriſtians reſort together in place and time thereunto by common Conſent appointed (if the perſecution of the Ungodly will ſuffer the ſame, and they themſelves have no urgent cauſe to the contrary) there to hear the pure Doctrine of God's Word taught, and themſelves openly with their Preſence and Voice to declare the Conſent of their Hearts to the ſame, and to confeſs with their mouth agreeably their Belief and Faith upon God and his holy Word, according to the Scriptures.

2. The Congregation thus aſſembled, is a particular viſible Church, ſuch as may be in divers places of the World, very many; and all theſe particular Churches join'd together, not in place (for that is not poſſible) but by the conjunction of true Doctrine and Faith in the ſame, do make one whole Church in this World: And the Elect of God that are in this whole Church, and every part thereof, with all the Elect that have been from the beginning of the World, and ſhall be to the end thereof, do all together make that holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, the Spouſe of our Saviour Chriſt, which he hath purify'd to himſelf in his Blood; whereof mention is made in the Creed, *I believe one holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church.* But at this preſent our conſideration muſt be of the viſible and particular Church.

3. The Signs and Notes of a viſible Church are theſe: 1. True and godly Doctrine. 2. The right Miniſtration and Uſe of the Sacraments and Common Prayer. 3. Honeſt and godly Life, if not in the whole multitude, yet in many of them. 4. Diſcipline, that is, the Correction of Vices. But the two firſt Notes are ſuch, as without the which no form of any godly viſible Church can poſſibly be; wherefore they be the principal and chief Notes. And therefore we define a particular Church viſible to be the Congregation of Chriſtian Men, whether they be few or many, aſſembling together in place and time convenient to hear Chriſt's true Doctrine

taught, to uſe his holy Sacraments rightly, and to make their Common Prayer together; in the which there appeareth a ſtudy of honeſt and godly Life, and which hath in it a godly Diſcipline, that is to ſay, Ordinances and Decrees Eccleſiaſtical, for the preſervation of comely Order, and for the Correction of Vices,

*Of the Doctrine of the Church, which is the firſt Note.*

4. The Doctrine which we hold and profeſs in our Church, is the ſame that is taught in the Canonical Books of the Holy Bible, containing the Old Teſtament and the New; in which is contain'd the true and lively Word of God, and the Doctrine of Health, both as concerning Faith and godly Life at full, ſufficient for the Salvation of all the faithful that unfeignedly believe therein. The Sum of which, as concerning Faith, is briefly and truly comprehended in the three Creeds, the common Creed, commonly call'd the Creed of the Apoſtles, the *Nicene* Creed, and the Creed of *Athanaſius*; and as concerning godly Life, in the Ten Commandments, written in the 20th Chapter of *Exodus*.

*Of the Sacraments and Common-Prayer the ſecond Note.*

5. We obſerve and keep the Form and Order of the Miniſtration of the Sacraments and Common-Prayer, as it is ſet forth by the Authority of the bleſſed King *Edward* of famous memory, in the laſt Book of the *Engliſh* Service; whereof notwithſtanding in the reſpect of Times and Places, and other Circumſtances, certain Rites and Ceremonys appointed in the ſaid Book as things indifferent may be left out, as we at this preſent do.

6. The Times and Hours for the Teaching and Hearing of God's Word, and the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, and Saying and Hearing of the Common Prayer, ſuch as be now us'd, or ſhall hereafter by common Conſent be thought moſt meet to be us'd, are to be kept and obſerv'd of all Men not having lawful cauſe to the contrary.

*Of the Miniſters of the Word, Sacraments and Common Prayer.*

7. It is thought expedient for the Church at this preſent to have two Miniſters or Teachers of the Word elected, of Doctrine and godly Life, ſuch as the Rule of Scripture doth require, as much as may be; and that the ſaid two Miniſters and Teachers of the Word ſhall, in all things and points, be of like authority, and neither of them ſuperior or inferior to other.

8. *Item*, That the ſaid two Miniſters ſhall by themſelves, or fit Perſons by them and their Seniors in the name of the whole Congregation to be appointed, when neceſſary cauſe ſhall ſo require, preach the ordinary Sermons on Wedneſdays,

Thurſdays and Sundays before Noon, and after Noon inſtruct and hear the examination of the Youth in the Catechiſm, on Sunday in the Afternoon at the Hour accuſtom'd; and ſhall by themſelves, or other appointed Perſons, as is aforeſaid, miniſter the Sacraments duly, ſay the Common-Prayers diſtinctly, viſit and comfort the Sick, eſpecially at their laſt time and hour of Death, bury the Dead comelily, and obſerve all other comely Rites and Uſages in the Church, directing all their Behaviour, Acts and Life, according to the rule of their Vocation ſet forth in the holy Scriptures.

9. *Item*, That ſix, either fewer or more (as the ſtability of the Church will bear) ſuch as be godly and have need of the help of the Church, be appointed by the Miniſters and Seniors in the name of the whole Congregation, whereof four to be well learned, who ſhall read and expound the Chapters, and ſhall help the two Miniſters of the Word, when need ſhall require, in the doctrine of the Word, catechiſing of Youth, miniſtring of the Sacraments, ſaying of Common-Prayer; and the other two or more ſhall aid alſo the ſaid Miniſters, Seniors and Deacons in viſiting of the Sick, and ſeeing to Strangers, and in calling of the Congregation when need ſhall be, and in all other neceſſary and comely things and rites to be done in the Church. Notwithſtanding, any other godly and learned Men, who live of themſelves, and be not burdens to the Church, may help the Miniſters of the Word in the abovenam'd Eccleſiaſtical Functions, if they themſelves ſo will, and be thereunto call'd by the ſaid Miniſters and Seniors.

10. *Item*, For the further Inſtruction of Youth and Servants, it is thought good, that beſides the examination of Children in the Catechiſm ordinarily us'd, the ſaid Children and Servants, with the whole Congregation, ſhould be all preſent at our ordinary Sermon, to be made purpoſely for them on Sundays at Afternoon, ſo learnedly, that it be yet for their capacity moſt plain, and with all poſſible perſpicuity, and that one tenor of Chriſtian Doctrine from the beginning to the end be obſerv'd and kept in the ſaid Sermon; of the which no better form in our judgment can be than *Calvin*'s Catechiſm, receiv'd in ſo many Churches, and tranſlated into ſo many Languages. It is thought good therefore that the Preacher of the ſaid catechiſing Sermon follow the good Order of that Catechiſm in his Sermons, and confirm the godly Doctrine of the ſame by the Scriptures; and after the ſame Sermon, the Common-Prayer and Service to be exercis'd and finiſh'd as at other times.

11. *Item*, That the one Preacher being ſick, the other ſhall do or ſee done by other fit Perſons, as is beforeſaid, all the Duty and Dutys to the other ſo ſick belonging.

12. *Item*, That a Lecture of Divinity and Diſputations for the exerciſe of Students, if it may be maintain'd, or elſe that Prophecy be us'd every fortnight in the *Engliſh* Tongue, for the exerciſe of the ſaid Students, and edifying of the Congregation; or both Diſputations and Prophecy alſo, if it ſo ſhall ſeem good unto the Miniſters and Seniors.

13. *Item*, That ſuch as ſhall thereunto ſeem moſt meet of the Congregation ſhall be appointed to tranſlate into *Engliſh* ſome ſuch Books as ſhall be profitable, either for the Inſtruction, or for the Comfort of our Country, in this our Exile and Affliction of our Country.

14. *Item*, That the common Books, or Library of the Church, be at the appointment of the Miniſters and the Seniors, in ſuch place as all the Students may moſt conveniently come unto.

### *The third Note, that is, Chriſtian Life and good Works, the Fruits of godly Doctrine.*

15. *Item*, We teach that ſuch good Works are to be done, as are commanded by God's Word in the Scriptures; ſuch evil Deeds to be avoided, as are forbidden by the ſame.

16. And whereas, concerning the Fruits of godly Doctrine, none is more commanded in the Scriptures than the relieving of the Poor, which either is done privately by every Perſon, or elſe by the common Treaſury of the Church, for the good and right uſe and order of the ſame: It appeareth, as well by God's Word, as by the example of Churches rightly reform'd, that both the keeping, and alſo the diſtribution of the Treaſure of the Church appertaineth to the Seniors, who be neceſſary Miniſters in the Church of Chriſt, that without them it cannot well be: For Chriſt ſaith, *You ſhall have always poor Men among you.* Wherefore they ought to be honour'd of all Men, and they themſelves ought to have this Opinion, that they highly pleaſe God in that Miniſtry.

17. Wherefore we think it expedient for the Church, that four men of ſpecial gravity, authority and credit in the Church, ſuch as of themſelves be able to live, and will do this godly Office rather for Chriſt's ſake, and the Love they bear to him and his poor Flock, than for any their own neceſſity or worldly Reward, be choſen to be Deacons; which four Deacons ſhall have the cuſtody of the Treaſure and diſtribution of the ſame, and other Alms of the Church to remain in their hands and keeping, in ſuch ſort as it ſhall ſeem good to the Miniſters, Seniors and Deacons, for the moſt ſafety of the ſaid Treaſure.

18. *Item*, That altho the Deacons have in their cuſtody the Treaſure of the Church, yet the Miniſters and Seniors ſhall have knowledg of the whole ſum of the ſaid Treaſure.

19. Provided always, that neither the ſaid four Deacons, Miniſters, Seniors, or any of them, ſhall have any knowledg or make any inquiſition of the Giver or Givers of any Alms to the Poor of the ſaid Church, otherwiſe than the Meſſenger or Bringer of the ſaid Alms ſhall of himſelf declare, to whom, and as he hath Commiſſion from the Givers ſo to do; but that the Gift be receiv'd and known, and the Giver and Givers Names unknown and kept cloſe with all poſſible ſecrecy.

20. *Item*, That the ſaid Deacons once in a month, that is, the laſt day of every month, ſhall make their accounts before the Miniſters and Seniors have the ſaid Treaſure beſtow'd; and that all the ſaid Company, ſo appointed to make their account, ſhall note the remains of the ſaid Treaſure at the day and year in which every account ſhall be taken.

21. *Item*, We think good and do decree, that there being a School in the ſaid Church (ſeeing the ſaid School is a Member of the ſaid Church, as of the whole Body) the Treaſure for the maintenance of it, and for the maintenance of the other Poor alſo be all one and join'd together; that neither in the procuring of the ſaid Treaſure, or in the diſtribution thereof, any occaſion of Diviſion, Emulation, or Contention do happen among them who ought to live together like Brethren, and Members of one Body in all Concord, Conjunction and Unity; otherwiſe the School, which is of it ſelf ſo worthy a Member of the Body, may by abuſe cauſe not only the hinderance, but alſo the deſtruction of the whole Body.

22. *Item*, That in the diſtribution of the ſaid Treaſure, a ſpecial regard be had of the ſaid Students that be poor: 1*ſt.* For that they be poor, and again, for that they be deſtinate to be Workmen in the Lord's Vineyard, and ſo worthy Members in the Body; and that as they be ſtudious of the Scriptures ſpecially, and yet withal of other liberal Arts alſo, as Miniſters and Handmaids to the ſetting forth of God's Word; ſo they may be liberally handled, and receive God's Bleſſing, which is the Liberality of the Godly, without ſhame and abaſhment, as the Gift of God, who giveth to all Men and upbraideth no Man.

23. *Item*, It is decreed, and alſo the whole Congregation deſireth the Deacons monthly to viſit, and ſpeak privately with the ſaid Students that be poor, and other poor alſo, and to examine their ſtates friendly and charitably, and according to every Man's neceſſity, as the Treaſure of the Church will

bear, to offer to every one of them with obteſtation to them, that if they have no need thereof they receive it not, for that were nothing elſe but to rob the Needy; for ſo ſhall both the ſhamefac'dneſs of the honeſt and liberal Natures be ſav'd, and the Treaſure of the Church willingly ſpar'd: for he that upon ſuch obteſtation will not refrain to receive that is offer'd, when he hath no need, will not be aſham'd to beg and crave when he hath no need, and that not only with Lying, but alſo with Perjury if need be.

24. *Item*, If any by evident Proofs, ſuch as cannot be gainſaid, be found to have taken or us'd the Treaſure of the Church, having no need thereof; that then not only he be exempted from any more partaking of the ſaid Treaſure till it appear that he hath evident need, but alſo that he doth make therefore publick ſatisfaction before he be admitted to the common.

25. *Item*, That the Seniors and Deacons ſee that the Poor of the Congregation be not idle but diligent in well-doing.

26. *Item*, That if there be any of the Poor ſick, that then forthwith one of the Deacons reſort to them, and preſently ſuccour their neceſſity, and the needy Strangers of our Nation be holpen towards their Travel and Journy, if the Treaſure of the Church will bear it.

27. *Item*, That in caſe the Treaſure of the Church do fail or wax thin, that then ſuch as be of the wealthy ſort of the Congregation ſhall quarterly contribute according to their Ability and godly Devotion, for the maintenance of the Miniſtry, Poor and Students of the Congregation, and the ſame at every Quarter-day to be deliver'd into the hands of the Deacons.

28. *Item*, We think good that Declaration be made by the Preachers of God's Word divers times, as juſt occaſion will ſerve, how comely and profitable for Chriſt's Church, that all Mens Liberality towards the Poor do come to the hands of the ſaid four Deacons, by them publickly in the name of the whole Church to be miniſtred to the Poor: for by this rule, Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth, may beſt be obſerv'd; and the blowing of the Trumpet before the Alms-giver, and all the worldly reward of vain commendation may beſt be avoided: and ſo our heavenly Father, who ſeeth in ſecret, will reward every man more abundantly in the day of the Revelation of the Thoughts of all Men.

29. *Item*, We think good that certain Letters in the ſame ſenſe be written, with an exhortation and hearty Prayer to all ſuch as will relieve the Poor of our Congregation with their godly Liberality, that they will deliver or ſend their charita-

ble relief to the ſaid four Deacons, commonly to be beſtow'd of them upon the Poor, whether they be Students or other, according to every man's neceſſity; which the ſaid Deacons and the Church here preſent can beſt know and judg; rather than to commit the Alms to any one Perſon's hand, to any private uſe, for the avoiding of ſundry Suſpicions, and many other Inconveniences that may be then preſently, and hereafter ariſe and enſue of the ſame: And the ſaid Letters ſubſcrib'd with as many hands of the Congregation as ſhall ſeem good, with a general Superſcription to all ſuch as will charitably relieve the Poor of our Congregation, without any naming of any Perſons, to be ſent, where the Miniſters, Seniors, and Deacons, or the more of them ſhall think good, by a moſt faithful and diſcreet Meſſenger, to all ſuch places where ſuch good Men, by whoſe Liberality the Church is reliev'd, do or may reſort; that the ſaid Letters may by the ſaid Meſſenger be ſhew'd as a Teſtimony of Credit to the ſaid godly Men, in places and at times moſt convenient.

*This Article following 29. I alſo find in the Copy.*

30. *Item*, As concerning the relief they had at Strangers hands, who be not of our Church, ſuch Order is to be taken as ſhall ſeem moſt expedient to the Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments. It ſeemeth that this Article was put in, in place of the former which they could not agree upon.

31. *Item*, We think it expedient, that the ſaid four Deacons be charg'd neither with the helping of the Miniſters in the preaching of the Word, neither in the catechiſing of the Youth, neither in miniſtring of Sacraments, or ſaying of Common-Prayer, or ſpecially the viſiting of the Sick, other than the Poor for the relieving of their Neceſſity, as with things pertaining to the Office of Deaconſhip, nor with any other Offices other than is expreſly declar'd in God's Word to appertain to the Deacons; according to the rule of which, they ſhall by all means poſſible direct their Doings. The Sum whereof is, diligently to receive and keep all, and all manner of publick and private Alms, and the ſame faithfully to beſtow upon the Poor of Chriſt's Church, according as every man's neceſſity ſhall require; and by all means poſſible, as well by word as by writing, to procure the maintenance of the ſaid Treaſure of the Church, ſo to their Credit committed. Notwithſtanding, it is not meant hereby, but that any of the ſaid Deacons being learned, when good occaſion ſhall thereto ſerve, may preach or inſtruct the Youth in the Catechiſm, or do any other godly Function whereunto they ſhall be call'd.

32. *Item*, That where there is no godlier act than to ſuccour ſuch as be both Sick and Poor, for that their Burden is moſt heavy, we think good, if the ability of the Church will extend thereunto, that there be four grave and honeſt Women, either Widows or Wives (ſuch as have need of the help of the Church) appointed and choſen, with the conſent of their Husbands, to keep the Poor when they be ſick, and to watch with them by courſe one after another; and that they have therefore out of the Treaſure of the Church, a certain ſtipend paid unto them.

*Of the Diſcipline of the Church, which is the fourth and laſt Note.*

33. Firſt, In all matters touching Conſcience, God's Word is the perfect Rule, as well for thoſe things which Chriſtian Men ought to do, as for ſuch things as they are bound to abſtain from.

34. *Item*, In all Controverſys civil, the civil or municipal Law of the Country or City, where the Church is, is a ſufficient rule to be obey'd.

35. *Item*, All matters touching the Congregation, or the Members of the ſame, directly appertaining to neither of the two former parts, Eccleſiaſtical Ordinance and Diſcipline of the ſaid Church, ought by all Members of the ſame to be obey'd.

36. *Item*, Altho this word Diſcipline generally doth contain all Eccleſiaſtical Orders and Ordinances, yet in this place it is properly taken for the rule of outward honeſt Orders and Manners, and of the Puniſhment and Correction of Vices.

37. *Item*, For the execution of the which Diſcipline, to the maintaining of all comely Order and Virtue in the Church, and correction of Diſorder and Vice, it is agreed, that ſix Men of ſpecial gravity, authority and wiſdom, ſuch as the rule of the holy Scriptures doth ſet forth, as much as may be, ſhall be choſen to be Seniors; which ſix Seniors, with the two Miniſters of the Word, ſhall have the execution of the Diſcipline and Government of the Church, and ſhall be reverenc'd, and in all things godly and reaſonably obey'd and reverenc'd of all Perſons in the Congregation, under pain of moſt ſharp Diſcipline.

38. Provided always, that the ſaid Miniſters and Seniors, ſeverally and jointly, ſhall have no authority to make any manner of Decrees or Ordinances to bind the Congregation, or any Member thereof; but ſhall execute ſuch Ordinances and Decrees as ſhall be made by the Congregation, and to them deliver'd.

*Of the Election of all Miniſters.*

39. *Item*, It is agreed, that all Seniors, Deacons and all other Miniſters (whatſoever they be) the two Teachers and Mi-

niſters of the Word only excepted, ſhall once a year, that is, the firſt day of *March*, take an end of their Miniſtry, whatſoever it be; and they from that day, till a new Election be made, which ſhall be within one fortnight after the ſaid firſt day of *March* (unleſs ſome great cauſes incident do lett the ſame) ſhall be all private Perſons, as other Members of the Congregation, and ſo continue ſtill, till they be new elected to the ſame, or other Miniſtry or Office; every one of them yet notwithſtanding in the mean time, from the ſaid firſt day of *March*, till new Miniſters be elected, doing the Duty and Dutys to their Office belonging.

40. *Item*, That publick Prayer and Faſt be made before and at the Election of all Miniſters in time and continuance, as the Congregation ſhall ſeem good.

41. *Item*, That before the Election of the Miniſters, Seniors and Deacons, the places of the Scriptures for that purpoſe moſt fit be openly read, and a Sermon to be made upon the ſame, as for the preſent purpoſe ſhall be moſt convenient.

42. *Item*, That Election be made by Bills, every man bringing a little Bill roll'd up, the Names of ſuch Perſons appointed, as they ſhall think moſt meet for the Office whereunto the Election is then made.

43. *Item*, That Impoſition of hands with Prayer be us'd at the Inſtitution of the ſaid Miniſters, Seniors and Deacons, according to the Doctrine and Examples of the Scripture.

### *Of the calling and aſſembling of the Congregation.*

44. *Item*, That the Miniſters and Seniors thus elect have now authority, as the principal Members of the Congregation, to govern the ſaid Congregation according to God's Word, and the Diſcipline of the Church, as is aforeſaid; and alſo to call together and aſſemble the ſaid Congregation for cauſes and at times, as ſhall to them ſeem expedient.

Provided always, that if any Diſſenſion ſhall happen between the Miniſters and the Seniors, or the more part of them, and the Body of the Congregation, or the more part of it; and that the ſaid Miniſters and Seniors in ſuch Controverſy, being deſir'd thereto, will not aſſemble the Congregation, that then the Congregation may of it ſelf come together, and conſult and determine as concerning the ſaid Controverſy or Controverſys, and the ſaid Aſſembly to be a lawful Congregation; and that which they, or the major part of them ſo aſſembling, ſhall judg or decree, the ſame to be a lawful Decree and Ordinance, of ſufficient force to bind the whole Congregation, and every Member of the ſame.

45. *Item*, That no man being ſummon'd or warn'd, either by the Miniſters and Seniors, or in the name of the Congregation,

tion, ſo as is aforeſaid aſſembled, to appear in the Congregation, ſhall abſent himſelf but upon a lawful cauſe, under pain of Diſcipline ; and that none ſhall depart out of the ſaid Congregation ſo aſſembled till it be broken up, without licence of the whole, or the more part remaining, upon pain of Diſcipline before the whole Congregation therefore.

46. *Item*, In caſe ſome do depart, that yet notwithſtanding thoſe which ſtill remain (if they be the greater part) to be a lawful Congregation ; and that which they or the more part of them ſhall decree, to be a lawful Decree, of force to bind the whole Body, Miniſters, Seniors, Deacons, and every other Member or Members thereof without exception.

47. *Item*, That no checking or taunting be us'd in the ſaid Congregation by any Perſons, under pain of Diſcipline ; and that in ſpeaking, all other ſhall hold their Peace and keep Silence, abſtaining alſo from private Talk, that all things may be done comely and in order.

48. *Item*, That it ſhall be lawful that every Member of the Congregation, making proteſtation of licence before to the Miniſters, Seniors, and the whole Congregation, may ſpeak his mind in the Congregation, ſo he ſpeak quietly and not againſt God's Truth ; for in caſe he ſpeak ungodly, that then it ſhall be lawful for the Miniſters, Seniors, or any of them, to command him ſilence by and by.

### *The manner of receiving all ſorts of Perſons into the ſaid Congregation.*

49. Firſt, For the avoiding of all Hereſys and Sects in our Churches, every one, as well Men as Women, which deſire to be receiv'd, ſhall make a Declaration or Confeſſion of their Faith before the Miniſters and Elders, ſhewing himſelf fully to conſent and agree with the Doctrine of the Church, and ſubmitting themſelves to the Diſcipline of the ſame, and the ſame to teſtify by ſubſcribing thereto if they can write.

50. *Item*, If any Perſon ſo deſirous to be receiv'd into the Congregation be notoriouſly defam'd, or noted of any corrupt Behaviour, or evil opinion in Doctrine, or ſlanderous Behaviour in Life ; the ſame may not by the Miniſters and Elders be admitted, till he hath either purg'd himſelf thereof, or elſe hath declar'd himſelf to the Miniſters and Elders penitent for the ſame.

### *Of Admiſſion to the Holy Communion.*

51. *Item*, That none of the Youth be admitted to the Communion till they be able to make Profeſſion of their Faith before the whole Congregation, and alſo to have an honeſt Teſtimony of towardneſs in godly Converſation.

52. *Item*, That none openly noted as a Heretick, Sectary, Idolater, or other notorious Offender, ſhall be admitted to the Communion, before he either purge or reconcile himſelf publickly before the whole Congregation; and that every Member of the Congregation do not refuſe to render a Declaration of their Faith before the Miniſters and Elders, whenſoever they ſhall by them be thereunto requir'd.

### *The Order of proceeding to the Execution of the Diſcipline, and Correction of Offences.*

53. Foraſmuch as no Church is ſo perfect, but Offences may riſe, for godly and charitable redreſſing and reforming of ſuch, this Order is to be obſerv'd: Firſt, if any of the Congregation be offenſive in Manners or Doctrine to any of the Brethren, ſo that the Offence be private, and not publickly known, there can be no better Order deviſ'd than that which Chriſt himſelf hath appointed; which is firſt, brotherly to admoniſh him alone; if that do not prevail, to call one or two Witneſſes; if that alſo do not profit, then to declare it to the Miniſters and Elders, to whom the Congregation hath given Authority to take order in ſuch caſes, according to the Diſcipline of the Church.

54. *Item*, That it may be the better known what is meant by this word Diſcipline, or Correction of Vice, we think that there be three Degrees of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline: The firſt, that the Offender acknowledg his Fault, and ſhew himſelf penitent before the Miniſters and the Seniors: The ſecond, that if he will not ſo do, as well his original Crime as alſo his Contempt of the Miniſters and Elders who have the Authority of the Church, be openly declar'd by one of the Miniſters before the whole Congregation; and that he therefore make ſatisfaction, both for his original Crime, and alſo for his Contempt of the Miniſters before the whole Congregation, and that he be not admitted to the Communion before he hath ſatisfy'd: The third, that if he remain ſtill obſtinate before the whole Congregation, after a time to him by the whole Congregation limited to repent in, he then ſhall be openly denounc'd excommunicate; which Excommunication, ſeeing it is the uttermoſt Penalty of Eccleſiaſtical Power, ſhall not therefore be executed, until the matter be heard by the whole Church, or ſuch as it ſhall ſpecially appoint thereunto.

55. *Item*, If any Perſon ſhall be a notorious known Offender, ſo as he is offenſive to the whole Congregation, then ſhall the Miniſters and Elders immediately call the Offender before them, and travel with him to reduce him to true Repentance, and ſatisfying of the Congregation; which if he

obſtinately refuſe to do, then one of the Miniſters ſhall ſignify his Offence and Contempt to the whole Congregation, deſiring them to pray for him, and further to aſſign him a day to be denounc'd excommunicate before the Congregation; except in the mean time the Offender ſubmit himſelf before the gregation to the Order of the Diſcipline.

56. *Item*, That neither the Seniors and Miniſters, nor the whole Congregation, ſhall meddle in any civil matters, as Judges or Determiners of the ſame, but only as Arbiters for Peace-making, that the Magiſtrates be troubled as little as may be with our Controverſies; but in caſe the Seniors, and firſt and afterwards the Congregation, or ſuch as the Congregation ſhall appoint, can make no peaceable end, by way of Arbitrement, then the Judgment of the ſaid matters to be refer'd to the Magiſtrates of the City, and there to be ended.

57. *Item*, We think good for our Quietneſs ſake, and for the conſerving of the good Report of our Nation, that all Matters and Controverſies among our ſelves, if they cannot privately be pacify'd (which firſt ought to be attempted) be brought before the Seniors and Miniſters, and there to be heard: and in caſe they cannot end them, then afterward to be refer'd to the whole Congregation, or ſuch as the Congregation ſhall appoint, to the hearing and determining thereof, if they can: And that no matter be brought unto the Magiſtrate or Senate, to hinder, derogate, or lett the Authority of the Church, or the Diſcipline thereof, before theſe ways be prov'd, under pain of Diſcipline before the Congregation, unleſs the thing appertain directly to the State of the City, or Offence againſt the Laws, Senate, or Magiſtrate of the ſame. In which caſes every man may and ought forthwith to complain to the Magiſtrates.

58. *Item*, Whereas the beſt way of Chriſtian Reconciliation is, that the Parties privately between themſelves agree; and the next, that Agreement be made by mediation of ſome peaceable and godly men: We decree, that in caſe two, four, ſix, more or leſs, do conſult among themſelves, or travel with the Parties, for peace-making, quietly and charitably, then the ſaid Parties in ſo doing do nothing againſt good Order of Diſcipline, but according to the Duty and Office of Chriſtian and peaceable men.

59. *Item*, That the Miniſters and Seniors ſhall have Authority to hear and determine, on the behalf of the whole Church, all Offences (determinable by the Congregation) committed by any Perſon in the Congregation; unleſs the Party call'd before them have juſt occaſion to take excep-

tions to the ſaid Miniſters and Seniors, or to appeal from them as not competent Judges.

60. *Item*, If any have juſt occaſion to take exception to ſome of the Miniſters and Seniors, and not to the major part; that then thoſe of the Miniſters and Seniors, to whom the exception is made, in this caſe ſhall not be Judges, but in this caſe for the time remov'd from the Miniſtry, and that the reſt of the Miniſters and Seniors to whom no exception ſhall be made, with as many of the Congregation join'd to them, as they be in number which ſhall be excepted, ſhall be Arbiters and Judges in the ſaid cauſes: and that the ſaid Perſons ſo to be join'd to the Miniſters and Seniors, ſhall be appointed by the Congregation, the Miniſters and Seniors not excepted, giving their Voices as other of the Congregation.

61. *Item*, If exception be taken to the major part of the Miniſters and Seniors, that then the Church ſhall appoint ſix more to be Judges with the reſt of the Miniſters, againſt whom exception is not made: the ſame reſt of the Miniſters having their Voices in the Election of the ſix, as other members of the Church.

62. *Item*, If all the Miniſters and Seniors be ſuſpected or found Parties, or if any Appeal be made from them; that then ſuch Appeal be made to the Body of the Congregation, the Miniſters, Seniors, and Parties excepted. And that the Body of the Congregation may appoint ſo many of the Congregation to hear and determine the ſaid matter or matters, as it ſhall ſeem good to the Congregation.

63. *Item*, If any Perſon do unjuſtly take exceptions to any of the Miniſters, or appeal from the whole Miniſtry; that then ſuch Perſon, beſide the Puniſhment for the principal cauſe, ſhall alſo be puniſh'd as a Contemner of the Miniſtry, and a Diſturber of the Church.

64. *Item*, If all the Miniſters and Seniors from whom it ſhall be appeal'd, as is aforeſaid, ſhall ſay and challenge the major part of the Congregation as not indifferent Judges, that then they may appeal from the Congregation to the Magiſtrate; provided that if any Miniſter or Senior appeal to the Magiſtrate, and be found to have done it without juſt cauſe, that then by that fact he ſhall be remov'd from his Miniſtry, and ſhall never after be admitted in the Miniſtry before he hath made publick Satisfaction for the ſame.

65. *Item*, That the Miniſters and Seniors, and every of them be ſubject to Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline and Correction, as other private Members of the Church be. And that in caſe any Perſon or Perſons accuſe any of the Miniſters or Elders, or the major part them, or them all, of any Crime or Crimes,

the ſame Order of Proceeding in all points be uſed as it is heretofore particularly expreſs'd in the making of the exception, to ſome or the major part, or all, the ſaid Miniſters and Seniors, as Parties, or otherwiſe incompetent Arbiters.

66. *Item*, That no Accuſation againſt any of the Miniſters and Seniors be admitted under two Witneſſes at the leaſt. And that if any do unjuſtly accuſe the Miniſters and Seniors, or any of them, that he or they ſhall therefore be moſt ſharply diſciplin'd as a Contemner and Defacer of the Miniſtry, and a Diſturber of the whole Church.

67. *Item*, If any Controverſy be upon the doubtful meaning of any Word or Words in the Diſcipline, that firſt it be refer'd to the Miniſters and Seniors. And if they cannot agree thereupon, then the thing to be brought and refer'd to the whole Congregation.

68. *Item*, For the avoiding of occaſion of Contention hereafter, that Books of Diſcipline concerning this Church heretofore made be of no effect hereafter, but void and cancel'd.

69. *Item*, That all Books and Writings of Record concerning Acts and Orders in this Church be deliver'd, and remain in the cuſtody of the Miniſters and Elders for the time being.

70. *Item*, That a Regiſter-Book be kept by the Miniſters and Seniors of all ſuch Names as be in the Congregation, and ſuch as ſhall be hereafter admitted to be written in the ſame.

71. *Item*, That Marriages, Chriſtnings, and Burials, with the Day and Year thereof, be regiſter'd in the ſame Book.

72. *Item*, For the avoiding all Controverſies that hereafter may happen, it is ordain'd, That all Teſtaments and Wills, made by any of our Nation dying in this Congregation, ſhall be brought forth and exhibited to the Seniors of this Congregation for the time being, for a perpetual Teſtimony of the Truth in that behalf.

73. *Item*, That becauſe all mens Doings be uncertain and changeable, the Diſcipline and Orders of the Church ſhall be read openly once every Quarter, and warning thereof before ſhall be given to the whole Congregation, both that every Member thereof may know his Duty, and that every man may with liberty quietly ſpeak his mind, for the changing and amending of it, or any part thereof, according to God's Word; and the ſame exhibited in writing, with the Arguments and Reaſons of that his Requeſt.

The Names of ſuch as ſubſcribed to this Diſcipline, and were of the Church.

*Thomas Crawley,*
*Chriſtopher Hales,*
*Richard Alvie,*
*Richard Maſon,*
*Percival Harrington,*
*Richard Porter,*
*David Whithead,*
*John Pedder,*
*Alexander Nowel,*
*Thomas Wilſon,*
*James Peers,*
*Thomas Walker,*
*Leonard Parry,*
*Laurence Kent,*
*John Yates,*
*Thomas Willobie,*
*Thomas Oldſworth,*
*Gawin Dixſon,*
*Edward Colton,*
*Thomas Aſhley,*
*Edmond Sutton,*
*Walter Francke,*
*Richard Beeſley,*
*Henry Reignolds,*
*Magnus Elyot,*
*John Browne,*
*John Hales,*
*John Fauconer,*
*John Bedell,*
*Thomas Sands,*
*Roger Kelke,*
*Robert Crowley,*
*Thomas Knolle,*
*William Raulings,*
*Edmond Tomſon,*
*Edmond Harries,*
*John Geoffry,*
*John Wilford,*
*Edmond Oldſworth,*
*Thomas Acworth,*
*Richard Letler,*
*Richard Nagors,*
*Robert Beſte,*
*Henry Perryus,*
*John Mullins,*
*Gre. Railton,*
*Thomas Serbis,*
*John Old,*
*Edward Parpoint,*
*Thomas Watts,*
*William Maſter,*
*Peter Sade,*
*Thomas Water,*
*Richard Luddington,*
*Philip Adiſhe,*
*Anthony Donning,*
*John Turpin.*

The 21ſt of *December* 1557. theſe were added to the Church.

*Francis Knolls,*
*Francis Wilford,*
*Arthur Saule,*
*Henry Wood,*
*Thomas Wilford,*
*John Penteny,*
*Thomas Bagſter,*
*Thomas Todchamber,*
*Edward Boyes,*
*Thomas Knot,*
*Richard Sandell,*
*Richard Lynbrough,*
*Henry Knolls,*
*Reignold Baker,*
*John Ade,*
*Michael Coke,*
*John Browne,*
*Thomas Donnell,*
*Robert Joyner,*
*Ralph Sely,*
*William Davage,*
*Robert Hodgſton,*
*Daniel Rogers,*
*Alexander Nowel.*

Now that you have heard both the old Diſcipline, and that which was by the Authority of the Magiſtrate deviſ'd ; Order requireth that I place here the Reaſons which Mr. *Horne* and the reſt of his ſide brought againſt the new Diſcipline eſtabliſh'd.

And to the end this Volume ſhould not exceed meaſure in greatneſs, I think it expedient to do here, as I have done already, and mind to do throughout the whole Story, which is, of a Leaf to take (as I might ſay) a Line or two, as one loth to weary you, ſince a Taſte may ſuffice.

### *To the Seventh Article of the new Diſcipline.*

VII. 18 *Sept.* Horne, Iſaac, Chambers, Wilford, *with divers others.*

To the Article of two Miniſters of like Charge and Authority, we think we have good Reaſons to require that there be no more in the ſpecial Burden and Charge Paſtoral than one; to whom the others join'd with him for Preaching of the Word, and miniſtring the Sacraments, ſhall not in Cure and Charge, Government and Preheminence, be in all reſpects coequal.

### *The Reaſons.*

1. The Scripture ſpeaking or treating of the Office of a Biſhop or Miniſter, ſo ſpeaketh as it were to be preſuppos'd, and as an Order receiv'd, that one ſhould in Cure and Charge be burden'd above other, and in Government, for Order ſake, in preheminence.

2. *Item,* The Expoſitions of all antient Authors and Writers upon the Scriptures, which touch that matter, do altogether, as they ſeem to gather out of the Text, conclude, declare, and teach one Miniſter or Paſtor, in reſpects aforeſaid, prefer'd and charg'd above other, and thus do the new alſo.

3. *Item,* This Order of one in Cure, Charge, and Government prefer'd, have all the Churches to be read of, planted by the Apoſtles, and all others in the Primitive Church obſerv'd, whoſe Examples of us are not to be neglected.

4. *Item,* Like as good Reaſon of it ſelf forceth and concludeth, ſo all good Authors, both new and old, do freely teach, that for Conſervation of Unity and Concord, and for avoiding of Schiſms and Diſcord, it is requiſite and neceſſary that a Prerogative and Preheminence for Cure, Charge, and Government be committed and given to ſome one, to be (as is aforeſaid) charg'd above others.

5. *Item,* All the Reform'd Churches of *Germany* for the moſt part be of that Judgment, and therefore obſerve that Order.

6. *Item,* If the *Nicene* Council decreed and order'd, for good Order ſake, that one Biſhop, and not many, ſhould be appointed to every one City; how much more is it of neceſſity, for Order ſake, that one little Flock ſhould be content with one?

7. *Item,* Who is ignorant of this, that for the moſt part where not one, but rather two muſt have the eſpecial Cure and Charge, there commonly things be moſt negligently done, and not ſo much regarded and car'd for, as otherwiſe they would be?

### *The Anſwer of the Church, touching this ſeventh Article, to the Reaſons of the diſſenting Brethren.*

*To the* 1*ſt.*

We ſee not by the Scriptures, that any Authority is given to any one above others, but rather to the contrary.

*To the* 2*d*, 3*d*, 4*th*, Hales, Whithead, Nowell, Mullins, Watts, Crowley, Beeſley, Pedder, Parry, Wilſon, Sorby, Bedell, Fauconer, Railton, Crawley, Aſhley, Sutton, Raulings, Beſte, *and divers others.*

As concerning old Writers, we know that *Jerom* expreſly declareth, that in the beginning the Church was ruled equally by many. But after, when Schiſms began to ſpring, the chief Authority was given to one for Authority's ſake, and by man's Ordinance rather than by Divine Authority; wherefore we conclude, that as for Schiſms the firſt Order of many was left, and one Chief appointed, ſo now for the avoiding of Tyranny, a worſe Evil in the Church than Schiſms, which, as appeareth by the Biſhop of *Rome*, is grounded upon one, we think it good to return to the firſt Order of two or more equal Miniſters, according to the Inſtitution of the Apoſtles, as St. *Jerom* teaches. And that thoſe learned men, who do moſt earneſtly maintain the Government of one, confeſs that until the time of *Dionyſius*, who was after Chriſt 300 Years and more, the Regimen was equally committed to many. And as for the new, there be Examples of the beſt Church to the contrary. And Mr. *Calvin*, in the 8th Chapter of his Inſtitutions, the 42d and 52d Diviſions, declareth expreſly that there were from the beginning more Miniſters of the Word, and that it is but of man's Ordinance that one was afterward made chief.

*To the* 5*th.*

This is alledg'd of the Reformed Churches in *Germany*; the multitude ought to ſerve no more for one, than the beſt Reformed Churches for two Miniſters of the Word.

*To the* 6*th.*

As concerning the *Nicene* Council, it is before anſwer'd, and in that they decreed there ſhould be but one, it conſequently followeth, that before the ſaid Decree there were many.

And if thoſe godly Fathers were now living, and did ſee how Antichriſt is eſtabliſh'd upon one, they would more gladly return to the firſt Order of many Equals, for the avoiding of that moſt horrible miſchief; as they then did, for the avoiding of Schiſms, appoint every City one.

*To the* 7*th.*

Negligence is no more in two than one; Ability of well doing things is more in two than in one. And Sickneſs being ſo rife in this

City, it is as much as two can well do; and one may be ſick, and one may wilfully and ſuddenly leave his Flock.

Wherefore two be neceſſary, elſe in the ſudden Sickneſs of one only Miniſter, when many others be ſick alſo, due Viſitation of the Sick is not well ſeen to, and Preaching omitted, as it hath chanc'd in our Church; yea, and altho we have many. And therefore Reaſon telleth us, that it is expedient to have two rather than one.

*Yea, but tho he did ſo then, he will not do ſo now, I warrant you.*

Horne, *&c. upon the 8th Article.*

*Item*, Where it is propounded that the Miniſters ſhall by themſelves or their Deputies diſcharge the Sermons, and other their Duties, when neceſſary caſe ſhall ſo require; we ſay it is ſuperfluous, for a neceſſary Cauſe needeth not to be provided for by Law: beſides that the allowing of Deputies, by Law made for that purpoſe, openeth a Window of Negligence to the Miniſters in the executing of their Office.

Whithead, *&c.*

A Law doth well provide that ſuch may be in a readineſs, who ſhall ſerve in neceſſity. It is provided in many Cities by a Law, that in dread of Fire every man have a Bucket of Water at his door, which is a thing neceſſary: And univerſally the multitude of good Laws be grounded upon Cauſes neceſſary. Wherefore we think that Poſition, That neceſſary Cauſes need not to be provided for by a Law, ought to be taken for no Law. And where it is alledg'd that it openeth a Window of Negligence to the Miniſters, it is not ſo; for the Appointment of thoſe Deputies appertaineth more to the Seniors than to the Miniſters by our Diſcipline.

Horne, *&c. Artic.* 10.

*Item*, In the Article of Catechiſm, we think it is ſuperfluous and tedious to have two Catechiſms in one Afternoon; and alſo think that Mr. *Calvin*'s Catechiſm ought to be us'd no otherwiſe with us than it is in *Calvin*'s Church, which alloweth and uſeth the ſame.

Whithead, *&c.*

The firſt Catechiſm is only order'd for the Children, and is but an Examination and Appoſing of them. The other is not only for Children, but for all the Congregation, *&c.*

Now, forſomuch as the Reaſons and Anſwers are very long, and yet ſome of them repeated in Mr. *Horne*'s Objections to the Diſcipline which he offer'd up to the Magiſtrate, I will here paſs them over, and come to the ſaid Objections, and the Anſwers of the Church to the ſame.

### Horne, *and the reſt of his ſide to the Magiſtrates.*

We come to that now (Right Honourable Sirs) which we were charg'd to do by your Commandment and Appointment; that foraſmuch as for the appeaſing and final putting away of the Contention between us and our Brethren, we ſhould ſhew why we diſſent from them, and cannot proceed in the ſame paſſage and way that they do: we ſhall ſo open unto you our Defence and Cauſe, even as we deſire to be juſtify'd both in our Conſciences and before God. Howbeit, we are very ſorry that your Honours hath limited us ſo ſhort time, ſo as in a cauſe which (for the Weightineſs and Difficulty of it) ought to be debated upon with more leiſure, and very many things to be weigh'd to and fro, we muſt of force in a manner hold our peace and ſay nothing.

But our Truſt is, that your Honours will hereafter remedy this Diſpleaſure, in granting us longer time, that we may more amply hereafter confirm our Cauſe, which we are forc'd to ſet forth naked, and without any defence at all; which we will moſt gladly do, and deſire that we may freely be permitted to do. This is the thing that we often ſought for when we conſulted among our Brethren, for the correcting and amending of our Diſcipline, that as long as the Matter and Cauſe was in conſultation, we might ſo long poliſh and finiſh more at large that was alledg'd, to add unto all our Sentences, before the Sentences brought in, and to ſtrike out and take away from them, if ought ſeem'd worthy to be taken away, albeit any thing were put in, as firm and eſtabliſh'd by our Subſcription: which thing we now eftſoons deſire moſt earneſtly at your Honours hands, That foraſmuch as nothing is yet concluded and determin'd by your Honours, there be no ſuch Prejudice objected unto our Cauſe, but that we may confirm all our Allegations with firm and available Arguments.

And indeed, ſeeing we muſt now treat in order of thoſe things which we reprehend and condemn in our Brethrens made Diſcipline; this we firſt reprehend univerſally, that any other Alteration or Innovation of things ſhould be in our Affairs, than ſuch as ſerve only to the correcting and amending of that Diſcipline which hath been heretofore receiv'd and us'd in our Church: wherein we will ſeem alſo ſomewhat to ſatisfy our Brethrens curious minds. This we ſay, becauſe there is almoſt nothing that we think is to be innovated with ſuch poſt-haſte; and indeed there are many and weighty cauſes which do altogether pull us back from theſe Innovations, and bid us ſtick ſtill to our old Diſcipline, and not for the pleaſure of ſome men, and contrary alſo to your commandment (given for the amending and not for the making of any new

Diſcipline) to contemn and caſt away that which ſo many have allow'd.

Whithead, *and the reſt of that ſide, anſwer in this wiſe.*

We had purpos'd (Right Honourable and Righteous Magiſtrates) as we alſo ſignify'd unto your Honours, to have made no anſwer at all unto theſe unbrotherly Reproaches of Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers*, for they are the only Authors thereof; inaſmuch as they be unworthy to be anſwer'd unto, ſeeing they have no ſure Grounds, but bare Aſſertions only, which are as eaſily deny'd as affirm'd. And beſides that Mr. *Horne* ſaid openly in the hearing of all his Complices, before Mr. *Bartue*, Dr. *Cox*, and Dr. *Sands*, Arbiters appointed by your Authority, that he was not deſirous that we ſhould anſwer; wherein indeed he was not altogether a Fool. For he knew well enough how fond Gear he had written, and would bear away this brag the while, not as tho we would not, but could not anſwer ſo light Accuſations. Which petty Brag (wherein he ſo much delighteth) we would have been content to have ſpar'd him, had not your Authority, who thought it meet for us in any wiſe to make anſwer, come between. And in caſe Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* ſhall read ſome things here in our Anſwer that they would not, let them remember that they have driven us to it, in that they have bluſter'd out in writing ſo unworthy matters (and that ſo falſly) of ſuch a multitude of their baniſh'd Countrymen. For they (forgetting all Humanity and good Manners) object before the Magiſtrate (and that often) Poverty to a great many of ours now in Exile, as a moſt high Reproach. What then? Are they baniſh'd and poor, willingly or perforce? Were they not and might they not (if they ſet more by Goods than Godlineſs) be richer? And whence have we this Poverty which ye, Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers*, caſt ſo tauntingly in their teeth? And whence have you this Plenty, whereby you look ſo high againſt your Brethren? Surely you ought to have advis'd your ſelf, ſeeing you carry the common Purſe, before ye had ſo raſhly and ſo indiſcreetly publiſh'd theſe words unto the Right Honourable Magiſtrates, with the Reproach of your ſelf and of your Countrymen. Indeed, we would have ſuffer'd theſe (as common Reproaches) to be buried in perpetual ſilence, if it ſeem'd not otherwiſe meet to the Right Honourable Magiſtrates (whoſe Authority we obeying, as it becometh us) ſhall anſwer particularly unto all the particular Chapters of your Aſſertions.

### *To the Preface.*

Where Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* deſire licence to ſay and unſay, to put to and take from, to ſubſcribe and revoke, to do and undo all, as they think good themſelves, they ſeem to require their own Right: for they deſire no other than they have been us'd hitherto to do, as it is moſt evidently known almoſt to the whole Congregation; notwithſtanding this (albeit) it is againſt St. *Paul*'s Rule, who denieth it to be his Property to ſay yea and nay: neither have we any more marvel, that the ſame Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* think the old Diſcipline is to be retain'd ſtill, as a thing that both hath permitted them free liberty to do yet hitherto what they would at their own pleaſure, and ſheweth no way how to amend thoſe matters that they have done amiſs a great while. And yet becauſe we have provided, by the Authority both of the Magiſtrate and of the Congregation, that the like ſhall not happen hereafter, they accuſe us of Innovation forſooth. Where they make cavillation about Diſcipline to be amended, and not to be new made, and accuſe us as tho we have done againſt the Magiſtrates Commandment: we anſwer, That all occaſions of our old Controverſies were taken away by the Magiſtrates Commandment the laſt of *February*, but the old Diſcipline, as a thing not perfect nor indifferent, hath been the ſpecial cauſe of our Controverſies indeed. Therefore we affirm, that it was taken away by that Commandment, and Power given to the Congregation to make another, as it is declar'd in the plain words of the ſame Commandment. Furthermore, foraſmuch as we have kept ſtill the greateſt part of the old Diſcipline which ſeem'd indifferent, as it appeareth evidently in the Book of our Diſcipline, let them call it (ſeeing it ſo pleaſeth them) the amending of the old Diſcipline; inaſmuch as to amend, is nothing elſe than to correct that which is amiſs, to put out that is evil, and to put in that is wanting.

Therefore whether they call it our new-made Diſcipline or the old amended, we will not ſtrive with them about that matter, ſeeing we give them leave to ſpeak at their pleaſure. Only we declare that we have done nothing againſt the Magiſtrates Commandment in that behalf.

### *Objection to the Title of the Diſcipline.*

*Horne.* In the Title and Entrance unto their Diſcipline we reprove this as plain falſe, in that they ſay the Book of their Diſcipline was collected by fifteen Men, appointed to do the ſame by the Congregation and the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and ſo exhibited afterward unto

*Yet old blind Father* Lidford *being an Almſman, was forc'd by* unto our Congregation by the ſame fifteen Men. For it was both collected before the matter was committed unto them, and confirm'd beforehand by many mens Hands ſubſcrib'd.

Touching the forty two which approv'd this Diſcipline, and confirm'd it by ſubſcribing, this we may alledg, There are twenty four of them who live of other Mens Liberality and Alms; ſo as they may ſeem rather to follow other mens Wills, and to be inclin'd to their Pleaſures; eſpecially ſeeing ſo large and ample Promiſes, as well to live at liberty, as to have their ſlender Living reliev'd, have been made to this intent.

*by the B. of* L. *to ſubſcribe to the Book of Prayer among others more blind than he.*

*Whithead.* Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* deny the Book of Diſcipline to be collected by the fifteen Men, becauſe they being appointed of the fifteen, have labour'd by all means that nothing ſhould be done for the ſetting of the Congregation at a quiet ſtay. And when they perceiv'd that they could not hinder it, they came not with the reſt the two laſt days according to appointment, ſo as by that means ſome of the juſt number of fifteen Men ſhould be wanting. Was not the Book therefore both lawfully collected and lawfully exhibited to the Congregation, becauſe two or three of the appointed Men withdrew themſelves againſt Right and Equity? What ſhould be determin'd in any Affairs, if the matter ſhould tarry till all together (not one excepted) ſhould agree throughly in all points? Where they ſay the Book was collected before this matter was committed to the fifteen Men, it is a plain ſlander. Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* might be juſtly aſham'd to caſt Poverty in our Brethrens teeth now in Exile (and that before the Magiſtrates) and to lye ſo openly, that twenty four of our Company that ſubſcrib'd live of other mens Alms. And if ſo many poor men have forſaken Maſter Purſe-bearer *Chambers*, is it not a plain matter that they have been evil intreated at *Chambers*'s hand before time? But where they gather that the poor men ſeem to have follow'd other mens minds in ſubſcribing to the Diſcipline rather than their own, it is fondly gather'd; inaſmuch as on the contrary part it is moſt true, that they which (were they poor men) follow'd not *Chambers* when he ran away with the Bag, regarded their Conſcience more than the Living; forſomuch as both they and all other might be certainly aſſur'd that they ſhould moſt grievouſly offend not only the Purſe-bearer *Chambers*, but alſo two or three other of the richer ſort of our Congregation. But how much more juſtly might we return this Accuſation (which they falſly bend againſt ours) upon Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers*, and many other of their number, who have follow'd *Chambers* in running away from the Congregation, becauſe he carry'd and ſhew'd them a well-ſtuff'd Pouch, as it were a Standard to follow? For neither Mr. *Chambers* nor Mr. *Horne* durſt ever have departed from the Congregation as they have done, but upon truſt of the Pouch, which the one hath always born, and the other hath been ever an inſeparable Waiter upon, whereſoever it were carry'd: and yet in the mean while, this gay Fellow, *Horne*, from aloft contemneth ſo great a Company of his Countrymen, as Beggars and Caitiffs in compariſon of himſelf.

But in caſe there be ſo many among us that live of other mens Alms, as Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* do reaſon; and ſeeing Mr. *Chambers* took upon him, eſpecially at the intreaty of Mr. *Horne*, the Charge of gathering godly mens Alms publickly in the name of the Church, for the Relief of the Poor of our Congregation; as it is already known unto many, and ſhall hereafter by the whole matter ſeverally ſet forth, be moſt evidently known to more: what Mercy and Pity is this of theirs towards their Brethren, to leave ſo many miſerable People behind them, contrary to their Promiſe made to the Congregation; and to run away not only from the Congregation, but alſo out of the City, ſnapping away the Bag with them (which containeth many mens Alms gather'd for the Poor in the name of the Congregation) and to leave them all deſtitute; and alſo to leave certain Preachers appointed by them (which have ſerv'd the Church a year and more, and to whom they promis'd that they ſhould lack nothing) in a great deal of debt to other men for their neceſſary Board?

And where they play ſuch pranks, they caſt our Brethren in the teeth ſtill with Poverty, by the way of Reproach before the Magiſtrates. Let them go to therefore, ſeeing their Pleaſure is ſuch, and number their own Company, and leave out their Servants, their Boys, and ſuch as depend upon *Chambers*'s Purſe (for he hath made it his own, and dedicated it to his own Property) and let them tell us then, how many there be left on their part, if they be not aſham'd to tell how many they be. Where we did comfort our poor Brethren to our power, whom *Chambers*, running away with the Bag, had made aſtoniſh'd, and would have had them utterly diſcourag'd; they lay it to our charge as evil done. What is their manifeſt Declaration elſe, but that the Poor of our Congregation ſhould be utterly deſtitute not only of Relief, but alſo of all Hope of Relief, which hath ever been the uttermoſt Comfort of ſuch as be in miſery?

### *In the Diſcipline it ſelf an Objection.*

*Horne.* The next thing now wherein we agree not, is, that which is ſpoken of the two new Miniſters. This they treat upon in the ſeventh Article. This we defend, that the Scripture deth lean and incline rather unto one than unto two; which one, as he muſt not be above the reſt by Lordſhip, ſo yet ought he to be above other in Charge and in Burden, inaſmuch as he muſt needs give a greater account than the reſt, for the Flock committed unto him and to his charge. This we are able to prove: Firſt, By the Circumſtances of the Places of Scripture conſider'd. Secondly, By the Interpretations of antient Fathers, and the beſt learned Men of our times or latter days. Thirdly, In the Examples of the Churches inſtituted by the Apoſtles, and moſt Holy Men after their time. Fourthly, This new Order of two Miniſters or more, hath been (as all the wiſeſt Men have always reaſon'd) the Seeds and Fountains of all Diſſenſions and Contentions. And like as for Order ſake, and for Conſervation of the Churches in Peace, our Elders thought, that one ſhould neceſſarily be above the reſt; ſo alſo in this our remembrance, the greateſt Learned Men, as *Calvin*, *Brentius*, and many other do think. Of theſe matters the beſt-inſtituted and reform'd Churches in *Germany* can alſo be the beſt witneſſes. Theſe we profeſs that we both can and will more largely ſhew, as farther occaſion ſhall hereafter ſerve; which we cannot do now, for that we be limited to ſo ſhort a time.

### *The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* As concerning the two Miniſters of the Word, we affirm that it is lawful by the Word of God to have either two or more.

Where theſe Men ſay the Scriptures do lean rather to one, that is to affirm only, and to prove nothing; whereas *Paul* almoſt in all his Epiſtles writeth always as unto more of equal Authority in every Church, and not as unto one Principal. Where they alledg the antient Doctors; *Jerom*, which is the moſt diligent in Hiſtory-Matters, reporteth moſt plainly that in the beginning there were many, and afterward, for the avoiding of Diſſenſions, the chief Authority was committed unto one as the chief. But yet, ſaith he, that was done rather by the Statute of Men, than by the Authority of God. Where they ſpeak ſo much of the Miſchief of Contention in the Church, we confeſs it is a great Evil: But that Tyranny is a moſt peſtiferous Deſtruction to the Church, and that Tyranny crept into the Church by one, the Biſhop of *Rome* may teach us at large. Therefore foraſmuch as both ways, either by one, or by more, Evils may happen; we thought good to beware more diligently of the greater Evil. Where they bring in *Calvin* for one, we marvel with what face they can do that, ſeeing it is out of all doubt, that he upon one day, and in one hour inſtituted two Miniſters of equal Authority in all things in the *Engliſh* Congregation which is at *Geneva.* And alſo ſeeing that in the eighth Chapter, and 42d and 52d Diviſions of his Chriſtian Inſtitution, he declareth openly that there were from the beginning more Miniſters of the Word of equal Authority in the Church of Chriſt. Where they alledg the Examples of the Churches of *Germany*, we alſo want not Examples of the *Dutch* Church at *Emden*, wherein there be three Miniſters of the Word of equal Authority; and of the *French* Church of this City, and of the *Engliſh* Church of *Geneva:* yea, and *Calvin* himſelf is counted ſuperior to his Fellows, not by Authority of Office, but in reſpect of his Learning and Merits. Therefore inaſmuch as it is alſo permitted unto us by the Magiſtrates Appointment to chuſe one or more; let them leave their wrangling for a thing indifferent, as tho it were for Life and Land. Where they profeſs that they will make large proof of this matter at leiſure, let them profeſs theſe gay glorious Promiſes ſo long as they will, ſo they know the longer they labour in this matter, ſo much leſs ſhall they both ſhew and bring to paſs.

### *The Objection to the eighth Article.*

*Horne.* In the eighth Article Miniſters commit and aſſign the Burden and Cure (wherewith they are charg'd) unto other with overmuch facility. We demand alſo this, which appeareth not plainly enough in their Diſcipline, To whom pertaineth it to allow their Allegations and Excuſes, when they will leave their Charges unto others?

### *The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* What Inhumanity is it, not to be content that the Miniſters of the Word (upon weighty cauſes, as Sickneſs or urgent Buſineſs of importance) ſhould be eas'd of their Burdens? As tho they who find fault at this now, permitted not the ſame to themſelves before; rough againſt others, and over-favourable to themſelves.

And where they demand unto whom it pertaineth to allow their lawful Cauſes, we wonder that they neither read jointly in the ſame place the Name of Seniors, to whom the matter is committed, nor remember that general Point in the thirty ſixth Article, that the Government of the whole Church is committed to the Miniſters and Seniors.

### *The Objection to the thirteenth Article.*

*Horne.* We allow the tranſlating of Books: but that ſo open a Law ſhould be made for that matter, that is the thing we find fault with. For it both containeth that which is a peſtilent matter to our Congregation, by means of danger of ſuch as are wont to travel as Strangers up hither unto us out of *England*; as alſo it may be reprehended, in that it ſeemeth to ſmell and tend openly to the private Commodity of ſome men.

### *The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* Where it is ſignify'd that certain Books, godly and fit either to inſtruct or comfort our Countrymen in this Calamity of ours and of our Country, ſhould be tranſlated into our Tongue, than the which there can be nothing more profitable or neceſſary; they ſay it is a peſtilent matter forſooth, becauſe it is ſo openly mention'd: as tho by ſpeaking nothing, it might be perſuaded that we do nothing here but ſleep. For where they add touching the private Commodity of ſome in ſo common a Profit, we cannot gueſs what that meaneth; inaſmuch as all men who have, in theſe miſerable days, yet hitherto caus'd Books to be ſet forth in our Tongue, have rather loſt than won by them.

### *The Objection to the ſixteenth Article.*

*Horne.* In the ſixteenth Article the Cuſtody of the Treaſure of the Church pertaineth not neceſſarily to the Deacons by the Word of God. And at this day many reform'd Churches do not obſerve it: And moreover, it ſeemeth more profitable unto our Congregation to have it otherwiſe. Fourthly, the moſt part of the antienteſt Churches keep a plain other cuſtom.

### *The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* If they be able to ſhew ſo plain a place in all the whole Scripture, for any other that ought to have the cuſtody of the Treaſure of the Church, as is in the ſixth of the Acts of the Apoſtles for the Deacons, we yield unto them. Yea, and *Calvin* ſhall yield alſo (whoſe Name they oftentimes wonderous confidently and falſly alledg) who in the eighth Chapter of the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, in the 55th Diviſion, thinketh plainly as we do, as well concerning the Cuſtody, as the Diſtribution of all Church-mony, and uttereth the ſame in plain words. In the primitive Church, ſaith he, the Deacons receiv'd (even as it was under the Apoſtles) faithful Peoples daily Oblations and the yearly Revenues of the Church, to the intent they ſhould beſtow them upon true Uſes. We deſire them now to ſhew us more plainly, unto what other men that Charge doth rather belong

long than to the Deacons, *&c.* But they ſay many reform'd Churches obſerve not this, and that it will be more profitable for our Congregation to have it otherwiſe; and that the moſt part of the antienteſt Churches keep ſtill another Cuſtom. This (as we ſaid before) is only to affirm, and prove nothing: but thus they do almoſt always. But where they ſpeak of the antienteſt Churches, we believe they mean the Popiſh Churches, but wou'd not for ſhame utter it; or elſe let them ſhew us what antient Churches thoſe be. Yet this we may not overpaſs, how that they affirm that it will be profitable for our Church to have it otherwiſe; that is, that one as it is now have the cuſtody alone, know alone, and diſtribute the Church-mony alone, and make account alone, and to himſelf alone. But we are ready to prove either to the Magiſtrate, or to the World (in caſe the Magiſtrate ſo permit it) both by Teſtimonys, Reaſons and Matters indeed, that this is not only unprofitable, but alſo it hath and is utterly pernicious, and to the plain undoing of our Church.

### *The Objection to the 17th Article.*

*Horne.* We find fault that the Election of the Deacons is not free enough, for the rich Men muſt be always taken. Alſo, in that they ought to depend upon the Will and Counſel of the Elders, where now a great part of the Elders both live and depend upon the Deacons Purſe: their mouth therefore ſeemeth to be ſtop'd, ſo as they dare never reprove and over-correct the Deacons when they offend.

### *The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* There was never Man, who was in his right wit, that deny'd it to be moſt profitable for the Church, to have ſuch Men choſen to be Deacons as the leaſt ſuſpicion can be had of; where *Horne* and *Chambers* affirm,that a great part of the Elders live and depend upon the Deacon's Purſe, it is a plain ſlanderous report.

But admit there be one or two among them of the poorer ſort, that ſhall perhaps have need now and then of ſome relief of the Church-mony: Do not you (*Horne* and *Chambers*) know that they have been richer in times paſt, and except they prefer'd Religion to Riches, may be richer when they will? And now as they are become willingly baniſh'd Men, ſo are they willingly poor Men, for the ſame Religion-ſake that ye will ſeem to profeſs: Wherefore then had ye rather enviouſly to reprehend Poverty in ſuch a one, than gently to commend ſo great a Virtue? but that ye are driven hereto by grief of your Stomachs thro Malice. What doth *Paul* require Wealth in Elders (as ye do) or Virtue? Go to, and ſhew us out of *Paul* that this your Purſe-wealth is ſo neceſſary in an Elder. We dare affirm, that ſuch a one ſhou'd have been of more authority with *Paul*, as alſo with all Men that be godly, and more worthy to be an Elder by reaſon of his Poverty, for the which he is ſo contemn'd at your hand. But poor Elders dare not (ye muſt underſtand) reprove offending Deacons: Do not you, *Horne* and *Chambers*, know that in the Primitive Church, Biſhops themſelves had their appointed Living out of the Treaſure of the Church, which was in the Deacons hands; and yet the Deacons (in caſe they did amiſs) were nevertheleſs ſharply corrected of them? And yet theſe Men that require ſuch ruffling rich Elders, would have Deacons of the poorer ſort. But by what Example, and by what Reaſon? Why cannot ye, being Chriſtians, be content in Exile as well with poor Elders as with poor Deacons? We remember that one of you ſaid openly in our hearing, and in the hearing of many other, that you cou'd not with your Conſcience be under ſuch Miniſters, and ſuch Seniors as our Church hath now choſen. If ye can find no other fault in them than wilful Poverty, the Congregation alſo cannot repent them yet of the Miniſters and Seniors whom they have choſen: and as for this pure Conſcience of yours, we paſs not for it; but we think if Wealth be reſpected in any that is in Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry, it is to be reſpected chiefly in Deacons, that they meddle with the Church-mony without ſiniſter Suſpicion. Indeed about four months paſt ye had Deacons, ſurely honeſt men we ſay not nay, but yet ſuch as for their ſlender ability ye made ſuch Underlings, that ye brought not only the honeſt good men, but alſo the Miniſtry of Deacons (to the great injury of the Apoſtles Ordinance) into very much contempt. And in caſe we have thought good to beware (by all means) of that Evil, ye ought not to have been griev'd at it, but rather to have rejoic'd in the Churches behalf. But herein there is one great Sin, that this is not done by you, but rather againſt your Minds, ſeeing ye think nothing to be right, nor any thing to ſtand in force, unleſs it proceed of you.

*The Objection againſt the 18th Article.*

*Horne*. The Miniſters ſhall be privy how much Mony there is, but not how it is beſtow'd. This is againſt the Cuſtom of the antienteſt and beſt inſtituted Churches, and contrary to the judgment and mind of the greateſt learned men that be in theſe days, as *Calvin* and others; which as they permit the diſtribution unto the Deacons, even ſo will they have it done at the arbitriment and appointment of the Elders.

*If* Calvin *be ſo in your judgment, I hope you will allow his two Letters before.*

*The*

### *The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* The Miniſters (ſay they) ſhall be privy how much Mony there is, but not how it is beſtow'd. Where find you in our Book theſe words [but not how it is beſtow'd] and yet when he hath added it of his own, Lord, how he triumpheth here of the Cuſtom of the moſt antient Churches, of the Minds of the greateſt learned Men, namely Mr. *Calvin*, &c. In this matter the man truly ſeemeth not to have wanted ſpace and time, whereof he had too much, to write ſo fond Vanitys, but that he lack'd his Eye-ſight, and ſomewhat elſe beſides.

### *The Objection againſt the 19th Article.*

*Horne.* Albeit they would cover the matter, yet by making of Laws they make all openly known; for they diſcloſe thus much, that we ſend out our Gatherers to bring other mens liberality unto us; which thing ſhall bring great danger to many, inaſmuch as the Enemys of our Religion will eaſily conjecture from whom this ſo great liberality cometh.

### *The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* There is a great foreſight in theſe men, that they can reprehend that thing in us which they themſelves have done now already theſe three years; but it is well known that they ſend out their Gatherers, no more than it is that we be at *Frankfort.* And then he addeth, that the Enemies may eaſily conjecture from whom this ſo great liberality cometh. We wonder what he meaneth, or how much it is that he calleth ſo great. Doth *Chambers* at unawares mean the greatneſs of his Purſe? For as for us we have yet hitherto ſent out no body to gather, much leſs have we receiv'd any thing by any Gatherer.

### *The Objection againſt the 21ſt Article.*

*Horne.* We know not what they mean by the School, but howſoever the matter is, it ſhall annoy us very much, if they build up ſo many things with ſo ſolemn a Profeſſion, and ſhall bring our Adverſarys into ſuch a ſuſpicion, that we receive much more of other men than cometh to our hands indeed; and this ſhall come of it, that very many ſhall for our ſakes be moſt ſtraitly handled and examin'd.

### *The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* What if two or three Papiſts liſt to lie, that we receive many Thouſands, ſhall this breed great danger to us and others, and ſhall many be moſt ſtraitly handled and examin'd therefore? They may feign Danger out of every thing if they will. But he thinketh it would not be known that here are Students, Lectures and Diſputations, if we had ſpoken nothing of the School in our Diſcipline; for it was not known that there was a College of Students at *Zurick* before. It is a world to ſee how circumſpect theſe men be in words, when they are minded to ſpeak any thing againſt this our fooliſh Simplicity; for what madneſs is it to think that thoſe things which be every day open before mens eyes are the more known, by one ſentence written in a Book which very few ſhall look in?

*The Objection to the 22d, 23d and 24th Articles.*

*Horne.* The ſhamefac'dneſs of many is unſhamefac'd enough, and to be often diligently examin'd; and we think it neceſſary that nothing be done in this behalf without conſent of the Elders; who as they beſt know the ſtate of every man, ſo they can and ought to make an Exhortation at the diſtributing, apt and fit for every man's Diſpoſition.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* The ſhamefac'dneſs of ſome is almoſt ſo far attempted of ſome ſhameleſs Men, that their Heart is clean caſt down; for theſe diſcreet Diſpoſers of other mens Alms, have by paſſing too much on Mony utterly caſt away Men, yea both together the Mony and Men. And yet in the mean while, theſe that without all ſhame, reaſon of ſhamefac'dneſs forſooth, whom rather than thoſe that have any ſpark of honeſt ſhamefac'dneſs left wou'd go unto, they had rather almoſt die; yea theſe gentle and ſhamefac'd Diſpoſers have, with their odious Behaviour, driven many men of notable good Wits and Towardneſs, ſome to the Printing-houſe, ſome to be Serving-men, and to run into *England* again, with the peril both of Body and Soul. But of this caſe of evil handlings we ſhall commence matter againſt theſe Men (if God will) and the Magiſtrate give us leave, to the intent that good Men may be the more wary henceforth that they commit not their liberal Alms ſo eaſily to any one Man's Fidelity hereafter.

*The Objection againſt the 26th Article.*

*Horne.* The Law ordain'd, for thoſe that travel by the way ſhall call unto us all ſuch as be the moſt idle Perſons, and the verieſt Unthrifts, and alſo Papiſts which feign themſelves to be religious, that they may be holpen, as we have learn'd by Experience.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* The Traveller of our Nation having need by the way to be holpen on his Journy (if the Treaſure of the Church will bear it) pleaſe not theſe men. They ſay, they have learned by Experience that idle Perſons and Unthrifts, and alſo Papiſts are call'd hither by this means. By what experience, we beſeech you, before this Law was made or ſince? If they were call'd hither before this Law was made, they were not call'd by occaſion of this Law. Let them ceaſe therefore to impute unto a Law, that provideth only for thoſe that be godly and needy, thoſe things that naughty Packs have ever hitherto done, and will do ſtill hereafter.

### *The Objection to the 27th Article.*

*Horne.* It is not an Alms, but a Compulſion. Beſides this, of theſe that are found to be the Setters forth of theſe Laws, there are not paſt 17 or 18, which have competent enough to live upon, and to ſuſtain themſelves; and of them there would not only five give heretofore, when Collections were made, and the ſum of all their diſtributions came never to thirteen Dollars, they gave ſo ſparingly and ſo ſlenderly. And perhaps there is ſomewhat herein to keep back and fray away all ſuch as be of the richer ſort from us, that they come not hither, when they ſhall ſee ſo few rich dwell among ſo many poor, which nevertheleſs ſhall be compel'd to ſuſtain and bear very great Charges and ſundry Contributions.

### *The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* It is not a Compulſion, but an Alms; for no man is conſtrain'd otherwiſe than his own good Will and Ability is; and that which is of Good-will, is no Compulſion. And there ſhall no man of the richer ſort (that is godly) be fray'd away from us by this means, inaſmuch as ſuch as be godly ſeek of their own accord, whom they may do good unto. And where they object unto us again the ſmall number of ours which have competent enough to live upon themſelves, theſe ſhould be ſome men of mighty ability that would have the Magiſtrate perſuaded, that others are but Beggars in compariſon of them. Peradventure *Horne*, who is the Deviſer hereof, is admitted underhand into the fellowſhip of the Purſe with *Chambers*; and thereof it cometh his ſo great ſwelling, ſuch loftineſs and contempt of others. And where he addeth, that there were but five that gave at the Collections beforetime, and the ſum of that they gave came ſcarce to thirteen Dollars, it is a matter worthy to be known: for about half a year paſt and more, when *Horne* and *Chambers* had given warning openly for certain things that they were offended at, we know not what, that they would give over their Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtrys, which is no novelty for them to do now; afterward they went about to gather every Man's Alms, to the intent they might ſeem, at their departure from their Miniſtrys, like good Husbands of other Mens liberality, to have left ſomething unto the Church. But ſeeing they gather'd to this end, and it was perfectly known to all Men that their gathering was for this cauſe, certainly we marvel that there was ſo much as one that would give any thing, or that the ſum which they gave grow'd to ſo much as thirteen, not Sallers, but Hallers or Pennings. But *Chambers* and *Horne* were not ſo evil-known at that time. Now if they liſt to eſſay, they ſhall perceive, that there is not one that will put them in truſt with ſo much as a Mite: and yet ſince they departed from the Congregation, there hath been more given (by the Grace of God) unto the Poor, than *Horne* and *Chambers* have given of their own all the days of their Life.

### *The Objection againſt the 29th Article.*

*Horne.* This Law hath theſe Commoditys: That 1. it diſcloſeth the thing overmuch, that thoſe which were wont to be liberal unto us, are moſt deſirous to keep cloſe. 2. It is prejudicial to private Men which have felt many mens private Beneficence. 3. It nippeth and thwiteth away a great deal of that liberality which might come to us, in that we ſo appoint a ſtrange Collector, and unknown to the Givers. 4. It doth wondrous ſuſpiciouſly import the Infamy of certain that have us'd theſe Labours. 5. It ſhall ſtrike a fear and terror unto the Giver when he muſt ſee ſo many hands ſubſcrib'd to publick Letters, and by this reaſon they ſhall be eloign'd from us that would gladly ſuccour the Poor. 6. It ſhall be exceeding hurtful to other Congregations, and a loſs to all other baniſh'd men whereſoever they be diſpers'd. Finally, Theſe ſo openly ordain'd Laws ſhall ſignify unto our Queen, that we nouriſh and ſuſtain our Congregation by her Subjects; and that ſhall of neceſſity cauſe, that they which were wont to give us ſomewhat, ſhall be moſt diligently ſought out to their undoing and our moſt peſtilent Plague.

### *The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* Here is manifold finding of fault, as in a matter of moſt weighty importance, and wherewith Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* are wonderfully rub'd on the Gall. But paſſing over the firſt Member as vain, and mingled with others, we will firſt ſpeak of the ſecond. If this be to the prejudice of private Men, what have you, Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers*, done, which now a great while have by your Meſſengers and Letters ſtop'd all the private Alms of all men, and drawn them into your own hands? And that you, Mr. *Horne*, threaten'd out of the Pulpit that you wou'd do, and that you would make poor miſerable Men to eat Hay. Where they ſpeak of an unknown Collector, we anſwer, that the leſs he ſhall be commonly known, the leſs danger ſhall he cauſe to them that he ſhall have to do withal. For thoſe Collectors of yours are now by this your diligence in gathering (would to God ye were as liberal in diſtributing) and by theſe your cloſe and moſt diſcreet means ſo known, that no man dare bid them God ſpeed, much leſs talk with them.

Therefore it is wondrous fine, that Mr. *Horne* hath forg'd here concerning an unknown Collector, where he ſaith, That a Fear and a Terror ſhall be ſtricken into ſuch as ſhall ſee many names ſubſcrib'd. We underſtand not how that can be: It ſeemeth he wou'd ſay, that our Meſſengers Names ſubſcrib'd.

*A ſmall fault in theſe days.*

Furthermore we demanded of *Chambers* and *Horne*, why they have done the ſame now theſe three years, and compel'd Men to ſubſcribe againſt their wills: In them this is a godly matter, in us an horrible abomination.

Where he ſaith, that this will be exceeding hurtful to other Congregations; Certainly it hath been almoſt an undoing both to our Congregation and others, that Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* have in this behalf done it hitherto: for one while they ſay, they have gather'd alone for this Congregation, when any body of another Church (ye muſt underſtand) crave ought of them. Another while they boaſt that they have a great deal for other Congregations; that is, when they be offended with us, as they are now moſt grievouſly. For now (we believe) they will ſay plainly they have nothing for our Poor, therefore tho they ſpeak it not, yet they ſhew openly by their Deeds that they have all to themſelves, and keep all to themſelves. Where he ſaith, the Queen ſhall underſtand by this means, that our Congregations are nouriſh'd by her Subjects: How ſo? do we name *Engliſhmen*, or univerſally all good Men, by whoſe liberality the Poor of our Congregation be nouriſh'd? But the Queen will ſuſpect ſomething of her Subjects: O fine witty Men! ſhe ſuſpected nothing forſooth before we wrote this Diſcipline. What he hath in the fourth place ſet as it were in the middle rank in ſafety, we ſaw not; therefore we will ſpeak of it laſt. But this is the grievous matter of all, and that which alone tormenteth theſe Men indeed; for other cauſes are pretended, but this is the very thing whence (as the Man ſaith) cometh all this Anguiſh and Anger to: Forſooth it will be ſuſpected (ſaith he) if ſome other collect in the name of the Congregation, that we like not *Chambers*'s Collection, nor *Horne*'s and his Diſtribution. Hereof will all theſe weighty Diſcommoditys grow, that they two (ye muſt underſtand) may not be in ſo great authority with all Men, nor be ſuch Buggards to the Poor, if they may not bear the Bag alone. O grievous and intolerable Evils that will grow of theſe Suſpicions! Indeed they make an end of all this place with plain tragical Terms: this Gear (ſaith he) ſhall cauſe undoing, and a moſt peſtilent plague unto the Congregation.

We wonder that he cry'd not out alſo, O Heaven! O Earth! O *Neptune*'s Seas! but where they fear themſelves ſo much of Suſpicions, we believe they may be out of peradventure in a while. For all Men will within a ſhort time (as far as we ſee) give over to ſuſpect what manner of Men *Horne* and *Chambers* be. Finally, what fault ſoever they find with us in all this ado touching the Meſſenger to be ſent, they themſelves have utterly forc'd us by extremity and violence to attempt it. For ſeeing *Chambers* would give nothing being preſent, but unto certain of his own, and is now run away with the Purſe, we are utterly conſtrain'd to take this way, that our Poor periſh not for Famine.

*The Objection againſt the 30th Article.*

*Horne.* This is amiſs, that the Deacons are bound to viſit the Poor only, to know if they need; ſeeing it is chiefly requir'd that they may exhort, that they may comfort, that they may relieve ſuch Conſciences as be ſick and burden'd with Sins. A Man may ask them, Where it appeareth by plain words of the Scriptures, that it is the Deacon's Office to receive and keep the Treaſures of the Church, and that they alone ought to execute and accompliſh this Office.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* Let the Deacons viſit all ſick Folk univerſally if they will, and exhort them and comfort them; we forbid them not, only we ſhew that they are bounden by reaſon of their Office peculiarly to have charge of the Poor. Where they ſay it is chiefly requir'd that Deacons ſhould exhort and comfort the ſick Conſciences of them that are diſeas'd; If they ſay they be bound to do that by reaſon of their Office, let them prove it, that they do not only ſay all things; but if they reſpect Chriſtian Pity towards their Brethren, neither do we exempt from the Deacons that which is the common Duty of all Chriſtians. But foraſmuch as they have burden'd the Deacons before with unneceſſary Charges, as concerning the Office of Deacons, by reaſon whereof they fray'd many from that right godly Office of Deacons; we have thought good to declare what things they be which properly appertain to the Deaconſhip, and what be the common Dutys of all Chriſtians. And leſt theſe Men might juſtly complain as touching the Lake of exhorting and comforting the Sick, that matter is ſufficiently prov'd for by the Miniſters of the Word, unto whom that charge doth chiefly appertain, and by other learned Men alſo. And to that Queſtion that they harp upon again, it is thorowly anſwer'd in the fourth Article; in that they require plain words of Scripture of us we cannot marvel enough, ſeeing they neither prove or ſhew any thing, either by plain words, or obſcure words; but as tho we were Scholars, and they Schoolmaſters of *Pythagoras*'s Rule, they only ſay and affirm all things, and confirm nothing: but they promiſe they will do it at leiſure and God before, and that is enough we trow.

*The Objection againſt the 38th Article.*

*Horne.* The time is ill appointed, it were a great deal better after the Mart, for the avoiding of Rumour, and blowing of Diſſenſions which may ariſe, as it is now in example.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* The time is appointed well enough; for theſe Diſſenſions are not to be imputed to Times, but to Men. And we truſt that we ſhall by the grace of God have henceforth good Men, that ſhall quietly govern the Church in the true fear of God, and love to their Brethren.

*The Objection againſt the 44th Article.*

*Horne.* The 44th Article ſpeaketh manifeſtly againſt the Edict of the Senate, for there it is ſpecify'd by theſe clear and manifeſt words. Furthermore, the Senate of this honourable City hath decreed, that if there ariſe any Diſſenſion or Contentions among the Strangers, concerning Religion or their Diſcipline, they be ſet at one with all diligence by the Miniſters and Seniors, ſpecially for this cauſe, leſt thoſe which profeſs themſelves to be baniſh'd Men out of their Country for true Religion-ſake, utter an evil Token what their mind is, by reaſon of ſuch Controverſys and Debates. And in caſe the matter cannot be appeas'd before the Miniſters and Elders, let them know that the Senate of this City will take order therein, who, as reaſon is, will look moſt ſharply upon the Authors of ſuch Troubles.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* It is not againſt the meaning of the Edict, as it was declar'd by the Magiſtrates themſelves in our Church before all the Congregation the laſt of *February*, by the mouth of Mr. *Valeran Polaine*: and the ſaid Magiſtrates, ſeeing the Sentence pronounc'd by the ſaid Mr. *Valeran*, and written out by us, allow'd it, according whereunto this Decree is altogether ſet forth.

*The Objection againſt the 46th Article.*

*Horne.* This Law doth not ſufficiently foreſee and provide for the Quietneſs of the Congregation, unleſs in this greater part the Paſtors and Seniors be included, whoſe Authority Men ought not to bring into ſuch contempt that we would ſo eaſily reject them. The multitude is of their own Diſpoſition, overmuch licentious and grudging at every ſuperior Power, and this Law is alſo againſt the Edict of the Senate.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* If the Miniſters and Elders will be preſent, no Man warneth them; if they will not, who will force them againſt their wills? It is impertinent that he ſaith, they be eaſily rejected, which will not come when they be deſir'd; or when they be deſir'd, or when they be preſent, depart upon their own will. Where he ſaith, that this Decree is alſo contrary to the Edict of the Senate, it is not enough, except he prove it.

*The Objection againſt the 49th Article.*

*Horne.* The ſubſcribing is over-hardly and conſtrainedly done, ſpecially in ſo often alteration and innovation of Laws, as they ſpeak of.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* The ſubſcribing is not over-hardly nor conſtrainedly done, but ſo much the leſs hardly and conſtrainedly, in that there is an eaſy way ſhew'd to redreſs if any thing be done amiſs: where theſe Men would have their Decrees be reputed for holy ſacred Canons which may not be mov'd. And as for this ſubſcribing, which they ſay is ſo conſtrain'd and hard, beſides that it is provided for by the Edict of the Senate, it is requir'd alſo in their old Diſcipline and Inſtitution.

*The Objection againſt the 54th Article.*

*Horne.* The Authority of the Paſtor and Seniors is all wip'd away. For every thing is refer'd to the confus'd multitude of the Congregation.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* Except the matter be us'd as we have provided in the Diſcipline, both the Authority and Liberty of the Congregation is wip'd away, and a mere Tyranny eſtabliſh'd. Where he ſaith, all things is refer'd to the confus'd multitude, it is manifeſtly falſe: for it is always added by ſuch as the Congregation ſhall appoint thereto, as it is alſo in the 54th Article added in plain words.

*The Objection againſt the 57th Article.*

*Horne:* This Law is alſo contrary to the Edict of the Senate.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* This ſhould not be ſaid but ſhew'd.

*The Objection againſt the 58th Article.*

*Horne.* The Aſſembly of four, ſix, eight or ten, is troubleouſly done, and without order, and will ſtir up new Tumults daily in the Congregation: Such Laws as this condemn the Authority and Counſel of the Elders.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead. Horne* and *Chambers* condemn the Aſſembly of four, ſix, eight or ten men for peace-making; when they have almoſt every day theſe three months gather'd corner-creeping Aſſemblys to diſturb the Peace of the Church.

*The Objection againſt the 59th Article.*

*Horne.* The 59th Article is manifeſtly repugnant againſt the 56th Article.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* The 59th is not repugnant againſt the 56th Article, for there is treated of civil Controverſys, and here of others.

*The Objection againſt the 63d Article.*

*Horne.* The Law alſo is againſt the Edict of the Senate.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* It is not againſt the meaning of the Edict, as it is declar'd in the anſwer to the 15th Article; for it was declar'd by the right honourable and godly Magiſtrates openly in our Church, that they thought nothing leſs than to impeach the lawful Authority of the Congregation: And except the Congregation, which giveth authority to Miniſters, be ſuperior to the Miniſters, they are not now Miniſters, but Lords of the Congregation, as to add no further.

*The Objection to the 68th Article.*

*Horne.* In this place we deſire that our old Diſcipline may be look'd upon, that we may ſee whether it be to be ſo lightly caſt away, ſeeing it proceeded of ſo learned men, and ſhall with a mean amending be far perfecter than this new Diſcipline.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* Where they deſire that the old Diſcipline may be look'd upon, we anſwer, The more they ſhall look upon it, the more evidently ſhall the naughtineſs and imperfection of it appear. And it ſhall alſo more plainly appear how much the Congregation hath been beholden to them that have retain'd ſuch an unperfect Diſcipline ſo long in the Church, only becauſe it permitteth all to the Paſtor. Where they ſay that the Diſcipline proceeded of ſo learned Men, yet the ſame that wrote it (were they never ſo well learn'd) confeſs themſelves, both that it was gather'd in haſt, and given to the Congregation as imperfect, only for a time. Where they ſpeak of the amending of that Diſcipline, we marvel that it never came into their Mind before.

*The Objection againſt the 72d Article.*

*Horne.* That concerning Teſtaments in this dangerous world is a pernicious Law.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* We cannot tell what Serpent the Law concerning Teſtaments hath lurking under the Herb. They ſay it is a pernicious Law, and they only ſay ſo: But we ſay it is very wholeſom and profitable againſt the fraud of Falſarys, and to the ſuccour of the Fatherleſs and Widows.

*The Objection againſt the 73d Article.*

*Horne.* Quietneſs is not ſufficiently provided for by this means, inaſmuch as it is commanded (as it were) that every one ſhould look and ſtudy for an Innovation.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead.* Quietneſs is provided for ſufficiently, inaſmuch as the matter muſt paſs quietly and peaceably, and alſo by Writings Mens Conſciences are neceſſarily provided for, that in caſe any thing be found in the Eccleſiaſtical Ordinances ungodly or diſagreeing, or elſe unprofitable for the Church, it may be chang'd ſtrait-ways; ſo as Mens Pleaſures be not held for holy, ſacred, and unmoveable, as the Papiſts would.

*The Objector's Concluſion.*

*Horne.* In all this ado, we ſay this for a Concluſion, that there be three things which they only ſeek, the Innovation of Miniſters, a Purſe, and Treaſure, I know not what, and the purging of their own Offences before committed.

Now have we alledg'd as much as we handſomly could bring, conſidering the time. We wou'd alſo have alledg'd very many other things, ſo as it ſhould plainly appear, that our Brethren have, in ordaining their Diſcipline, reſpected neither ſo great weighty reaſons, nor ſo great commoditys of our Congregation; but have in the mean while given that which ſhall be offenſive and ſlanderous to all good Men, and to our Adverſarys and God's Enemys, the Papiſts high rejoicing and pleaſure. The Book of the old Diſcipline, with a very little and ſmall correction and amending, would cauſe many more plentiful fruits of Chriſtian Hearts to be brought forth, and would ſettle a great deal more conſtant and more durable quietneſs among us.

*The Anſwer to the Concluſion.*

*Whithead.* In all this ado, Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* go about nothing elſe but to diſquiet the Congregation, that *Horne* might rule the roſt over all, *Chambers* bear the Bag alone, and they two together exerciſe a moſt unworthy Lordſhip over the Poor, and by them all other; and that they might have no certain Diſcipline, but that their Pleaſures might be holden for Laws, and that nothing ſhould be thought right or ſtand in force but what they do, yet hitherto, and the ſame they go about now: And it ſeemeth they have utterly determin'd, either to eſtabliſh a Tyranny, or to leave no Commonwealth at all in the Congregation. Where *Horne* and *Chambers* make rehearſal here of the purging of Offences committed by us, they ought juſtly to have been aſham'd to make mention of Offences, ſeeing they have never left for theſe three or four months to lade themſelves with wicked Doings. And as for occaſion of Offence and Slander given to good and godly Men, and to our Adverſaries and God's Enemies, the Papiſts high rejoicing and pleaſure; they accuſe us thereof ſo falſly, as they themſelves have given the occaſion indeed.

For they could never abide to have any thing amended, nor themſelves to be admoniſh'd of any thing, or to be commun'd withal in any wiſe: But for the moſt light, yea no cauſes indeed, they forſook their Miniſtry ſtrait-ways; the Paſtor forſook the Flock, the Treaſurer the Poor, and both forſook the Church, and mov'd others by their example to do the ſame.

Neither was it enough for them to give over their own Functions, but they muſt draw other Preachers and Readers with them alſo, to the intent the Congregation ſhould by this means be deſtitute of God's Word, and utterly ſcatter'd, as tho it could not poſſibly ſtand without them. And when they had forſaken their own Church, they haunted, partly the *French* Church, and partly the *Dutch* Churches, and ſo rais'd Rumours abroad, and ſpread our Diſſenſions firſt thro this City, and then thro other Citys of *Germany*. And laſt of all, when they would not come to the Church in the Mart-time, but by the Magiſtrates Commandment, neither could they then be quiet; they ſpread the like Rumours almoſt throughout all *Europe*.

*Then I hope it may be now ſpread again without offence, all things well weigh'd.*

And when they have play'd theſe Pranks themſelves, they charge us with their own faults, and go about to lay the Infamy upon us which they themſelves have ſtir'd up. If you ſhall cry out that old matters are rehears'd by this means, you ought to have abſtain'd from provoking us hereunto; neither to have mention'd Offences committed, old Subſcriptions, nor yet to have call'd us back thus to the old Diſcipline, the fountain of all Contentions.

*The Names ſubſcrib'd to the Objections with a Poſtſcript.*

*Robert Horne*, *Richard Chambers*, *Anthony Mahew*,
*Edward Iſaac*, *Chriſtopher Brickbeck*, *Richard Davids*,
*Cutbert Warcope*, *John Binkes*, *Nicholas Carue*,
*Robert Harrington*, *John Eſcot*, *John Machet*.

*Horne.* The reſt of our conſenting Brethren we could not call together unto this ſubſcribing, by reaſon of ſhortneſs of time, whoſe names ſhall be put afterwards having your Licences thereto.

### *The Anſwer to the Poſtſcript.*

*Whithead.* Where they complain of ſhortneſs of time in the end, as they did in the beginning, and that they could not by reaſon thereof call their conſenting Brethren together to the ſubſcribing: What meaneth that? For where they have ſet to the names of them which dwell moſt far aſunder, and have left out almoſt none but the names of their own Servants, whom they have always at a beck; yet they could not call the reſt of their Brethren together forſooth, to the intent they might by this ſhift make a ſhew, to ſuch as know not the matter, of ſome multitude of men of ſome eſtimation which are left out. And they deſire alſo, as in a matter of weight, that they may ſet to the names of the other afterwards. And as here in the end, they vaunt a certain ſhew of ſome great multitude that will ſubſcribe; even ſo in the beginning, and in many other places of their Book, they make a great brag as tho they would exhibit ſome notable matter to the Magiſtrate, ſo they may have time enough given them to bethink themſelves: But Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* ſhall with theſe their mighty and great Promiſes, both of Subſcriptions, Declarations and Confirmations, bring to paſs as good as nothing. But yet this they are deſirous to bring to paſs in the mean time, that whilſt theſe gay glorious Promiſes of theirs be look'd for, they may a long time hinder the Peace and Quietneſs of the Church, which their only deſire is to have diſquieted. And if it be poſſible that they may recover a moſt intolerable Lordſhip over the Congregation, or in caſe they cannot obtain the chief ſtate in the Congregation, that they may leave the Church in the worſt, or in no ſtate at all, but that they may rend it, and all to ſcatter it: Theſe be the Devices of *Horne* and *Chambers:* Theſe be their Fetches, right honourable and moſt righteous Magiſtrates; and yet we have no diſtruſt but Almighty God, for his Mercy's-ſake towards our moſt afflicted Church, and that your Authority for your Equity's-ſake and ſingular Benevolence towards us, will withſtand the ſame.

And foraſmuch as we have prov'd that not one of theſe things which they have reprehended in our Diſcipline, be either againſt God's Word, or againſt good Reaſon; and foraſmuch alſo as we are ready to prove that all things, contain'd in our Diſcipline, are taken out either of God's Word, or of the Edict of the Senate and Magiſtrate; either out of their own old Diſcipline, which they ſtick ſo faſt unto, either elſe of the judgment

ment of good reaſon; we humbly beſeech the right honourable and righteous Magiſtrates that they will vouchſafe to confirm it with their Authority.

Whereas both Parts gave conſent that certain others, very worſhipful, ſhould alſo deal in this Controverſy between them, to appeaſe (if it might be) the ſame, I have here following plac'd the Order which they took for their Quietneſs.

## *To the Miniſtry and Body of the Congregation of the* Engliſh *Church of* Frankfort.

FOraſmuch as at the requeſt of all our Brethren and Countrymen of this Church of *Frankfort*, we have undertaken to endeavour our ſelves to make an end of this ſorrowful Controverſy, which ſo grievouſly ſo long time hath vex'd this Congregation, ſlander'd Religion, and infam'd the name of *Engliſhmen*; we thought we could neither ſatisfy the Duty of Chriſtian Charity, nor the Office of loving Countrymen, if we did omit any thing, which by any probable conjecture might ſeem to bring to effect our honeſt Enterprize in this behalf. Whereupon we have thought good to offer unto you our Brethren on both Partys ſuch a form of agreement touching certain points of your Diſcipline, as had ſeem'd unto us upon Conference, between certain choſen Perſons on both ſides before us, moſt convenient, ſo to ſatisfy all Men, that every Man might willingly and chearfully ſubmit himſelf unto the Obedience thereof: Deſiring you all, as ye hope to have favour at God's hands in the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo to apply your favourable Minds each to other, that all Strife and Contention ſet apart, you may join together in a bleſſed, chriſtian, and happy Society, Peace and Concord, and the thing whereunto we wiſh both the Partys ſhould agree as followeth.

### *The Form of Reconciliation.*

1. Whereas in this whole Treaty of Reconciliation and Alteration of Diſcipline, ſome things might happen to ſeem to tend to the condemnation of ſome Party or Perſon: we do all freely pronounce and teſtify each part of other, that neither of us do condemn either Party, or any Perſon as thoſe which have done any thing contrary to God's Word, or probability of reaſon in this matter of Diſcipline, but friendly and lovingly every Man doth imbrace all Men, omitting all rehearſal and diſputation of things paſt, with common and hearty Prayer unto God, that from henceforth we may remain and live together in brotherly Love, to the glory of God, and comfort of us all.

Concerning the Article for exerciſe of Learning: that there be no mention made of the ſame in the Book of Diſcipline, but that forſomuch as learned Men remain in the Congregation, that the Miniſtry ſhall, for the furtherance of Learning, labour to put in uſe ſuch exerciſe of Learning as the learned can perform, and the ability of the Church bear.

2. Concerning the receiving and diſtributing of the Treaſure of the Church. The receiving and diſtributing thereof doth appertain to the Deacons, yet not ſo that they do it without the knowledg and conſent of the Miniſters and Seniors. Concerning the keeping of the ſaid Treaſure, it may very well appertain to the Deacons; yet it is not of ſuch neceſſity but that the reſt of the Miniſtry may otherwiſe ſet order for the cuſtody thereof, as time and occaſion ſhall ſerve.

3. Concerning the Article of Contribution: When the Treaſure of the Church faileth, it pertaineth to the Miniſters and Deacons to travel by the way of exhortation with the Rich to help in that need without any further compulſion.

4. Concerning the Article of ſending of common Letters for the relief of the Congregation: That there be no mention made of any part thereof in the Book of Diſcipline, but that the Miniſtry, with all poſſible ſecrecy, uſe ſuch policys and means as may beſt ſerve to the relief and maintenance of the Congregation.

5. Concerning the Article of making of Laws: That they be made by the Miniſtry and Body of the Congregation, being call'd together for that purpoſe. And if the Miniſtry, or any of them, refuſe to be preſent, being by the Body of the Congregation requir'd thereunto, without juſt cauſe by them or him alledg'd; that then, after a due time given for the hearing of the Cauſe, if they bring not in good reaſon and juſt cauſe of ſuch refuſal, then to be depriv'd by the ſame from theirs or his Miniſtry, and new to be choſen.

6. Concerning the Article of the Election of Miniſters: That a Scrutiny be had every year, at the time of Election, for the examination of the Miniſters of the Word; wherein ſhall be, by the appointment of the Congregation, ſix or eight grave and wiſe Men, who ſhall hear what faults be alledg'd againſt the ſame Miniſters; and if the faults be weighty and worthy of open Correction, to ſignify the ſame to the Congregation, that the Offenders or Offender may be corrected or depriv'd accordingly. If the Offences be leſſer than that they ought to be publiſh'd, then the ſaid Miniſters or Miniſter offending to be moniſh'd of his fault, according to the diſcretion of the Scrutiners.

7. Concerning the Article of Teſtaments: That no Man, by order in this Congregation, ſhall be forc'd to regiſter his Teſtament

ment, but that there be eight or ten grave, wiſe, ſubſtantial and honeſt Men choſen by the Congregation, out of which number the Teſtator ſhall have his choice: or if he omit the thing, his Executors ſhall have the choice to take two of the ſaid eight or ten, beſides ſuch as are made Witneſſes, whom the Executors within a month after the death of the Teſtator ſhall make privy to the Teſtament; and that the ſame two, being requir'd thereunto, ſhall faithfully declare unto every Party comprehended in the Will, ſo much of the Will as ſhall particularly appertain to every of them, and ſhall keep ſecret all the reſt of the Will or Teſtament, as they ſhall proteſt before God and the Congregation upon their Conſciences, at the time of their Election.

And now in caſe it ſhall ſeem good unto all your Wiſdoms, as well of the Miniſtry and Body of the Congregation of the one part, as of the Diſſenting Brethren of the other part, that we ſhall by our mediation proceed any further according unto this form of Reconciliation, which is here deſcrib'd: We do heartily require you, that ſignifying your Minds unto us with as convenient ſpeed as ye may, ye will alſo appoint out, on either part, two diſcreet and ſober Perſons, Lovers of Peace and Concord; which by Conference with other two of us, whom we ſhall appoint, may draw theſe Articles afore-written into ſuch a form, as they may be conveniently annex'd to the reſt of your Diſcipline. The 29th of *September*, 1556.

Your loving Brethren and Countrymen,

*Thomas Wroth,*
*Francis Knollis,*
*Roger Parker,*
*John Abell,*
*Henry Knollis,*
*John Browne,*
*Fran. Wilford,*
*John Turner,*
*Edwin Sands,*
*Thomas Eaton,*
*Richard Springham.*

*The Anſwer of the Church to this Offer, or the Effect of the ſame.*

WE cannot allow this way of Reconciliation offer'd to our Church by our Countrymen, foraſmuch as we ſhould condemn our ſelves as evil Doers, and our Doings ungodly and unreaſonable; but we are aſſur'd we have not done, in our Diſcipline, any thing contrary to God's Word and good Reaſon. The laſt of *Septemb.*

*David Whithead,*
*John Hales,*
*Thomas Sorby,*
*John Pedder,*
*Thomas Aſhley,*
*Henry Parry,*
*Richard Beeſly,*
*Robert Crowley,*
*Thomas Watts,*
*Richard Rogers,*
*William Raulings,*
*Robert Beſte,*
*Richard Luddington,*
*Edmond Harries.*

## *The Copy of the Letters of Requeſt ſent forth for Relief of the Poor by Mr.* Sutton, 25 July, 1557.

*To all them that bear an unfeign'd Reverence and Zeal unto the eternal Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt, join'd with the charitable and ſincere Bowels of Mercy towards the Poor; Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father, by the ſame our Lord Jeſus Chriſt his Son, the common and only Saviour of the World.*

IT is not likely that the Bruite of the Controverſy, which hath now at the end of ſix months continu'd in this *Engliſh* Church at *Frankfort*, is unknown to Strangers: It is more likely, that ſo many being privy thereto, it is carry'd and ſpread too far abroad: And moſt like, by the Fruits ſpringing thereof, that it hath been untruly reported by the wilful Authors and ſtubborn Maintainers of it, not only to the infamy, reproach, and diſcredit of the Body of this Church, and to the intent to ſtop all Relief from the poor Members of the ſame, but alſo that their uncharitable and leud Behaviours ſhould not come to light. For it is well known that divers charitable Men (albeit their Perſons and Names be neither known nor deſir'd to be known) were before the beginning of this Controverſy very liberal, in ſending their Charity to the uſe of this whole Congregation univerſally, and ſome were beneficial to ſundry Members of the ſame particularly; which ſince that time to our knowledg they have left undone utterly. We the Miniſters of the Church hoping that theſe men, the Authors and Maintainers of this Controverſy, would in time have known their Faults, and made ſatisfaction to the Church, as it becometh Chriſtian men to do, did not only with patience ſuffer their ſlanderous Talk and unquiet Demeanour; but alſo bear with their unjuſt dealing, and as much as in us lay ſtudy'd to cover their faulty doings. Nevertheleſs, ſeeing no likelihood of their Amendment, but moſt manifeſt proofs of their Malice, this poor Congregation rather daily increaſing than in any part diminiſhing, and thereby the Poverty thereof continually augmenting; we thought it our bounden Duty in conſcience no longer to hide the matter, but thus of neceſſity conſtrain'd, to diſcloſe it; ſo as ſeeing they will not be as they ought to be, they may at leaſt be known as they be. And thus we do not for any Malice that we bear to any man's Perſon (as

God the Searcher of Hearts knoweth) but that the Truth being known, ſuch good People, as thro untrue Report have been perſuaded to withdraw their good Minds and Favour from this poor Congregation, might underſtand that without juſt cauſe they have ſo long done it, and hereafter be the more willing to renew their Charity in the relieving of this poor Church of Chriſt.

And to come to the matter, ye ſhall underſtand that after Mr. *Horne*, late Paſtor, and the Seniors that were join'd in the Miniſtry with him, had by a writing ſubſcrib'd with their own Hands, openly before the Congregation ſurrender'd and given over their Offices, retaining nevertheleſs the Writing of their Surrender in their own hands; and yet being deſir'd by the Congregation not to leave their Miniſtrys, but ſtill to exerciſe the ſame, they in no wiſe would do it: whereby the Church was divers days deſtitute of the Preaching of God's Word. Whereupon the major part of the Congregation minding to have the Church kept in good order, and to redreſs thoſe things that were a great occaſion of the former Contention, ſo that after there might be a perpetual Quietneſs and Concord among us, went earneſtly about the ſame. But it happen'd contrary to our Expectation, the former Grudges continuing, and new Buſineſs daily increaſing; which at length came to the Magiſtrates ear, contrary to our minds and determination. For when we thought that it ſhould, without any further bruite amongſt our ſelves, have been pacify'd and ended, as we would to God it had been; the godly Magiſtrates, who lamented much our Diſſenſion, and deſir'd our Quietneſs, came into our Church, and there firſt made us to promiſe one to another, that from thenceforth no mention ſhould be made of any former Grudg of Contention between us, but that all things paſt ſhould be clean forgotten. Afterwards, for the better continuan[illegible] of Love among us, and good Order in the Church, with the conſent of Mr. *Horne* the Paſtor, and the Seniors, they diſcharg'd him and them of their Offices, and willed the Church to chuſe new Miniſters, and to make a new Diſcipline (for by reaſon of the unperfectneſs of the old Diſcipline, a great part of the former Controverſy was) as if there had been never any Church here before. Whereupon the Church divers times aſſembling, at length the moſt part of the Church thought moſt reaſonable, that amongſt other an Order ſhould be in this Church, like as it was in the primitive Church, and is now in all well-reform'd Churches, that the Treaſure ſhould be in the cuſtody of all the Deacons, and not of any one man alone. Mr. *Horne*, with certain of the Seniors, and a few others, would in no wiſe agree unto it, but to their uttermoſt reſiſt it; which gave us occaſion of further juſt Suſpicion, that the Treaſure of the Church in time paſt had not been chriſtianly uſed.

And whereas alſo we had deviſ'd another Order, that forſomuch as the Magiſtrate doth permit us to uſe the Cuſtoms and Manners of making Wills that be uſed in *England*, that for the more Surety of our Friends that were here, or elſewhere, if we were diſpos'd by our Wills to give unto them any of that little Subſtance that God hath left us (if we ſhould die here) our Wills ſhould be ſeen and exemplify'd by the Seniors, and ſo to be out of all danger of counterfeiting at any time: *Horne* and *Chambers* only upon fond will, without any juſt conſideration or good reaſon, cavil'd againſt the ſame Order, only affirming it to be pernicious. Theſe things we find manifeſtly at length not to proceed of any good mind or purpoſe, but of contentious Frowardneſs, grounded upon Self-love and Gain, that under a colour of the Church they might gather good mens Devotions, and never diſtribute any penny thereof; or at the leaſt, to none (had they never ſo great need) unleſs they would either fawn and hang on them, or elſe ſuſtain uncharitable Taunts and Reproaches at their hands.

For where *Chambers*, above eighteen months paſt, had of Mr. *Whithead* then Paſtor, and the Seniors then, a Letter to receive of one ſpecial man twenty pounds; and beſides, thro *Horne*'s procurement, a general Proxy to *Chambers* and his Deputy, to gather the Devotion of good men for the relief of this poor Congregation; which by their own Proceedings here before the Magiſtrates (their own hands-writing teſtifying the ſame) and otherwiſe by our knowledg we are certain, they did put in practice, and receiv'd much thereby: yet *Chambers* upon the account here left behind him, neither confeſſeth that he receiv'd the ſaid twenty pounds, nor yet any other Sum, neither hath he diſtributed (during all the time he was in Office yet to this day) in this Congregation, to any one Perſon (ſaving to three Scholars that came with him) one penny, that he did not receive here in this Congregation and City.

And yet, at his departure hence, he left two of the ſaid Scholars (unto whom nevertheleſs he promis'd ſufficient proviſion and finding, and never warn'd them to the contrary) in debt for their Board, and for other Neceſſaries, almoſt 20 Guilders, which this poor Congregation was forc'd to pay. Finally, where good Mrs. *Wilkinſon*, of bleſſed memory, put *Horne* and *Chambers* in truſt with the deviſing and making of her Will, whereby ſhe gave to this and other poor Congregations of the poor baniſh'd *Engliſhmen*, a chriſtian liberal Relief; albeit they have caus'd ſome of the ſaid Congregations to be paid of the ſame Bequeſt; yet hitherto would they not make this poor Congregation privy to the Sum bequeath'd unto it, much leſs pay it, nor yet (according to the Order of our Church's Diſcipline aforeſaid) let the Will be ſeen; ſo as the friendleſs young Gentlewoman, her Daughter, ſhould not be defrauded of her Right, nor her Mother's Will alter'd to her loſs. Furthermore, Mr. *Chambers* underſtanding that we were minded (according to our Duties) to require an account of him for the uſe of his Proxy, getteth him ſuddenly hence (accompany'd with Mr. *Horne*) early in the morning, without the conſent or leave-taking of the Congregation, or the Miniſtry thereof, and contrary to his own openly made promiſe, that he would not depart till he had anſwer'd all that any man could charge him with.

And at his going away, he left behind him an account, which by cutting out the Leaves, and new written, ſeemeth not to be now at the laſt as it was at the firſt; albeit it was never ſo perfect as Chriſtian Fidelity would have requir'd it to be. And moreover, albeit we have twice written unto him, charitably exhorting and requiring him to come hither, and diſcharge himſelf of thoſe things that ſhall be ſaid unto him in the behalf of this Congregation; and to the intent he ſhould reſtore unto it the Proxy he receiv'd, and no longer by himſelf or his Deputy exerciſe it in the name of this poor Church, as we are inform'd he doth: he neither cometh, nor yet maketh anſwer to our Letters; whereby we cannot but think that he meaneth not only craft and ſubtilty (much unworthy the Integrity and Fidelity that he pretendeth) but alſo to hinder, and as much as in him lieth, to undo this poor Congregation, not only of that he hath already receiv'd and carry'd away (as he hath heretofore dealt with the Company of poor Students at *Zurick*) but alſo, thro untrue Reports, of all good mens Devotions and Liberality that hereafter would elſe be beſtow'd. Their Reports (which among many other Untruths, to hinder this poor Congregation, they ſlanderouſly bruite abroad) are chiefly theſe: Firſt, that the Poor of this Church be ſo well provided for, that the worſt hath after the rate of two ſhillings by the week. Secondly, that ſome of the Poor here be ſo ſtout, that they diſdain to ask Relief in their need; ſo that our Poor ſeem either not to need, or not to be worthy of Help. And thirdly, that men here ſeek to know the Names of the Givers to this Congregation, to their great peril and utter undoing: Which Reports be all utterly untrue. But the truth is, that for want many poor men have been driven both to depart hence to ſeek their living in other places, and ſome forc'd to go for Relief into *England.* Theſe Specialties, beſides much more, we have thought good and very neceſſary, that good godly men ſhould know, both that they ſhould not conceive any evil opinion of this Congregation by falſe report, and alſo that minding to relieve the Poor and miſerably afflicted Members of Chriſt, their Brethren in this Church, they ſhould, when God ſhall move them to depart with any thing to that uſe, ſo deliver it, as it may ſafely come, and juſtly be diſtributed, where they would have it beſtow'd. And therefore we (conſidering the State of our Fellow-Exiles living here with us in need and poverty, and fed by the only good Providence of God) deſire all Chriſtian men for the love of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt to conſider how pleaſant a Sacrifice, how ſweet a Savour the relieving of the Poor for his ſake, is before the face of our Heavenly Father. A good Man's Life is almoſt nothing elſe than a continual Exerciſe of Mercy. *All the day long he hath mercy and pity*, ſaith the Prophet *David.*

*Give Alms of thy Goods* (ſaith the Holy Man *Tobiah*) *and turn never thy face from the Poor; and ſo ſhall it come to paſs, that the face of the Lord ſhall not be turn'd away from thee.* Be merciful after thy power; if thou haſt much, give plenteouſly; if thou haſt little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little: for ſo gathereſt thou thy ſelf a good Reward in the day of neceſſity; for Alms delivereth from Death, and ſuffereth not the Soul to come in darkneſs. A great comfort is Alms before the High God, unto all them that do it.

*Bleſſed is he that conſidereth the Poor* (ſaith the Prophet *David*) *the Lord ſhall deliver him in the time of Trouble*, &c. *The good man* (ſaith *David*) *hath diſtributed abroad, and given to the Poor, his Righteouſneſs remaineth for ever: His horn ſhall be exalted with Honour. He that giveth to the Poor, ſhall not lack*, ſaith the Wiſe Man in the Proverbs. *As Water quencheth burning Fire, ſo doth Mercy reconcile Sins, which God ſhall reward, and not forget; and the doer ſhall find a ſtay to keep him up when he falleth*, ſaith *Jeſus* the Son of *Syrach. Break unto the hungry thy Bread*, ſaith the Prophet *Eſay*, *and bring the poor fatherleſs into thy houſe. When thou ſeeſt the naked, cover him, and hide not thy face from thine own fleſh. Then ſhall thy Light break forth as the morning, and thy Health flouriſh right ſhortly; thy Righteouſneſs ſhall go before thee, and the Glory of the Lord ſhall embrace thee: Then if thou calleſt, the Lord ſhall anſwer thee; if thou crieſt, he ſhall ſay, Here am I. Lay ye not up Treaſures in earth, where the ruſt and the moth may deſtroy* *it, and thieves may dig it out and ſteal it,* ſaith Chriſt, *but lay up your Treaſures in Heaven.*

*Give Alms of that ye have, and behold* (ſaith Chriſt) *all is clean unto you. What ye give to one of theſe little ones* (ſaith he) *ye give it unto me.* And alſo he ſaith, *Bleſſed are the merciful, for they ſhall find mercy.* When the idolatrous King *Nebuchadnezzar* ſhould be converted unto God, what ſaid the Prophet *Daniel* unto him? *Redeem thy Sins with Alms, and thy Wickedneſs with Mercy on the Poor; ſo perhaps God will pardon thy Sins.* Think ye that God forgat *Obadiah* who preſerv'd the hundred Prophets in Caves, and fed them there? *Paul* and the other Apoſtles diligently, both with words and writings, did labour for the Relief of the poor Brethren that were at *Jeruſalem* and elſewhere.

And we hope that God will open your Hearts and Minds to conſider our ſtate, and by theſe Sayings and Examples move you to have pity on your poor Brethren; which if it ſhall pleaſe his Mercy to grant you chearfully to do, it is not to be doubted, but albeit he ſuffer you to ſlide and fall for a time, yet he will heave you up (when it ſhall be his good pleaſure) and preſerve you, ſo as at the length ye may be Partakers of the joyful Kingdom of God, which our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath purchas'd for his Elect with the Price of his Blood. The Holy Spirit of God be always with you. *Amen.*

This Controverſy, which you have now heard from the 13th of *January* hitherto, I find written by the Hands of ſuch as are both learned and of credit; but yet I muſt needs ſay, by thoſe that were Parties in this Broil. And forſomuch as Mr. *Chambers* in this Controverſy is very ſore charg'd among the reſt, who yet was thought of many wiſe and godly men to be very godly, upright, and honeſt, and ſo no doubt he took his leave of this Life: I have therefore here thought good to place a Letter, which is yet of his own hands to be ſeen, writing the ſame in his own defence, touching theſe matters; ſo as the Reader, weighing both the one and the other, may uſe his Judgment with diſcretion.

## *The Copy of the Letter.*

*To the Worſhipful Mr.* John Hales, *Mr.* Thomas Crawley, *Mr.* John Wilford, *and to Mr.* Whithead, Thomas Sorsby, William Maiſter, *and* John Old *at* Frankford.

Immanuel.

I Wiſh unto you the Peace of God with my Commendations. The Tenor of vour Demand hath caus'd me to defer anſwering to your Letters until this time, not of purpoſe to give no anſwer, but that I then upon the ſudden wanting ſure knowledg in that thing, whereby you chiefly charge me. At my coming from *Zurick* to *Frankfort*, I was intreated by certain men to continue my Travels, in gathering the Alms and Liberalities of godly men, to relieve therewith ſuch poor diſpers'd *Engliſh* Brethren, as I ſhould think moſt meet to be reliev'd; even as before time I had done. This Requeſt put in writing, ſubſcrib'd by certain, was deliver'd unto me, not as Letters teſtimonial of authority; which as I needed not, or I requir'd them not, neither yet that I ſhould by force of them gather for the Church of *Frankfort* only or eſpecially, which I purpoſe not; but that I might be the rather mov'd to do as before I had done. And they then requir'd (which was after promiſe made to further my doings with all faithful ſecreſy, in ſuch ſort as I ſhould from time to time deviſe and require) to beſtow ſuch Sums of Mony as ſhould hereafter come to my hands, to ſuch uſes and purpoſes as I thought good. Therefore as by force of thoſe Letters I gather'd not, ſo the gathering for *Frankfort* Church hath not been, nor is in my hands, nor of any other at my appointment, as ye do write.

Wherefore as I might, ſo I did, and that by the advice of many honeſt, grave, and godly Men, depart from thence without making that account, to which I am not bound; nor leaving for the Relief of the Poor, of whom ſuch have had their portion in this Bleſſing for the time, as I thought meet to be reliev'd. Unto the Students whom I never plac'd there, I have perform'd whatſoever I promis'd. The Account of Receipts, Payments, and Remains, which ye require, I intend not to make unto you. But I ſhall be ready at all times and in all places to make a juſt account of my whole dealings in this behalf, unto them which have Authority to demand it of me. In the mean time, as I ſhall by God's help truly do my endeavour to relieve the Poor, as I ſhall have wherewith, and find them meet to receive it; ſo ſhall I keep the Names and Sums ſecret, as I am bound, till by them who have juſt Authority to looſe me, I be otherwiſe appointed.

*Thus I commit you to the Grace of Almighty God, from* Straſburg *this* 20*th of* June, *Anno* 1557.

Richard Chambers.

AFTER I had written this Anſwer to your firſt Letters, retaining them in my hands until I might have a convenient Carrier, I receiv'd your ſecond Letters; the principal matters therein are anſwer'd before. To the reſt that be any thing material, thus I ſay: As touching the Delay of mine Anſwer, you call Contempt more uncharitably than truly, as unto godly wiſe Men is well known. As my Departure was not, ſo my Return to *Frankfort* may not be at your Appointment. Your general Accuſations of Misbehaviours and Contempts, in the which you ſay I am faulty, I admit not; if you can juſtly charge me with particulars, I ſhall make anſwer, to the contentation of all godly Minds.

Where the Diſcipline of Chriſt is us'd in juſt cauſes, it is to be regarded; but your unorderly abuſing of it, and againſt me that am not of your Church, I eſteem not. If you uſe civil proofs againſt me, I ſhall be as ready to anſwer the Cauſe, as you to enter the Suit. As for your diſplaying of me to our diſpers'd Brethren to my undeſerv'd diſpraiſe in this matter, it cannot be ſuch, but that I ſhall eaſily purge my ſelf, as God knoweth, who with his Holy Spirit mollify your Hearts, and give you the unfeign'd true ſight of your ſelves. *Amen.* From *Strasburg* the 30th of *June*, 1557.

Richard Chambers.

*Deliver'd the* 20*th of* July *to Mr.* John Hales *by* John Eſcot.

Now whilſt theſe ſharp and grievous Contentions grew more and more at *Frankfort* (as you have heard) many things happen'd in other places, which may in this place be ſhortly touch'd, to the Glory of God (I hope) and alſo to the great Comfort of the Godly, who may by the ſame behold moſt evidently the marvellous Providence of God toward his poor afflicted and diſperſed Church.

After that Mr. *Bartue* and the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* were ſafely arriv'd at *Wezel* in *Weſtphalia*, the bruit thereof was the cauſe that more *Engliſh* People in ſhort time reſorted ither. It pleas'd God alſo, that Mr. *Coverdale* (after that he had been with the King of *Denmark*) ſhould come to the ſame Town; who preach'd there no long time, till he was ſent for by *Woulgange* Duke of *Bypont*, to take the Paſtoral Charge of *Bargzaber*, one of his Towns of *Germany*. At whoſe coming to the Duke, he made it known, both to himſelf and to other Noblemen about him of Mr. *Bartue*'s and the Dutcheſs's being in the *Low Countries*. They underſtanding the danger that might come unto them in thoſe parts, as alſo calling to remembrance what great courteſy Strangers had found in *England* at the Dutcheſs's hands; made offer, that if they were forc'd to remove, or otherwiſe, if it pleas'd them, they ſhould have the Caſtle of *Winehaim* by *Heidelberge*, within the Liberties of *Otto Henricus*, then Palſgrave, and a godly Prince; who moſt gladly (as well appear'd) gave conſent to the ſame. Mr. *Bartue* and the Dutcheſs accepting this Offer, left *Wezel*, and came up to the ſaid Caſtle, and there continu'd; till leaving *Germany*, they travel'd towards *Poland*. The Congregation that was at *Wezel* wanting among them, partly the Comfort which many of them had by Mr. *Bartue*'s and my Lady's being there, and partly alſo other reaſonable Conſiderations moving them, they left *Wezel*, and follow'd after. But paſſing by *Frankfort*, and perceiving the Contention among them to be ſo boiling hot, that it ran over on both ſides, and yet no Fire quench'd; many had ſmall pleaſure to tarry there, but went to *Baſil* and other places: whilſt Mr. *Leaver* made ſuit to the Lords of *Berne* for a Church within their Dominions; whoſe Letters he obtain'd with great Favour to all their Subjects, for the friendly Entertainment of the *Engliſh* Nation. Theſe Letters obtain'd, Mr. *Leaver*, Mr. *Boyes*, Mr. *Wilford*, Mr. *Pownall*, and *T. Upchaire*, came to *Geneva*, to have the advice of that Church, which was beſt to be done touching the Erection of a new Church. They of *Geneva* gave God thanks for that it had pleas'd him ſo to incline the Hearts of the Lords of *Berne* towards them, and gave encouragement that they ſhould not let ſlip ſo good an occaſion. Mr. *J. Bodleigh* (who was no ſmall ſtay, as well to that Church as to others) and *W. Kethe* travel'd with them. And paſſing thro many parts of the Lords of *Berne*'s Dominion in *Savoy* and *Switzerland*, they found ſuch favour in all places where they came, as verily may be to the great condemnation of all ſuch *Engliſhmen* as uſe the godly Stranger (I mean thoſe who come for Religion) ſo uncourteouſly.

*Mr.* Cover*dale ſent by the Duke of* Bypont.

*The Courteſy of the Noblemen of* Germany *to Mr.* Bartue *and the Dutcheſs of* Suffolk.

Engliſhmen *plac'd at* Arrow.

Mr. *Leaver* and the Company at length choſe *Arrow* for their Reſting-place, where the Congregation liv'd together in godly Quietneſs among themſelves, with great Favour of the People, among whom for a time they were planted.

Horne *and* Chambers *come to* Geneva.

Not long after this, Mr. *Horne* and Mr. *Chambers* came by *Arrow* to *Geneva*, ſeeming at that time to like very well of thoſe Congregations (as the Church of *Frankfort* alſo then did, as appeareth by their Letters afore) inſomuch as the ſaid Mr. *Horne* and *Chambers* did diſtribute largely to the Neceſſity of thoſe Churches. So that it appear'd that the old Grudg which had been between the Church of *Frankfort* and *Geneva* had been clean forgotten.

It came to paſs not many days after, that the Lord began to ſhew mercy unto *England*, in removing Queen *Mary* by death, and placing the Queen's Majeſty that now is (whom God long preſerve) in the Seat; the News whereof, as it was joyful to all ſuch as were in exile, ſo it appear'd that the Church of *Geneva* was not behind the reſt, who (after that they had given to God hearty thanks for his great Goodneſs) conſulted among themſelves, and concluded, that (forſomuch as there had been Jars between them and other Churches, about the Book of Common-Prayer and Ceremonies) it was now expedient and neceſſary, not only that unfeign'd Reconciliation ſhould be between them, but alſo that they might ſo join together in Matters of Religion and Ceremonies, that no Papiſt or other Enemy ſhould take hold or advantage by a farther Diſſenſion in their own Country; which might ariſe in time to come, if it were not in time foreſeen and prevented.

Kethe *ſent into* Germany *and* Helvetia.

To this end was *William Kethe*, one of the Congregation, choſen to do this Meſſage to them of *Arrow*, *Baſil*, *Strasburg*, *Worms*, *Frankfort*, &c. And to them of *Arrow* and *Frankfort* this Letter was written which followeth, and ſubſcrib'd by the Miniſtry in the name of the whole Congregation.

## *The Copy of the Letter written the* 15*th of* December.

*The Father of Mercies and God of all Conſolation confirm and increaſe you in the Love of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, that being in the Conduct of the Lion of the Tribe of* Judah, *ye may be victorious againſt Satan and Antichriſt, to the overthrowing of Papiſtry and Errour, and eſtabliſhing of Chriſt's glorious Kingdom.*

AFTER that we heard (Dearly Beloved) of the joyful Tidings of God's Favour and Grace reſtor'd unto us by the Preferment of the moſt vertuous and gracious Queen *Elizabeth*; we lifted up our Hearts and Voices to our Heavenly Father, who hath not only by his due Providence nouriſh'd us in our Baniſhment, preſerv'd us, and as it were carry'd us in his wings, but alſo heard our Prayers, granted our Requeſts, pity'd our Country, and reſtor'd his Word; ſo that the Greatneſs of this marvellous Benefit overcometh our Judgments and Thoughts, how to be able worthily to receive it, and to give thanks for the ſame. And when we had with great comfort weigh'd the matter, to the intent that we might at the leaſt ſhew our ſelves mindful of this moſt wonderful and undeſerv'd Grace, we thought among other things how we might beſt ſerve to God's Glory in this Work and Vocation, of furthering the Goſpel of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. And becauſe all Impediments and Cavillations of Adverſaries might be remov'd, it ſeem'd good to have your godly Counſel and brotherly Conference herein, which we deſire to learn by this Bearer our loving Brother *Kethe*, that we might all join Hearts and Hands together in this great Work; wherein no doubt we ſhall find many Adverſaries and Stays: yet if we (whoſe Sufferings and Perſecutions are certain ſigns of our ſound Doctrine) hold faſt together, it is moſt certain, that the Enemies ſhall have leſs power, Offences ſhall ſooner be taken away, and Religion beſt proceed and flouriſh.

For what can the Papiſts wiſh more than that we ſhould diſſent one from another, and inſtead of preaching Jeſus Chriſt and profitable Doctrine, to contend one againſt another, either for ſuperfluous Ceremonys, or other like Trifles; from the which God of his mercy hath deliver'd us. Therefore, dear Brethren, we beſeech you (as we doubt not but your godly Judgments will think it ſo beſt) that whatſoever Offence hath been heretofore either taken or given, it may ſo ceaſe and be forgotten, that hereafter God lay it not to our charges, if thereby his bleſſed Word ſhould be any thing hinder'd. And as we for our parts freely remit all Offences, and moſt intirely embrace you our dear Brethren; ſo we beſeech you in the Lord, that unfeignedly you will do the like on your part: whereof albeit we aſſure our ſelves, as both by good Experience we have prov'd, and alſo have receiv'd by your Letters; yet to cut off all occaſions from Papiſts and other Cavillers, we thought it beſt to renew the ſame Amity, and to confirm it by theſe our Letters: moſt earneſtly deſiring you, that we may altogether teach and practiſe that true Knowledg of God's Word, which we have learned in this our Baniſhment, and by God's merciful Providence ſeen in the beſt reform'd Churches; that conſidering our Negligence in times paſt, and God's Puniſhment for the ſame, we may with Zeal and Diligence endeavour to recompenſe it, that God in all our doings may be glorify'd, our Conſciences diſcharg'd, and the Members of Jeſus Chriſt reliev'd and comforted. The which thing the Lord God, who hath mercifully viſited and reſtor'd us, grant and perform: To whom be all Honour, Praiſe, and Glory for ever and ever.

Your loving Friends, and in the name of the whole Church,

*Chriſtopher Goodman,*
*Miles Coverdale,*
*John Knox,*
*John Bodleigh,*
*William Williams,*
*Anthony Gilby,*
*Francis Withers,*
*William Fuller,*
*John Pullain,*
*William Bevoyes.*
*William Wittingham.*

## The Anſwer return'd from *Frankfort* by *W. Kethe*.

*The Grace of God, and the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, lighten and ſtrengthen you, to the underſtanding and conſtant retaining of his Truth, to the furtherance of his Honour and Glory, and to the edifying and maintenance of his Church in Chriſt Jeſu our Lord.*

DEarly Beloved, as your Letters were moſt welcome unto us, both for that ye rejoice at the Preferment of our godly Queen, and alſo that ye ſtudy how to promote the Glory of God; ſo are we right ſorry, that they came not after the departure of ſuch as ye ſeek a charitable Reconciliation withal. For whereas ye require that all ſuch Offences as have been given and taken between you and us, may be forgotten hereafter; there be not here paſt four left, which were then preſent when ye dwelt here, and not one of the learned ſort, ſaving Mr. *Beeſly*. Yet we doubt not, but as they promis'd in their former Letters, to forget all Diſpleaſures afore conceiv'd, ſo they will perform the ſame, and eſteem you as their Brethren. And for our parts, as we have had no Contention with you at all afore time, ſo we purpoſe not (as we truſt there ſhall be no cauſe) to enter into Contention with you hereafter. For Ceremonies to contend (where it ſhall lie neither in your hands or ours to appoint what they ſhall be, but in ſuch mens wiſdoms as ſhall be appointed to the deviſing of the ſame, and which ſhall be receiv'd by common conſent of the Parliament) it ſhall be to ſmall purpoſe. But we truſt that both true Religion ſhall be renew'd, and that we ſhall not be burden'd with unprofitable Ceremonies. And therefore, as we purpoſe to ſubmit our ſelves to ſuch [illegible] as ſhall be eſtabliſh'd by Authority, being not of themſelves wi[illegible] we would wiſh you willingly to do the ſame. For whereas all the Reform'd Churches differ among themſelves in divers Ceremonies, and yet agree in the Unity of Doctrine; we ſee no Inconvenience if we uſe ſome Ceremonies diverſe from them, ſo that we agree in the chief Points of our Religion: notwithſtanding, if any ſhall be intruded that ſhall be offenſive, we, upon juſt conference and deliberation upon the ſame, at our meeting with you in *England* (which we truſt by God's Grace will be ſhortly) will brotherly join with you to be Suiters for the reformation and aboliſhing of the ſame. In the mean ſeaſon, let us with one Heart and Mind call to the Almighty God, that of his infinite Mercy he will finiſh and eſtabliſh that Work which he hath begun in our Country, and that we may all lovingly conſent together in the earneſt ſetting forth of his Truth, that God may be known and exalted, and his Church perfectly built up thro Chriſt our Lord. From *Frankfort* this third of *January*, 1559.

Your loving Friends, in the name of the reſt of the Church,

*James Pilkington,*
*Francis Wilford,*
*Edmond Iſaac,*
*John Gray,*
*Henry Knolls,*
*Henry Carew,*
*Richard Beeſley,*
*Chriſtopher Brickbate.*
*John Mullins,*
*Alexander Nowell,*
*John Browne.*

## An Anſwer brought from the Congregation of *Arrow*, by *W. Kethe.*

*The Father of Mercies, and God of all Conſolation, confirm, increaſe, and continue you always in the Love of his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

PRais'd be God thro our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which pull'd down *Mary* th[illegible] perſecute, and hath ſet up the godly Lady [illegible] Queen of *England*, to reſtore and maintain there the pure Preaching of his Word. And for that it hath pleas'd God to move your good Hearts, for the furtherance of the ſame, with godly Zeal and charitable Deſire, by your Letters to ſhew unto us your Advice and Purpoſe, and alſo to require ours to be return'd and ſent unto you by our Brother *Kethe*: we do with moſt hearty Thanks unfeignedly afore God certify you, that to your Counſel and Conference with us, we do conſent willingly concerning your moſt godly Requeſt; for that we acknowledg that the ſame ſhall be to the Advancement of his Glory and Quietneſs of his Church. Alſo we deſire you, that as oft as we may find hereafter any occaſion to conſult and confer by word or writing, that then both you and we ſo take and ſeek the ſame, as may be moſt to our Unity in minds, and Diligence to do good in the Lord's Work. And furthermore for the forgetting and putting away all Occaſions of Offences, we do likewiſe conſent unto your good Enſample and Requeſt; and ſo finally for the preaching or profeſſing of ſincere Doctrine, ſo as we have ſeen and learned in the beſt reform'd Churches, we do gladly hear your Advice to be ſo agreeable to our purpoſe, that we beſeech you to pray with us, that you and all we together that be faithful, may continue, proceed, and proſper in godly Zeal, charitable Concord, and earneſt Diligence, to honour, to ſerve God, and to comfort and edify his Elect all times and in every place, and eſpecially now in *England*. O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name be Honour and Praiſe for ever. From *Arrow* this 16th of *Jan.* 1559.

Your loving Friends of the Miniſtry, in the name, and by the conſent of the whole Church.

*Thomas Leaver,* *Richard Laughorne,*
*Robert Pownall,* *Thomas Turpin.*

Now whenas *W. Kethe* was return'd to *Geneva* with anſwer from the Congregations and Companies that were diſpers'd in ſundry places of *Germany* and *Helvetia*, the Congregation, after that they had render'd their humble thanks to the Magiſtrates for their great Goodneſs towards them, prepar'd themſelves to depart; ſaving certain which remain'd behind the reſt, to wit, to finiſh the Bible, and the Pſalms both in Metre and Proſe, which were already begun, at the charges of ſuch as were of moſt Ability in that Congregation. And with what ſucceſs thoſe Works were finiſh'd (eſpecially the Bible) I muſt leave it to the Judgments of the godly learned, who ſhould beſt judg of the ſame.

But if that Bible be ſuch, as no Enemy of God could juſtly find fault with, then may men marvel that ſuch a work (being ſo profitable) ſhould find ſo ſmall favour, as not to be printed again. If it be not faithfully tranſlated, then let it ſtill find as little Favour as it doth, becauſe of the Inconveniences that a falſe Tranſlation brings with it. The Miniſters of *Geneva*, in an Epiſtle which they wrote before the New Teſtament, have theſe words:

'There is nothing more requiſite to attain the right and 'abſolute Knowledg of the Doctrine of Salvation, whereby 'to reſiſt all Hereſy and Falſhood, than to have the Text of 'the Scriptures faithfully and truly tranſlated; the Conſide'ration whereof mov'd them with one Aſſent (as they ſay in 'that Epiſtle) to requeſt two of their Brethren, to wit, *Cal'vin* and *Beza*, eftſoons to peruſe the ſame, notwithſtanding 'their former Travels. *Beza* alſo in his Epiſtle to the Prince of *Conde*, and Nobles of *France*, hath theſe words: 'Seeing 'then all theſe Controverſies muſt be diſcuſs'd by God's Word, 'I ſuppoſe that this thing ought chiefly to be provided for, 'that ſeeing all cannot have the Knowledg to underſtand the 'Word of God in theſe peculiar Languages, the *Hebrew* and 'the *Greek* (which were to be wiſh'd) that there ſhould be 'ſome true and apt Tranſlation of the Old and New Teſta'ment made; the which divers have already labour'd to bring 'to paſs, but yet no man hath hitherto ſufficiently perform'd 'it. For the old Tranſlation (whoſe ſoever it is) altho it 'ought not to be condemn'd, yet is it found both obſcure, im'perfect, and ſuperfluous, and alſo falſe in many places, to 'ſpeak nothing of an infinite variety of Copies. The which 'Text therefore many learned and godly Men have labour'd 'to amend, but not with like ſucceſs. And yet how neceſ'ſary a thing this is, whoſoever ſhall read thoſe moſt learned 'Writers of the *Grecians*, and ſhall compare their Interpre'tations (which are many times far from the purpoſe) with

‘ the *Hebrew* Verity, he ſhall confeſs it with great ſorrow.

‘ And the ſame Evil was not only hurtful among the *Latin* ‘ Writers, but alſo the Ignorance of the *Greek* Tongue, ‘ wherewith many of them were troubled, whilſt they did ‘ depend on the common Tranſlation, they oft times ſeek ‘ a knot in a ruſh (according to the old Proverb) and fell in‘to moſt foul Errors. This Cauſe therefore hath mov'd me ‘ to compare moſt diligently the Diverſity of Copies, and to ‘ weigh the Sentences and Judgments of the moſt part of the ‘ learned Men, ſpecially of them that this Age hath brought ‘ forth, skilful in the Languages, who are more in number ‘ doubtleſs, and better learned than the Church hath had ‘ ſince the time of the Apoſtles; and ſo eaſe them ſomewhat ‘ that deſire a more pure Interpretation.

‘ And that it might be done with more profit, I have alſo ‘ added Annotations, in the which I have alſo compar'd to‘gether the Diverſity of Interpretations; and as much as I ‘ could, I have labour'd to make plain and evident the Senſe ‘ and Meaning of all dark places, *&c.*

Thus far *Beza*, by whoſe Judgment, and the reſt, ye ſee that to have the Holy Scriptures truly and faithfully tranſlated, is a matter of no ſmall importance. Here might I touch a thing perhaps worth the hearing, if hope were of redreſs; which is, that if the Learned were but one half ſo earneſt, zealous, and careful, to ſee that the Holy Scriptures in this Realm might be faithfully tranſlated, and truly corrected, as they are many times about matters nothing ſo neceſſary; I would not doubt to ſay, that they ſhould do unto God an excellent piece of Service.

For the moſt part of our *Engliſh* Bibles are ſo ill tranſlated (as the Learned report) and ſo falſly printed (as the Simple may find) that ſuch had need to be very well acquainted with Scripture, as in many places ſhould get out the true meaning and ſenſe. And it is high time to look unto this, conſidering that in moſt parts of this Realm, Preachers ye have none, nor any that can or will preach (very few excepted) ſaving certain Wanderers, amongſt whom (and ſpecially in ſome Shires) are ſuch ruffianly Rakehels and common Cozeners permitted and ſuffer'd; by whoſe Preachings the Word of Truth is become odious in the eyes of the People. Seeing then (I ſay) that in moſt places the Miniſtry doth ſtand and conſiſt of old Popiſh Prieſts, tolerated Readers, and many new-made Miniſters, whoſe reading are ſuch, that the People cannot be edify'd, eſpecially where one is tolerated to ſerve two or three Churches; and turning their backs to the People, I leave to the conſideration of ſuch (who have to deal in this matter) what great and intolerable miſchiefs may come more and more (by ſuffering ſuch corrupted Bibles in Churches and elſewhere) to the poor ſimple Flock of Chriſt. But now to draw to an end: Ye ſee, Brethren, by this brief and ſhort Diſcourſe, that the Grudg whereupon this Diſſenſion hangeth is paſt the age of a Child, and therefore may (without offence I hope) be call'd an old Grudg; which, as it ſeemeth, was never yet thorowly heal'd, as will more and more appear, as this Diſcourſe ſhall be from time to time continu'd, till it be brought even to this preſent time: which time verily is ſo extreme, as the like hath rarely been heard of. For it is come to paſs, that if any ſhould but with a godly Grief bewail the Imperfections that remain, and crave for Redreſs; yea, but ſuſpected, or ſhould but by the Malice of an Atheiſt, a Papiſt, or *Epicure*, be preſented: ſuch are not only revil'd and taunted, ſcoff'd at, and term'd by theſe odious Names of Preciſian, Puritan, Contentious, Seditious, Rebel, Traitor, and what not: But alſo, if he come once in preſence of the Biſhops, and ſubſcribe not to whatſoever they will, then (if he have Living) to be depriv'd, or whether he have Living or not, be he learned or unlearned, be he Man or Woman, halt or blind, to priſon he muſt, without all redemption.

I will not ſay that (in the mean time) ſuch as are Turncoats, and can change with all ſeaſons, ſubſcribing to whatſoever, and can cap it, can cope it, and curry for advantage; that ſuch, I ſay, how ignorant, how vicious, and ungodly ſoever they be, live at their eaſe, in all pleaſure, and in ſome places are thought to be moſt meet men for the Miniſtry. But this I may be bold to affirm, that altho in very deed I neither do nor dare condemn certain godly Perſons, who of Infirmity, but yet with moſt ſorrowful and heavy hearts (as hath well appear'd by their moſt lamentable Proteſtations, with plenty of tears, to their Congregations) have yielded to more than expedient it were they ſhould (praying the Lord to let them ſee it in time) yet it may not only be ſaid, but prov'd too, I truſt, that neither is ſubſcribing always the ſure note of a good Subject, nor yet the refuſal due proofs of a Rebel.

The greateſt Traitors and Rebels that godly King *Edward* had in the Weſt parts, were Prieſts, and ſuch as had ſubſcrib'd to the Book, or whatſoever by Law was then in force; but for all their Subſcribings, there was no Skirmiſh, where ſome of thoſe Subſcribers left not their Carcaſes in the field, againſt God and their Prince. *Plumtree* and his Fellow-Prieſts in the North, I doubt not but they were conformable and appliable to all Orders, and never ſtagger'd at Subſcriptions; but for all that, Time tried their traitorous Hearts.

But in all the Stirs which have happen'd either ſince the Queen's Majeſty came to the Crown, or before, I have not heard of ſo much as one (Miniſter or other) that hath lifted up his hand againſt her Majeſty or State, whom it pleaſeth the envious and malicious man to term Preciſian and Puritan, in great deſpite and contempt. Indeed this I have found out and learnt, that even ſuch as muſt be content, and patiently bear thoſe odious Names of Puritan, Preciſian, Traitor, and Rebel, have yet been the men, who moſt faithfully (in their calling) have ſerv'd the Queen's Majeſty and their Country, both within and without the Realm, in Gariſon and in Field, hazarding their Bodies againſt the Harquebuſs and Cannon; whenas thoſe who now ſo furiouſly charge them both out of Pulpits, and other places, durſt not, or at leaſt would not in any ſuch Service of the Prince and Country be ſeen. For proof hereof, if you call to remembrance, who hazarded his Life with that old Honourable Earl of *Bedford*, whenas he was ſent to ſubdue the Popiſh Rebels of the Weſt, you ſhall find that none of the Clergy were haſty to take that Service in hand, but only old Father *Coverdale*. When moſt likelihood was of danger between the *Scots* and us, the Preacher to the Soldiers was firſt Mr. *Sampſon*, and afterward Mr. *Greſhop*; whenas the Right Honourable Earl of *Bedford* that now is, had there the charge. The Earl of *Warwick*, at his being in *Newhaven*, had indeed with him certain Miniſters for a time; but after that the Cannon came, and began to roar, and the Plague of Peſtilence ſo terribly to rage, then (I ween) not a Miniſter there left, but Mr. *Kethe* alone. And whenas means were made to have more Miniſters over, to aid the ſaid *Kethe* (who had ſo much to do, what with Preaching, and viſiting the poor ſick Soldiers which were in no ſmall numbers) there could not be found (as that right Noble Earl can upon his Honour teſtify) ſo much as one which could be brought to ſo much conformity, as to ſubſcribe to any ſuch Service of the Queen's Majeſty.

When Sir *Henry Sidney* had to do with the Popiſh Rebels of *Ireland*, Mr. *Chriſtopher Goodman* ſhew'd his faithful Diligence in that Service. When the Earl of *VVarwick* was ſent to ſubdue the Popiſh Rebels in the North parts, the Preachers of the Queen's Majeſty's Army were *Kethe*, *Temes*, and *Standon*, who offer'd themſelves in that Service voluntarily, without all conſtraint. And thus it is evident, that theſe, with a number more, who are now ſo ill thought of, as if they were Traitors and Rebels, have yet been ſo far off from being ſeditious, that they have at all times adventur'd their Lives againſt ſeditious Perſons and Rebels; whenas ſuch as now ſo hardly charge them both by word and writing, have been right heartily well content to take their eaſe and reſt at home.

Conſidering then how many ways we are unjuſtly burden'd, and brought into hatred without juſt cauſe, I ſuppos'd that no godly man would be offended, if by ſuch lawful means as I might, I ſought both to purge my ſelf, and the reſt of my Brethren, from ſuch heinous and odious Crimes as ſome would ſeem to charge us. And that could I not do ſo well any way, as by the gathering together of this Diſcourſe, wherein the indifferent Reader ſhall find, that the Religion which we hold and profeſs, is not only the true and ſincere Religion of Chriſt, and the ſelf-ſame with all the Reformed Churches in *Chriſtendom*, but alſo that which this Realm hath eſtabliſh'd, touching the true Doctrine commonly taught therein. By this Diſcourſe alſo it may be ſeen both when, where, how, and by whom this Controverſy firſt began, who continu'd it, who was on the ſuffering ſide, and who readieſt to forget and forgive, that godly Peace and Concord might be had. Now if any ſhall ſeem to be offended with this that I have done, I do moſt humbly beſeech them to weigh well, and conſider with themſelves, firſt, whether I have given them any ſuch cauſe, if it be for that I have in this Diſcourſe brought to light ſomething that might have been kept ſecret (the Contention being among Brethren) to the end the common Enemy ſhould not have cauſe to triumph: let this ſuffice them, firſt that the wicked and common Enemy cannot (for his heart) more triumph over the Godly, than he doth already, and that throout this whole Realm. Again, the Cruelty of *Cain* to *Abel*, of *Iſhmael* to *Iſaac*, of *Eſau* to *Jacob*, of the Patriarchs to their Brother *Joſeph*, the hot Contention between *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and *Paul* and *Peter*, *&c.* all theſe being known to the World, hath turn'd notwithſtanding to the great Glory of God, as my aſſur'd Hope is that even this will alſo in the end.

And therefore as the Lord of Heaven knoweth that the keeping of theſe things almoſt for the ſpace of theſe twenty years in ſecret, might ſuffice to witneſs with me that I had now no great pleaſure to utter it; ſo I wot not how it cometh to paſs, that even in the midſt of great ſtriving and ſtruggling with my ſelf what to do, I could not be by any means reſolv'd, or ſee juſt cauſe, why I ſhould any longer conceal it.

If any ſhould think that I have not with indifferency pen'd the Story, I refer me, to ſatisfy ſuch, to the Judgments and Conſciences of thoſe Perſons, who were the Players of this Tragedy (of both parts many yet living) aſſuring my ſelf, that neither part ſhall be able juſtly to charge me, except it be for that in very deed I have ſought rather how to cover many things, than to lay them wide open to the world, as I nothing doubt to prove, if I might be but heard indifferently; inſomuch as in this Diſcourſe I have, as much as I could, paſs'd over the Names of all where Credit might ſeem to have been impair'd thereby, ſaving only of ſuch as were of very neceſſity to be noted, for the better underſtanding of the Hiſtory.

To conclude: Againſt the Offences which ſome may take at theſe my Travels, I have ſet the great profit that this may bring to God's Church and to Poſterity, who being taught by other mens harms (if they be happy) will learn to beware; the hope whereof had greater force to puſh my Pen forward to the finiſhing of this Work, than the Diſpleaſures of certain (ariſing, ſo far as I ſee, of no ground) could be to withdraw me from the ſame: beſeeching Almighty God ſo to ſtrengthen me with his Holy Spirit, that what Troubles or Trials ſoever ſhall by the Lord's good Providence happen to me hereby, he will vouchſafe to give me a contented Mind quietly and with patience to bear it; before whom I proteſt, that in writing this Diſcourſe I have had reſpect to his Glory, the Defence of his Sacred Truth, the clearing, ſo far as I might, of ſo many excellent learned Men (on whoſe necks this Stir is laid, as Authors of the ſame) and not that I have willingly ſought the Hurt, Hinderance, or Diſcredit of any Man.

Phil. *And this I pray that your Love may abound yet more and more in Knowledg and in all Judgment, that ye may diſcern things that differ one from another, that ye may be pure and without offence, until the Day of Chriſt.*

2 Tim. 2. *Keep the true pattern of the wholeſom words which thou haſt heard of me in Faith and Love which is in Chriſt Jeſus.*

2 Tim. 2. *Study to ſhew thy ſelf approv'd unto God, a workman that needeth not to be aſham'd, dividing the Word of Truth aright.*

*The*

## *The Anſwer of the Miniſters of* Geneva *to certain Brethren of the Church of* England, *concerning ſome Controverſy in the Eccleſiaſtical Policy.*

BEING right earneſtly and often requir'd by certain dear Brethren of the Church of *England*, that we would in their miſerable ſtate give them ſome kind of Counſel, whereon their Conſciences might be ſtaid; the Judgment of many being therein diverſe, we did long defer the ſatisfying of their Requeſts upon weighty cauſes. And we aſſure the Reader, that even now alſo we moſt gladly would hold our peace, were it not a matter of Conſcience to reject the Suit of the Brethren ſo often enforc'd, and with moſt grievous Groanings renew'd. Of which ſtiffned Silence of ours theſe were the cauſes: Firſt, as on the one part we doubt not of the Credit of the Brethren, as tho they had not ſincerely deſcrib'd the State of the Cauſe unto us, ſo on the other ſide it is moſt hard for to ſuſpect ſuch things, ſo clean beſides all Office of Biſhops, much leſs perſuade our ſelves the ſame by ſuch Perſonages done.

And farther, What men are we, that we ſhould determine upon ſuch cauſes? Alſo, if it were lawful for us, either by Authority, or elſe by Conſent or Requeſt of either Parties, to give Sentence hereupon; yet were it a matter moſt wrongful, either Party not heard or not preſent, to determine. Laſt of all, Fear miſtruſted, leſt ſo great a miſchief ſhould by this our Counſel, how ſimple ſoever it is, rather become raw than skin'd; it being a Sore of ſo deſperate a nature, as that it ſeemeth to be, that Prayers and Patience can only ſalve the ſame.

Seeing then, that by the ſundry Requeſts of the Brethren, we are ſo hardly perſuaded, that of force we ought to give them ſome kind of Advice; we do openly proteſt, that we ſo give the ſame herein, as thoſe that will not in any wiſe prejudice the other Party, much leſs challenge to us a Juſticiar's room over any. And all thoſe men (into whoſe hands theſe do come) we do in the Lord deſire that they be not herewith offended, but do perſuade themſelves that theſe Contents are both ſimple and faithfully written by us, as upon a queſtion'd Cauſe granted, that the Conſciences of the Brethren which deſire it, might ſome way be better appeas'd, which to ſet altogether at naught, were a deed wholly void of Charity.

Therefore the cauſe ſtanding as we are inform'd, we profeſs plainly and in good Faith, that our Judgments over theſe Queſtions are thus.

It is demanded, whether we can approve this Diſorder in calling of Men to the Function of the Miniſtry; which is, that the multitude of thoſe which ſue for Order ſhall be inrol'd in the Miniſtry, both without the Voices of Elders, and alſo no certain Cure appointed them, but lightly examin'd of their Lives and Behaviour; to whom alſo, at the luſt of the Biſhop, ſhall liberty be given afterwards to preach the Word of God for a time preſcrib'd, otherwiſe to rehearſe only the Church-Service.

We anſwer, that ſuch Callings of Miniſters, whether we anſwer them by the rule of God's expreſs Word, or elſe by force of Canons that are beſt try'd and allow'd, are holden and eſteem'd of us altogether unlawful, albeit we know that it is better to have half a Loaf than no Bread. But we beſeech God with our whole Hearts, that it alſo will pleaſe him to beſtow upon the Kingdom of *England* alſo the ſame (that is) a lawful and ordinary calling of Men to the Miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments: For it being either kept out or hindred, the benefit of the Doctrine of Truth muſt of force by and by vaniſh away, or elſe be held up by ſome means that is ſtrange, yea altogether ghoſtly and ſupernatural.

Furthermore, we do in God's moſt holy Name moſt humbly ſue to the Prince's Sovereign Majeſty, that with the whole force of her Mind ſhe endeavour the correction of this point, wherein the whole ground and ſtay of the Church of *England*, and therefore of the Realm alſo, doth ſtand and perſiſt.

And, 3. We do with Tears beſeech both thoſe high Perſonages that are of her Majeſty's honourable Council, and thoſe who have ſucceeded in the place of the Popiſh Biſhops (undoubtedly thro the ſpecial Mercy of the high and good God) that out of the ſelf-ſame place where Overthrow and Deſtruction did iſſue, they ſhould utterly deſtroy that Tyranny which hath thus caſt down headlong the very Chriſtian Church: And we crave of them in the dreadful Name of God, before whoſe redoubted Throne of Judgment we all ſhall be arreſted, that with all conſideration and mindfulneſs of the years paſt, and conſcience of their duty and charge, they will not ſlack to vow and betroth their whole diligence, as well in ordering the means that may accompliſh this thing, as in perſuading the Queen's Majeſty thereto; and that they ceaſe not at all, this thing being unatchiev'd, chiefly ſeeing God hath beſtow'd upon them the Princely Majeſty of ſo ſingular a Miſtreſs, as from whoſe hands they cannot but hope for all princely and excellent things, unleſs they liſt in their own caſe to fail themſelves. But ſome will ask, how ſhall we do in this point, until then? Verily, if the Caſe were ours, we wou'd not receive this Miniſtry upon theſe Conditions if it were proffer'd, a great deal leſs would we ſue for it. Notwithſtanding, we exhort theſe Men to whom God hath by this way made entrance, to the enlarging of the Glory of his Kingdom, that in the fear of God they do courageouſly abide therein, yet with the condition that it may be lawful for them holily and religiouſly to exerciſe all their whole Miniſtry: and therefore may alſo propound, and urge thoſe things in their Cures which do always appertain to the advancement of the better Eſtate therein. For otherwiſe, if they be forc'd of this Liberty, and ſo will'd to wink at manifeſt Abuſes, that they ſhould alſo approve theſe things which doubtleſs ought to be redreſs'd; what thing elſe can we perſuade them, than that they ſhould retire from this to their private Life, rather than without Conſcience to nouriſh that Miſchief, which doth of force draw with it the whole waſting and decay of all the Congregation? Yet we hope that the Queen's Highneſs, and ſo many honourable and good Men will in ſuch ſort plant their Diligence, that rather Privilege of Liberty may be granted to the Conſciences of ſo many godly and learned Brethren, than that theſe horrible Evils ſhould follow: to wit, that the Paſtors of the Flocks ſhould be conſtrain'd either againſt the ſoundneſs of their Conſciences to do that which is evil (and ſo to be chain'd in other mens Sins, or elſe to reſign their Miniſtry, for that third neceſſity that will enſue, which is, that againſt the Princes and Biſhops Wills, they ſhould exerciſe their Office) we do ſo much the more tremble at, becauſe of thoſe reaſons which of themſelves are plain enough, albeit we do not utter them.

It is alſo deſir'd of us to anſwer plainly and truly, whether we do allow the diſtinction ordain'd in the wearing of Copes and Garments, as well for the common uſe as for the Miniſtry?

We therefore do flatly anſwer, the Cauſe ſtanding as we do underſtand, that thoſe Men that are Authors hereof do deſerve moſt evil of the Church, and ſhall anſwer at the dreadful Bar of Chriſt's Judgment. For altho we think that that politick Order, whereby not Citizens alone, but alſo the degrees of Functions are mark'd and noted, is not to be diſcommended wholly at all, yet we are of opinion that not every Mark and Note is ſtrait-way to be us'd: For put the caſe that the Miniſters were commanded to wear the py'd Coat of a Fool, or the Garment of a Vice in a Play, were it not manifeſt ſcorning of the Miniſtry ſo to do? And thoſe that uſe theſe other Garments and Apparel commanded, do ſeem verily to us to treſpaſs ſomewhat worſe than ſo, becauſe that the Lord hath not only rear'd and ſet us this Prieſtlike Apparel as a Toy to be laugh'd at even of many of the Papiſts themſelves; but it is alſo certain, that the ſame is polluted and defil'd with infinite Superſtition. But ſome men will plead the Antiquity thereof: Surely they are old, and yet the Apoſtolick Simplicity, wherein the Church did flouriſh, is a great deal more antient than this. Alſo, if it pleaſe him to wade yet further to ſearch about theſe matters it ſhall be eaſy enough to ſhew that theſe things which after that did ſerve for the note and mark of the Miniſtry, were firſt uſual among the People, and common. And therefore whence cometh it, things being alter'd after ſo long a ſeaſon, that this foreign and ſtrange Guiſe ſhould be retain'd?

Doth it not come of a Zeal both evil and unprofitable? But ſome men will ſay theſe things, for all that are things of the middle ſort, are indifferent. We grant indeed that they are ſuch, if you will conſider them ſimply, and in their own nature, and apart from all Circumſtances; but who are they that will ſo weigh and conſider them? For theſe men that are yet Papiſts, what purpoſe ſoever this civil Law doth pretend, are ſurely by this means eſtabliſh'd deeper in this Superſtition which hath ſo overgrown them. And theſe men that began ſo earneſtly to abhor Superſtition, that they now did deteſt Monuments and Relicks thereof; how much are they offended and wounded herein? As for thoſe which are further, and better learn'd, what Fruit reap they thereof? And further, is this difference and mark of the Functions of ſuch importance, that therefore the Conſciences of ſo many ſhould be troubled; eſpecially ſeeing the reaſon and purpoſe thereof newly ſet abroach is but drawn even from thoſe that are themſelves the manifeſt ſworn Enemies to ſound Doctrine? What meaneth it alſo, that of thoſe who are term'd to be Eccleſiaſtically brought up, and are in the Miniſtry, not the ſmalleſt part are ſaid to have their Papiſtry in their Breaſts about with them? Is this the good Hour wherein they ſhall better profit by reſtoring of this Attire? Or ſhall they not rather vaunt their Creſts, as in hope to have Popery reſtor'd again? If any ſhall object the circumciſing of *Timothy*, and other like Examples, we right earneſtly pray him to conſider what *Paul* would have ſaid, If any man ſhould have made this Law, that every man that is in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel ſhall be conſtrain'd to wear the Garments of the Phariſees, or that they in the Apparel of profane Prieſts ſhould preach the Goſpel, and adminiſter the Sacraments; and not only circumciſe their Children, notwithſtanding that under ſome colour of reaſon this civil Commandment might ſet forth the ſame; yea to what end are theſe things brought in, for howſoever they might at the firſt be tolerated, till that by little and little they might be taken away, yet being once remov'd out of the Churches, we ſee not with what commodity they can be reſtor'd to their poſſeſſion again. Therefore we do eftſoons repeat that we before ſaid, that we cannot allow this Device, nor yet hope for any good to enſue thereof: notwithſtanding we will gladly give over this Opinion, if we ſhall learn better reaſon therefore. What then (will the Brethren ſay on whom theſe things are ſo thrown) judg you what we ought to do herein? We anſwer, That there needeth in this Anſwer a diſtinction: for the caſe of the Miniſters, and the caſe of the People are not all one herein. Furthermore, many things may, yea and ought to be born and tolerated, which are notwithſtanding not juſtly commanded. Firſt, therefore we anſwer, that albeit theſe things (as we judg) are not rightly reſtor'd to their poſſeſſion in the Congregations, yet ſeeing that they are not of thoſe kind of things which are of their own nature impious and ungodly, they ſeem to us not to be of ſuch weight, that the Shepherds ſhould rather give over their Functions than receive the Apparel, or that the Flock ſhould refuſe the publick Food of the Soul, rather than to receive the ſame from the Shepherd that is apparel'd herein; only, that as well the Shepherds as their Flocks may not ſin againſt their Conſciences (ſo that the Purity of Doctrine it ſelf remain untouch'd) we do perſuade the Miniſters, after they have both before the Queen's Highneſs, and alſo before the Biſhops, ſet their Conſciences at liberty by modeſt Proteſtation (as doth appertain to ſuch Chriſtians as ſeek not Sedition and Tumult) and yet grave according to the importance of the cauſe, that they do indeed openly in their Pariſh, ſtill beat upon thoſe things that may ſerve to the utter taking away of the Stumbling-block. And that as God ſhall give occaſion they will wholly give themſelves both wiſely and meekly to correct all thoſe Abuſes, but yet to bear thoſe things which they cannot ſtrait-way change, rather than forſaking their Congregation, they ſhould give occaſion to Satan, that ſeeks nothing elſe to ſtir up greater and more perillous Miſchiefs than theſe. As for the People (the Doctrine remaining unhurt) we do exhort them that for all theſe things they will diligently hear the ſame, to uſe the Sacraments religiouſly, and ſo long to groan to God with earneſt amendment of Life, until they obtain of him that which doth appertain to the full redreſs and amendment of the Church.

But again, if that the Miniſters be commanded not only to tolerate theſe things, but alſo that they ſhall with their Subſcriptions allow them as lawful, or elſe by their ſtilneſs foſter them: What can we elſe perſuade them to do, but that having witneſs'd their Innocency, and in the fear of the Lord try'd all means, they ſhould give over their Functions to open wrong? But our Hearts betide us of *England* much better things than theſe Extremitys.

It is demanded of us what we do judg of the trolling and diſcanning of the Pſalms, croſſing of thoſe Babes that ſhall be baptiz'd, and of the demands in Baptiſm; alſo of the round unleven'd Wafer-cake, and kneeling in the Lord's Supper.

We anſwer, That kind of Singing ſeemeth to be the Corruption of the pure antient Church-Service and glorifying of God therein. And as for Croſſing of Babes, whatſoever practice there hath been thereof in the time of old, yet is it moſt certain that it is truly in theſe days thro ſo late greenneſs of the Superſtition ſo moſt abominable, as that we judg thoſe Men to have done aſſuredly well, that have once driven this Rite out of the Congregation, whereof alſo we ſee not what the profit is. And we doubt not but the Demands in Baptiſm have crept into the Church upon this occaſion, becauſe that thro the negligence of the Biſhops the ſame form of baptizing of Children was retain'd, which at the firſt rearing of the Primitive Church, was to be us'd at the baptizing of thoſe that being of Years did enter the Profeſſion of Chriſt. This thing alſo we may perceive by many the like yet in uſe in the Popiſh Baptiſm. Wherefore even as the Cream and Charm us'd in Baptiſm are by God's Law aboliſh'd, altho they were antient; ſo wiſh we alſo theſe Demandings, being not only vain but fooliſh, ſhould be alſo paſs'd over, albeit that St. *Auguſtine* himſelf doth ſeem, in an Epiſtle of his, to ſuſtain it by certain devis'd Conſtructions.

The Bread, whether it ought to be made with Leven or without, we think it not greatly to be ſtriven for, altho we judg it more fit and conſonant with Chriſt's Inſtitution to have the Bread at the Communion, which is us'd at the common Table; for why did the Lord uſe unleven'd Bread? becauſe that in that hour wherein he thought good to inſtitute his holy Supper, not one Man in all *Jewry* us'd any other. Therefore it behoveth us to reſtore the Jewiſh Feaſt of unleven'd Bread, or elſe it muſt be granted, that it is better to uſe the common and accuſtom'd Bread of all Tables, according to the Example of Chriſt, notwithſtanding that the Bread that he then took was unleven'd; for of the practice of the Primitive Church, which the Greek Church doth yet in this behalf retain, we overpaſs to write of.

Furthermore, Kneeling at the very receipt of the Sacrament hath in it a ſhew of Godly and Chriſtian Reverence, and might therefore in times paſt be us'd with Profit; yet for all that, becauſe out of this Fountain the deteſtable uſe of Bread-worſhip did follow, and doth yet in theſe days ſtick in many Minds, it ſeemeth to us that it was juſtly aboliſh'd out from the Congregation. Therefore we do beſeech the moſt good and great God, that it would pleaſe him to inſtruct both the Queen's Majeſty's Highneſs, and alſo the Biſhops with ſuch Device, as ſhall be moſt needful for the perfect doing out of theſe Filths, and that at once. In the mean time, becauſe theſe things alſo are not ſuch as are in their own nature idolatrous, we do judg that they ought ſo to be dealt withal, as we have adviſ'd in the things going next before.

It is demanded of us, whether we allow that Baptiſm which is adminiſtred by Midwives?

We anſwer, That not only we diſallow the Baptiſm as the reſt of things before ſpoken of, but that we do judg it alſo intolerable; for it is a thing that hath riſen as well of Ignorance of the very uſe of Baptiſm, as the publick Miniſtry of the Church. We judg therefore that the Miniſters are bound ſharply to rebuke this Abuſe, much leſs ought they to hold this falſe Baptiſm for good and firm; the reaſon why, the Learned on our ſide have often declar'd, and we are alſo ready when it ſhall be needful to declare.

It is alſo reported unto us, that the Keys of binding and looſing are practis'd in certain Courts of the Biſhops, neither by the Sentences and Judgments of Elders, which Office that Church hath not yet receiv'd, nor according to the Word of God; but the Authority of certain Lawyers and other like, which is more oftentimes by the Authority of ſome one Man, and that alſo for ſuch kind of Actions as are pure Mony-matters, even as the miſuſe of the ſame was in Popery.

Whereto we anſwer, That it ſeemeth to us almoſt incredible that any ſuch Cuſtoms and Examples (being moſt perverſe) ſhould be us'd in that Kingdom, where Purity and Soundneſs of Doctrine is. For the right of Excommunication and binding of the Offender ſhall be found never to have been, before the time of the Papiſts, in the power and hand of one ſole Perſon, but did appertain to all the whole Elderſhip, from which alſo the People themſelves were not raſhly ſhut out; becauſe this alſo the Lawyer-like hearing of Suits that appertain to Livings, did fall to the Biſhop's Charge altogether thro Abuſe. For that place wherein the Apoſtle talketh of

Days-men, Umpires at *Corinth*, is to no purpoſe, where the Magiſtrate is a Chriſtian; nor did the Apoſtle ever think to burden the Elderſhip with the hearing of ſuch mere civil Cauſes. And it is moſt certain, that the Biſhops, of the elder Age of the Church, have had the determining of ſuch Controverſys, not for any Authority they had therein, but thro the Importunity of Suiters, and that as Houſholders, Umpires and Days-men alſo, notwithſtanding among thoſe Men where this were ſhew'd unto, thoſe did moſt wiſely govern themſelves, that choſe rather to follow the Example of Chriſt our Saviour, who refus'd to be the Umpire in dividing of the Patrimony, or elſe judg in the matter of Adultery, when both the ſame were prefer'd unto him.

Therefore, if in *England* any thing be done contrary to this, ſurely we ought to think that, by ſuch Sentences and Judgments, there is not any man before God any more bound than by the Popiſh Excommunications. And we wiſh that this Torment-houſe of Conſciences, and loathſom Profanation of the Eccleſiaſtical and mere ſpiritual Juriſdiction, might, by the Authority of the Queen's Majeſty, out of hand be aboliſh'd, no otherwiſe than the marring of the very Doctrine it ſelf: And that Elderſhip and Deacons may be reſtor'd and ſet up, according to the Word of God, and Canons of the pure Church; which thing, if it be not done, verily we are ſore afraid that this only thing will be the beginning of many Calamitys, which we would God would turn away from us: for it is moſt certain that the Son of God will one day from Heaven roughly revenge theſe manifeſt Abuſes, wherewith the Conſciences of our Brethren are troubled, except ſpeedy redreſs be had therein.

In the mean while, the things which are not well done by the one Party, may be well enough tolerated (as we think) by thoſe Men who bear the thing which they cannot change: Yet thus far, as that they allow not the thing it ſelf for good, but do only redeem their unjuſt diſquieting by Patience. But if ſo be that they ſhall be forc'd, not only to tolerate this Faction, but alſo to approve this Excommunication as lawful, and be conſtrain'd to ask unlawful Abſolution, to aſſent to this manifeſt Abuſe; we then exhort them that they will rather ſuffer any kind of Trouble, than to do herein againſt their Conſciences. But to what end is all this? For verily we do promiſe our ſelves much better things than theſe, yea of all things the beſt even at this pinch, eſpecially of that Realm, in which the reſtoring of Chriſtian Religion hath been ſeal'd and confirm'd with the Blood of ſo many excellent Martyrs alſo. Only we fear this, leſt that which hath befallen ſo many Countrys ſhould happen to *England*; to wit, leſt becauſe the due Fruits of Repentance are not brought forth, the angry God ſhould double our Darkneſs, the Light of his Goſpel being firſt taken from us. Of this Content are our daily Preachings in our Congregations, and verily we think the ſame ought to be done of all Miniſters of God's Word, eſpecially in theſe our days. That they chiefly ſet forwards this Principle of the Goſpel, which doth appertain to earneſt amendment of Life: For this point atchiev'd, undoubtedly the Lord ſhall give both Counſel and Zeal and all things elſe which do neceſſarily appertain to the accompliſhment of the reparation of the Church, already begun. And before all we do require, and with Tears humbly crave, that our good and right worſhipful in the Lord, the Brethren of the *Engliſh* Churches, all bitterneſs of Mind ſet apart, which we ſurely fear, after what ſort it hath on either ſide forc'd this Evil, would patiently bear and ſuffer each other, ſo long as Purity of Chriſtian Doctrine it ſelf, and Soundneſs of Conſcience doth remain, willingly to obey the Queen's Majeſty, who is full of Compaſſion, and all other Prelates; and finally, that with all concord Minds in the Lord, if they manly ſet againſt Satan, who ſeeketh all occaſion of Tumult and infinite Calamitys, yea altho they have not like judgment of all ſorts of Prelates at the firſt. For this our writing, God is our Witneſs, doth not tend to this purpoſe, that either part ſhould uſe it againſt other, as that we ſhould ſend it to you as an Apple of Contention: Altho we have concerning theſe matters declar'd our Judgments, even ſimply, as upon a ſuppos'd Caſe (God is our Witneſs) being overcome with the continual Suit of our Brethren. And we join our daily Prayers to the Groanings of all the Godly on that ſide the Seas, that it may pleaſe the moſt merciful God, having compaſſion on man's frailty, to direct the Queen's Highneſs, and all the Nobles of the Realm of *England*, alſo every Prelate, and finally, each Workman of this ſpiritual Building, with his holy Spirit moſt effectually, ſo as the Work of the Lord ſo often begun, and ſo often ſtay'd, may luckily be ſet forward, to the great Quietneſs and Concord of all Men; not only the old ſtains in the Doctrine it ſelf and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline alſo being at length utterly done out, but alſo all monſtrouſneſs of Errors, which Satan newly ſeeketh to bring into the Church again, driven away: Which vouchſafe to bring to paſs thro his holy Spirit, the moſt kind Father in Jeſus Chriſt, his very Son eternal and conſubſtantial with him, in which Perſons we profeſs one God, and not divers ought to be worſhip'd for ever. *Amen.* At *Geneva* the 24*th* of *October*, 1566.

Your Brethren in Chriſt to all
your Godlineſs moſt aſſur'd,

*Theodorus Beza*, &c.
*Jo. Gaiagnæzius*,
*Ge. Favergius*,
*Jo. Parnilius*,
*Sim. Golerlius*,
*Cor. Barlierdus*,
*Remundus Calvetus*,
*Jo. Tremlerus*,
*Car. P.*
*Kuds Faverius*,
*Pet. Carpenterus*,
*Hen. S.*
*Nicolaus Coladonus*,
*Johan. Pinaldus*,
*Egid. Cauſcus*,
*Urb. Calvetus*,
*Franſ. Portus*,
*Abden. Dupleus.*

## *A Copy of the Letters ſent to the Biſhops and Paſtors of* England, *who have renounc'd the* Roman *Antichriſt, and profeſs the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in Sincerity.*

*The ſuperintendent Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Charges within the Realm of* Scotland: *To their Brethren the Biſhops and Paſtors of* England, *who have renounc'd the* Roman *Antichriſt, and do profeſs with them the Lord Jeſus in Sincerity, deſire the perpetual Increaſe of the Holy Spirit.*

BY word and writ, it is come to our knowledg, reverend Paſtors, that divers of our deareſt Brethren, amongſt whom are ſome of the beſt learned within that Realm, are depriv'd from Eccleſiaſtical Function, and forbidden to preach, and ſo by you that they are ſtrait to promote the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe their Conſciences will not ſuffer to take upon them (at the commandment of the Authority) ſuch Garments as Idolaters in time of blindneſs have us'd in their Idolatry; which bruit cannot but be moſt dolorous to our Hearts, mindful of that Sentence of the Apoſtle ſaying, *If ye bite and devour one another, take heed leſt ye be conſum'd one of another.* We purpoſe not at this preſent to enter into the ground of that Queſtion, which we hear of either part to be agitated with greater vehemency than well liketh us; to wit, whether that ſuch Apparel is to be counted amongſt things that are ſimply indifferent or not; but in the Bowels of the Lord Jeſus we crave that Chriſtian Charity may ſo prevail in you we ſay, the Paſtors and Leaders of the Flock within that Realm.

That ye do not to others that which you would not others ſhould do to you. Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the Conſcience of Man is. All that have knowledg are not alike perſuaded, your Conſciences recoil not at wearing of ſuch Garments; but many Thouſands both godly and learned are otherwiſe perſuaded, whoſe Conſciences are continually ſtricken with theſe Sentences: What hath Chriſt Jeſus to do with *Belial?* What Fellowſhip is there betwixt Darkneſs and Light? If Surplice, Corner-cap and Tippit have been Badges of Idolaters in the very act of their Idolatry, what have the Preachers of Chriſtian Liberty, and the open Rebukers of all Superſtition to do with the Dregs of the Romiſh Beaſt? Our Brethren that of Conſcience refuſe that unprofitable Apparel, do neither damn yours, or moleſt you that uſe ſuch vain Trifles: if you ſhall do the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye ſhall pleaſe God, and comfort the Hearts of many who are wounded with extremity, which is us'd againſt thoſe godly and our beloved Brethren. Colour of Rhetorick, or manly Perſuaſion, will we uſe none, but charitably we deſire you to call that Sentence of Pity to mind: *Feed the Flock of God which is committed to your Charge, caring for them, not by conſtraint, but willingly; not as tho ye were Lords over God's Heritage, but that ye may be Examples to the Flock.* And further alſo, we deſire you to meditate that Sentence of the Apoſtle, ſaying, *Give none Offence, neither to the* Jews, *nor to the* Grecians, *nor to the Church of God.* In what condition of time ye and we both travel in the promoting of Chriſt's Kingdom, we ſuppoſe you not to be ignorant. And therefore we are more bold to exhort you to walk more circumſpectly, than that for ſuch Vanitys the Godly ſhould be troubled: For all things that may ſeem lawful, edify not. If the Commandment of Authority urge the Conſcience of yours and our Brethren more than they can bear, we unfeignedly crave of you, that ye remember that ye are call'd the Light of the World and the Earth.

All civil Authority hath not the Light of God always ſhining before their Eyes in the Statutes and Commandments; but their Affections oft-times ſavour too much of the Earth, and of worldly Wiſdom.

And therefore we think that ye ſhould boldly oppone your ſelf to all Power that will or dare extol it ſelf, not only againſt God, but alſo againſt all ſuch as do burden the Conſciences of the Faithful, further than God hath burden'd them by his own Word. But herein we confeſs our Offence, in that we have enter'd farther in reaſoning than we purpos'd and promis'd at the beginning: and therefore we ſhortly return to our former humble Supplication, which is, that our Brethren, who among you refuſe the Romiſh Rags, may find of you the Prelates ſuch favour, as our Head and Maſter commands every one of his Members to ſhew to one another; while we look to receive of your gentleneſs, not only for that ye fear to offend God's Majeſty, in troubling of your Brethren for ſuch vain trifles, but alſo becauſe ye will not refuſe the humble requeſts of us your Brethren and Fellow-Preachers of Chriſt Jeſus; in whom, albeit there appear no great worldly Pomp, yet we ſuppoſe you will not ſo far deſpiſe us, but that ye will eſteem us to be of the number of thoſe that fight againſt that *Roman* Antichriſt, and travel that the Kingdom of Chriſt Jeſus univerſally may be maintain'd and advanc'd. The days are Evil, Iniquity abounds, Chriſtian Charity (alas) is waxen cold; and therefore we ought the more diligently to watch: for the Hour is uncertain when the Lord Jeſus ſhall appear, before whom we your Brethren, and ye may give an account of our Adminiſtration.

And thus in concluſion, we once again crave favour to our Brethren; which granted, ye in the Lord ſhall command us in things of double more importance. The Lord Jeſus rule your Hearts in his true fear to the end, and give unto you, and unto us, Victory over that conjur'd Enemy of all true Religion; to wit, over that *Roman* Antichriſt, whoſe wounded head Satan by all means labours to cure again, but to deſtruction ſhall he and his Maintainers go, by the power of the Lord Jeſus: To whoſe mighty Power and Protection we heartily commit you.

Subſcrib'd by the hands of Superintendents, one part of Miniſters, and ſcrib'd in our general Aſſembly and fourth Seſſion thereof. At *Edinburgh* the 28th day of *Decemb.* 1566.

Your loving Brethren and Fellow-
Preachers in Chriſt Jeſus,

*Jo. Craig,*
*Da. Lyndeſay,*
*Guil. Giſliſonus,*
*Jo. Spotiſwood,*
*Jo. Row,*
*Rob. Pont,*
*Jo. Wiram,*
*Jaco. Mailvil,*
*Jo. Erskin,*
*Nic. Spitall.*

Thus have you heard in theſe two Letters the Judgments of thoſe excellent Churches of the *French* and *Scotiſh*, touching the things in Controverſy. Now if to theſe I ſhould add all other which are of the ſame Judgment, and of their Opinion; the number of Churches would be ſo many, that the Adverſaries ſhould evidently ſee and perceive what ſmall cauſe they have to charge us thus with Singularity, as tho we were poſt alone, and none to be of our Opinion. And it may here alſo be noted, that the moſt antient Fathers of this our own Country, as Mr. *Coverdale*, Dr. *Turner*, Mr. *Whithead*, and many others, ſome dead, ſome yet living, from whoſe Mouths and Pens the Urgers of theſe receiv'd firſt the Light of the Goſpel, could never be brought to yield or conſent unto ſuch things as are now forc'd with ſo great extremity.

Phenix

# Phenix XX.

## Calvin's *Common-Prayer Book: or, the Service, Diſcipline and Form of the Common-Prayers, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, us'd in the* Engliſh *Church of* Geneva.

*As it was approv'd by that moſt Reverend Divine Mr.* John Calvin, *and the Church of* Scotland.

*I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.*

I Believe [1] and confeſs [2] my Lord God eternal, infinite, unmeaſurable, incomprehenſible and inviſible [3], one in Subſtance and [4] three in Perſon, Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt; who by his Almighty [5] Power and Wiſdom, hath not only of [6] nothing created Heaven, Earth, and all things therein contain'd, and Man after his own [1] Image, that he might in him be [2] glorify'd; but alſo by his [3] fatherly Providence governeth, maintaineth and preſerveth the ſame, according to the [4] purpoſe of his Will.

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[1] Rom. 10.
[2] Gen. 17. Pſal. 63. 139.
[3] Gen. 1. Eph. 4.
[4] Gen. 1. 1 John 3. Mat. 3. 28.
[5] Heb. 1. Prov. 8.
[6] Gen. 1. Jer. 32. Pſal. 33.

I believe alſo and confeſs [5] Jeſus Chriſt the only Saviour and Meſſias, who being equal with [6] God, made himſelf of no reputation, but took on him the ſhape of a Servant, and [7] became Man in all things like unto us (Sin except) to [8] aſſure us of Mercy and Forgiveneſs. For when thro our Father [9] *Adam*'s Tranſgreſſion we were become Children of Perdition, there was no means to bring us from that Yoke of Sin and Damnation, but [10] only Jeſus Chriſt our Lord: who giving us that by [11] Grace, which was his by Nature, made us thro Faith the [12] Children of God, who when the [13] Fulneſs of time was come, was conceiv'd by the power of the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin *Mary* according to the Fleſh, and preach'd in Earth the Goſpel of Salvation; till at length, by Tyranny of the Prieſts, he was guiltleſs condemn'd under *Pontius Pilate*, the Preſident of *Jewry*, and moſt ſcandalouſly hang'd on the Croſs between two Thieves as a notorious Treſpaſſer; where taking upon him the Puniſhment [14] of our Sins, he deliver'd us from the Curſe of the Law.

*And in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord. Which was conceiv'd by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin* Mary. *Suffer'd under* Pontius Pilate; *was crucify'd, dead and bury'd.*

And foraſmuch as he, being only God, could not feel Death, neither being only Man, could overcome Death, he join'd both together, and ſuffer'd his Humanity to be puniſh'd with moſt cruel Death, feeling in himſelf the Anger and ſevere Judgment of God, even as if he had been in the extreme [15] Torments of Hell, and therefore cry'd with a loud Voice, My [16] God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?

*He deſcended into Hell.*

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[1] Gen. 1. Eph. 4. Col. 3. [2] 1 Cor. 6. John 17. Prov. 16. [3] Mat. 6. Luke 17. 1 Pet. 5. Phil. 4. [4] Eph. 1. [5] Mat. 1. Acts 4. 1 Tim. 1. [6] John 1. Phil. 2. 1 Tim. 3. 1 John 5. Rom. 9. [7] Heb. 2. Phil. 2. 1 Pet. 2. [8] Rom. 8 1 John 2. [9] Gen. 3. Rom. 5. Eph. 2. Gal. 3. [10] Acts 4. 1 Pet. 2. Iſa. 28. Rom. 9. [11] John 1. Heb. 1. Rom. 1. Pſal. 2. [12] Gal. 3. Rom. 8. John 1. Eph. 1. [13] Gal. 4. Rom. 1. Iſa. 53. Acts 2. 10. Iſa. 7. Luk. 5. Rom. 1. 11. Acts 12. Joh. 7. Mat. 12. Luk. 23. [14] Gal. 3. [15] Acts 2. 1 Pet. 2. Iſa. 53. [16] Pſal. 22. Mat. 27. Iſa. 53. Heb. 9. 10. Gal. 1. Rom. 4. 5. 1 John 1.

*The third Day he roſe again from the Earth.*

Thus of his free Mercy, without Compulſion, he offer'd up himſelf as the only Sacrifice to purge the Sins of all the World, ſo that all other Sacrifices for Sin are blaſphemous and derogate from the Sufficiency hereof. The which Death, albeit it did ſufficiently [1] reconcile us to God, yet the Scriptures commonly attribute our Regeneration to his [2] Reſurrection. For as by [3] riſing again from the Grave the third day, he [4] conquer'd Death, even ſo the Victory of our Faith ſtandeth in his Reſurrection: and therefore without the one we cannot feel the Benefit of the other. For as by Death [5] Sin was taken away, ſo our Righteouſneſs was reſtor'd by his Reſurrection.

*He aſcended into Heaven,*

*And ſitteth at the Right hand of God the Father Almighty.*

*From thence ſhall he come to judg the Quick and the Dead.*

And becauſe he would [6] accompliſh all things, and take poſſeſſion for us in his Kingdom, he [7] aſcended into Heaven to enlarge that ſame Kingdom by the abundant Power of his [8] Spirit; by whom we are moſt aſſur'd of his continual [9] Interceſſion toward God the Father for us. And altho he be [10] in Heaven, as touching his corporeal Preſence, where the Father hath now ſet him at his [11] Right Hand, committing unto him the Adminiſtration of all [12] things, as well in Heaven above, as in the Earth beneath; yet is he [13] preſent with us his Members, even to the end of the World, in preſerving and governing us with his effectual Power and Grace, who (when all things are [14] fulfill'd, which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all his Prophets ſince the World began) will come in the [15] ſame viſible Form in the which he aſcended, with an unſpeakable [16] Majeſty, Power, and Company, to ſeparate the Lambs from the Goats, the Elect from the Reprobate: ſo that [17] none, whether he be alive then, or dead before, ſhall eſcape his Judgment.

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[1] Coloſ. 1. [2] Rom. 16. 1 Pet. 1. [3] Mat. 28. Acts 10. 1 Cor. 15. [4] Hoſea 11. 1 Cor. 15. 2 Cor. 13. [5] Rom. 4. [6] Eph. 4. John 14. Eph. 2. [7] Mar. 16. Luke 24. Acts 1. 1 Cor. 15. [8] Luke 24. Joh. 14. Acts 2. [9] Rom. 8. Heb. 9. 1 John 2. [10] Acts 10. 3. [11] Col. 3. Rom. 8. Heb. 1. 10, 12. [12] Eph. 1. Phil. 2. Col. 2. [13] Mat. 28. [14] Acts 3. [15] Acts 1. [16] Mat. 25. Phil. 3. [17] Mat. 24. Acts 10. 1 Cor. 15. 1 Theſſ. 4. 2 Theſſ. 1. 1 Tim. 4.

*I believe in the Holy Ghoſt.*

Moreover, I believe and confeſs the Holy Ghoſt, [1] God equal with the Father and the Son, who regenerateth and ſanctifieth us, ruleth and guideth us into all Truth, perſuading moſt aſſuredly in our [2] Conſciences, that we be the Children of God, Brethren to Jeſus Chriſt, and Fellow-Heirs with him of Life everlaſting: yet notwithſtanding it is not ſufficient to believe that God is omnipotent and merciful, that Chriſt hath made Satisfaction, or that the Holy Ghoſt hath his Power and Effect, except we do [3] apply the ſame Benefits to our ſelves, who are God's [4] Elect.

*The Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints.*

I believe therefore and confeſs one [5] Holy Church, which (as [6] Members of Jeſus Chriſt the only [7] Head thereof) [8] conſent in Faith, Hope, and Charity, uſing the Gifts of God, [9] whether they be temporal or ſpiritual, to the profit and furtherance of the ſame; which Church is not [10] ſeen by no man's eye, but only known to God, who of the loſt Sons of *Adam* hath ordain'd ſome as [11] Veſſels of Wrath to Damnation, and hath choſen others as Veſſels of his Mercy to be ſav'd; the which alſo in due time he [12] calleth to Integrity of Life and godly Converſation, to make them a glorious Church to himſelf.

But that Church which is [13] viſible and ſeen to the eye, hath three Tokens or Marks, whereby it may be known. Firſt the [14] Word of God contain'd in the Old and New Teſtament, which as it [15] is above the Authority of the ſame Church, and only [16] ſufficient to inſtruct us in all things concerning Salvation, ſo it is left for [17] all degrees of Men to read and underſtand. For without this Word [18] neither Church, Council, or Decree, can eſtabliſh any point touching Salvation.

The ſecond is the holy [19] Sacraments, to wit, of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper; which Sacraments Chriſt hath left unto us, as holy Signs and Seals of God's Promiſes. For as by Baptiſm, once receiv'd, is ſignify'd that we (as well Infants as others of Age and Diſcretion) being [20] Strangers from God by Original Sin, are receiv'd into his Family and Congregation, with full aſſurance, that altho this Root of Sin lie hid in us, yet to the Elect it ſhall not be [21] imputed: ſo the [22] Supper declareth that God, as a moſt provident Father, doth not only feed our Bodies, but alſo ſpiritually nouriſh our Souls with the [23] Graces and Benefits of Chriſt (which the Scripture calleth eating of his Fleſh, and drinking of his Blood) neither muſt we in the Adminiſtration of theſe Sacraments follow man's Phantaſy, but as Chriſt himſelf hath ordain'd, ſo muſt they be miniſter'd, and by ſuch as by [24] ordinary Vocation are thereunto call'd. Therefore whoſoever reſerveth and worſhippeth theſe Sacraments, or contrariwiſe contemneth them in time and place, procureth to himſelf Damnation.

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[1] Mat. 3. 1 Joh. 5. 1 Pet. 1. 1 Cor 6. Joh. 16. Acts 17.
[2] Rom. 8. Galat. 14.
[3] Habac. 2. Rom. 1. 10. 1 Joh. 3.
[4] Joh. 17.
[5] Mat. 16. Joh. 10. Eph. 5. Rom. 8. Cant. 2.
[6] Eph. 1. Coloſ. 1. 1 Cor. 12.
[7] Eph. 4.
[8] Eph. 4. Phil. 3. Col. 2.
[9] Acts 2. 4. Rom. 12. 1 Cor. 12. Eph. 4.
[10] Rom. 11.
[11] Rom. 9. Eph. 1.
[12] Rom. 8. Eph. 4.
[13] Mat. 18. 1 Cor. 15.
[14] Mat. 28. Rom. 10. 2 Cor. 3. Eph. 2. John 10. 2 Tim. 3. 2 Pet. 1.
[15] Eph. 2. Mat. 17. John 10.
[16] Joh. 20. 2 Tim. 3.
[17] Joſ. 1. Joh. 5.
[18] Eph 5. Mat. 15.
[19] Mat. 26. 28. Rom. 4. Eph. 5.

The third Mark of this Church is [25] Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, which ſtandeth in Admonition and Correction of Faults. The final end whereof is Excommunication, by the conſent of the Church [26] determin'd, if the Offender be obſtinate. And beſides this Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, I acknowledg to belong to this Church a political [27] Magiſtrate; who miniſtreth to every man Juſtice, defending the Good, and puniſhing the Evil. To whom we muſt render Honour and Obedience in all things, which are not [28] contrary to the Word of God.

And as [29] *Moſes*, *Ezechias*, *Joſias*, and other godly Rulers purg'd the Church of God from Superſtition and Idolatry, ſo the Defence of Chriſt's Church appertains to the Chriſtian Magiſtrates againſt all Idolaters and Hereticks, as Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, with ſuch-like Limbs of Antichriſt, to root out all [30] Doctrine of Devils and Men, as the Maſs, Purgatory, *Limbus Patrum*, Prayers to Saints, and for the Dead, Freewill, Diſtinction of Meats, Apparel and Days, Vows of ſingle Life, Preſence at Idol Service, Man's Merits, with ſuch-like;

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[20] Rom. 5. Eph. 2. Tit. 3. Gal. 3. Rom. 7.
[21] Rom. 4. Pſal. 31.
[22] 1 Cor. 11.
[23] Joh. 6.
[24] Heb. 5. Joh. 3.
[25] Mat. 8. Luke 17. Levit. 19. Eccl. 19.
[26] 1 Cor. 5.
[27] Rom. 13. Wiſd. 6. Tit. 3. 1 Pet. 2.
[28] Acts 5.
[29] Exod. 32. 2 Kings 18. 23. 2 Chron. 29. 35.
[30] 1 Tim. 4. Col. 2. Mat. 15. Iſa. 29. Heb. 9. 10. Acts 10. 1 Joh. 2. Rom. 7. Gal. 5. Col. 2. Rom. 14. 1 Tim. 4. Mat. 19. 1 Cor. 7. 1 Cor. 8, 10. 2 Cor. 6. Luke 17. Rom. 3. 1 Cor. 3. Gal. 4.

which draw us from the Society of Chriſt's Church, wherein ſtandeth [31] only Remiſſion of Sins, purchas'd by Chriſt's Blood to all them that believe, whether they be *Jews* or *Gentiles*; and lead us to vain Confidence in Creatures, and Truſt in our own Imaginations. The Puniſhment whereof, altho God oftentimes [32] deferreth in this Life; yet after the general [33] Reſurrection, when our Souls and Bodies ſhall riſe again to Immortality, they ſhall be [34] damn'd to unquenchable Fire: And then we, who have forſaken all man's Wiſdom to cleave unto Chriſt, ſhall hear the joyful Voice, [35] *Come, ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit ye the Kingdom prepar'd for you from the beginning of the World*; and ſo ſhall go triumphing with him, in [36] Body and Soul, to remain everlaſtingly in Glory, where we ſhall ſee God [37] face to face, and ſhall no more need one to inſtruct another; for we ſhall all know him [38] from the higheſt to the loweſt: To whom with the Son and Holy Ghoſt be all Praiſe, Honour, and Glory, now and ever. So be it.

*The Forgiveneſs of Sins.*

*Reſurrection of the Body.*

*The Reſurrection of the Dead.*

## *Of the Miniſters and their Election.*

### *What things are chiefly requir'd in the Miniſters.*

LET the Church firſt diligently conſider that the Miniſter, which is to be choſen, be not found culpable of any ſuch Faults, which St. *Paul* reprehendeth in a Man of that Vocation: but contrariwiſe endu'd with ſuch Vertues, that he may be able to undertake his Charge, and diligently execute the ſame. Secondly, that he diſtribute faithfully the Word of God, and miniſter the Sacraments ſincerely; ever careful not only to teach his Flock publickly, but alſo privately to admoniſh them, remembring always, that if any thing periſh thro his default, the Lord will require it at his hands.

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[31] Iſa. 33. Mat. 18. Joh. 20. 2 Cor. 5. Rom. 1. 20. Eph. 2. [32] 2 Pet. 2. Jude. Rom. 9. [33] Acts 24. 1 Cor. 15. Phil. 15. 1 Theſſ. [34] 2 Theſſ. 4. 2 Joh. 1. Iſa. 30. Joh. 5. [35] Mat. 25. [36] 1 Theſſ. 4. 5. Joh. 5. Iſa. 16. [37] 1 Cor. 13. 1 Joh. 3. [38] Jerem. 31. Heb. 8.

## *Of their Office and Duty.*

BEcauſe the Charge of the Word of God is of greater [1] importance, than that any Man is able to diſpenſe therewith, and St. *Paul* exhorteth to [2] eſteem them as Miniſters of Chriſt and Diſpoſers of God's Myſteries, not [3] Lords or Rulers, as St. *Peter* ſaith, over the Flock: therefore the Paſtor's and Miniſter's chief Office ſtandeth in [4] preaching the Word of God and miniſtring the Sacraments; ſo that in Conſolations, Judgments, Elections, and other political Affairs, his [5] Counſel rather than Authority taketh place. And if ſo be the Congregation upon juſt cauſe agree to excommunicate, then it belongeth to the Miniſter, according to their [6] general Determination, to pronounce the Sentence, to the end that all things may be done [7] orderly and without confuſion.

## *The Manner of Electing the Paſtors or Miniſters.*

THE Miniſters and Elders, at ſuch times as there wants a Miniſter, aſſemble the whole Congregation, exhorting them to adviſe and conſider who may beſt ſerve in that room and office. And if there be choice, the Church appoint two or three upon ſome certain day, to be examin'd by the Miniſters and Elders.

Firſt, as touching their Doctrine, whether he that ſhould be Miniſter have good and ſound Knowledg in the Holy Scriptures, and fit and apt Gifts to communicate the ſame to the Edification of the People. For the trial whereof, they propoſe him a Theme or Text to be treated privately, whereby his Ability may the more manifeſtly appear unto them.

Secondly, they inquire of his Life and Converſation, if he have in times paſt liv'd without ſlander, and govern'd himſelf in ſuch ſort as the Word of God hath not heard evil, or been ſlander'd thro his occaſion; which being ſeverally done, they ſignify unto the Congregation whoſe Gifts they find moſt meet and profitable for that Miniſtry: appointing alſo by a general Conſent eight days at the leaſt, that every man may diligently inquire of his Life and Manners.

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[1] 1 Cor. 9. Acts 6. Luke 12. [2] 1 Cor. 2 Cor. 4. [3] 1 Peter 5. 2 Cor. 1. Mat. 20. [4] Mat. 26. 28. Mal. 2. 1 Pet. 4. Acts 3. & 16. 1 Cor. 1. 15. [5] Acts 20. 2 Cor. 4. [6] 1 Cor. 5. [7] 1 Cor. 1.

At the which time, the Miniſter exhorteth them to humble themſelves to God, by [8] Faſting and Prayer, that both their Election may be agreeable to his Will, and alſo profitable to the Church. And if in the mean ſeaſon, any thing be brought againſt him, whereby he may be found unworthy by lawful Probations, then is he diſmiſs'd, and ſome other preſented. If nothing be alledg'd, upon ſome certain day, one of the Miniſters at the Morning-Sermon preſenteth him again to the Church, framing his Sermon, or ſome part thereof, to the ſetting forth of his Duty.

Then at afternoon, the Sermon ended, the Miniſter exhorteth them to the Election, with the [9] Invocation of God's Name, directing his Prayer as God ſhall move his Heart. In like manner, after the Election, the Miniſter giveth thanks [10] to God, with requeſt of ſuch things as ſhall be neceſſary for his Office. After that he is appointed Miniſter, the People ſing a Pſalm, and depart.

## *Of the Elders, and as touching their Office and Election.*

THE Elders muſt be Men of good Life and godly Converſation, without blame and all ſuſpicion, careful for the Flock, Wiſe, and above all things, fearing God.

Whoſe Office ſtandeth in governing with the reſt of the Miniſters, in conſulting, admoniſhing, correcting and ordering all things appertaining to the State of the Congregation. And they differ from the Miniſters, in that they preach not the Word, nor miniſter the Sacraments. In aſſembling the People, neither they without the Miniſters, nor the Miniſters without them, may attempt any thing. And if any of the juſt number want, the Miniſter, by the conſent of the reſt, warneth the People thereof, and finally admoniſheth them to obſerve the ſame Order which was us'd in chuſing the Miniſters, as far forth as their Vocation requireth.

## *Of the Deacons, and their Office and Election.*

THE [1] Deacons muſt be Men of good eſtimation and report, diſcreet, of good conſcience, charitable, wiſe, and finally endu'd

[1] Acts 6. 1 Tim.

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[8] Acts 13. & 14. Luke 3. [9] 1 Cor. 10. Col. 3. Mat. 9. [10] 1 Theſſ. 5. Col. 4. Eph. 5. Philip. 1.

with ſuch Virtues, as St. *Paul* requireth in them. Their Office is, to gather the Alms diligently, and faithfully to [2] diſtribute it, with the conſent of the Miniſters and Elders; alſo to provide for the ſick and impotent Perſons, having ever a diligent care, that the Charity of godly Men be not waſted upon Loiterers and idle Vagabonds. Their Election is, as hath been afore rehears'd in the Miniſters and Elders.

[2] Rom. 1.

*We are not ignorant that the Scriptures make mention of a fourth kind of Miniſters left to the Church of Chriſt, which alſo are very profitable, where Time and Place do permit.*

*Theſe Miniſters are call'd* [3] *Teachers or Doctors, whoſe Office is to inſtruct and teach the Faithful in ſound Doctrine, providing with all diligence, that the Purity of the Goſpel be not corrupt, either thro Ignorance or evil Opinions. Notwithſtanding, conſidering the preſent ſtate of things, we comprehend under this title ſuch means, as God hath in his Church, that it ſhould not be left deſolate, nor yet his Doctrine decay, for default of Miniſters thereof.*

[3] 1 Cor. 1.

*Therefore to term it by a word more uſual in theſe our days, we may call it the Order of Schools, wherein the higheſt Degree, and moſt annex'd to the Miniſtry and Government of the Church, is the Expoſition of God's Word, contain'd in the Old and New Teſtament.*

*But becauſe Men cannot ſo well profit in that Knowledg, except they be firſt inſtructed in the Tongues and human Sciences (for now God worketh not commonly by Miracles) it is neceſſary that Seed be ſown for the time to come, to the intent that the Church be not left barren and waſte to our Poſterity, and that Schools alſo be erected, and Colleges maintain'd with juſt and ſufficient Stipends, wherein Youth may be train'd in the Knowledg and Fear of God, that in their ripe Age they may prove worthy Members of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whether it be to rule in civil Policy, or to ſerve in the ſpiritual Miniſtry, or elſe to live in godly Reverence and Subjection.*

## *The weekly Aſſembly of the Miniſters, Elders, and Deacons.*

TO the intent that the Miniſtry of God's Word may be had in reverence, and not brought to contempt thro the evil Converſation of ſuch as are call'd thereunto, and alſo that Faults and Vices may not by long ſufferance grow at length to extreme Inconveniences; it is ordain'd, that every Thurſday the Miniſters and Elders in their Aſſembly or Conſiſtory diligently examine all ſuch Faults and Suſpicions as may be eſpy'd, not only among others, but chiefly among themſelves, leſt they ſeem to be culpable of that which our Saviour Chriſt [1] reprov'd in the *Phariſees*, who could eſpy a Mote in another man's eye, and could not ſee a Beam in their own.

And becauſe the [2] Eye ought to be more clear than the reſt of the Body, the Miniſter may not be ſpotted with any Vice, but to the great ſlander of God's Word, whoſe Meſſage he beareth. Therefore it is to be underſtood, that there be certain Faults, which if they be deprehended in a Miniſter, he ought to be depos'd; as Hereſy, Papiſtry, Schiſm, Blaſphemy, Perjury, Fornication, Theft, Drunkenneſs, Uſury, Fighting, unlawful Games, with ſuch like.

[1] Mat. 7. Luk. 6. Rom. 2.

[2] Mat. 6. Luke 11.

Others are more tolerable, if ſo be that after brotherly Admonition he amend his Fault; as ſtrange and unprofitable faſhion in preaching the Scriptures, curioſity in ſeeking vain Queſtions, Negligence, as well in his Sermons, and in ſtudying the Scriptures, as in all other things concerning his Vocation, Scurrility, Flattering, Lying, Backbiting, wanton Words, Deceit, Covetouſneſs, Taunting, Diſſolution in Apparel, Geſture, and other his doings; which Vices, as they be odious in all men, ſo in him who ought to be as an Example to others of perfection, in no wiſe are to be ſuffer'd: eſpecially, if ſo be that, according to God's Rule, being brotherly advertis'd, he acknowledg not his Fault and amend.

## *Interpretation of Scriptures.*

EVery week once the Congregation aſſemble to hear ſome place of the Scriptures orderly expounded. At which time it is lawful for every man to ſpeak or enquire as God ſhall move his Heart, and the Text miniſter occaſion, ſo it be without pertinacity or diſdain, as one that rather ſeeketh to profit than to contend. And if ſo be any Contention riſe, then ſuch as are appointed Moderators either ſatisfy the Party, or elſe if he ſeem to cavil, exhort him to keep ſilence; referring the Judgment thereof to the Miniſters and Elders, to be determin'd in their Aſſembly before-mention'd.

¶ *When the Congregation is aſſembled at the hour appointed, the Miniſter uſeth this Confeſſion, or like in effect, exhorting the People diligently to examine themſelves, following in their Hearts the Tenor of his Words.*

## *The Confeſſion of our Sins.*

[1] Rom.3.Pſal. 14. [2] Gal. 5. [3] Jerem.3.Iſa. 10.

O Eternal God and moſt merciful Father, we confeſs and acknowledg here before thy divine Majeſty, that we are [1] miſerable Sinners, conceiv'd and born in Sin and Iniquity, ſo that in us there is no [2] Goodneſs. For the [3] Fleſh evermore rebelleth againſt the Spirit, whereby we continually tranſgreſs thine holy Precepts and Commandments, and ſo purchaſe to our ſelves, thro thy juſt Judgment, Death and Damnation. Notwithſtanding, O Heavenly Father, foraſmuch as we are diſpleas'd with our ſelves for the Sins that we have committed againſt thee, and do unfeignedly repent us of the ſame, we moſt humbly beſeech thee for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to ſhew thy Mercy upon us, to forgive us all our Sins, and to increaſe thine Holy Spirit in us; that we acknowledging from the bottom of our Hearts our own Unrighteouſneſs, may from henceforth not only mortify our ſinful Luſts and Affections, but alſo bring forth ſuch Fruits, as may be agreeable to thy moſt bleſſed Will: not for the worthineſs thereof, but for the Merits of thy dearly beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt our only Saviour, whom thou haſt already given an Oblation and Offering for our Sins, and for whoſe ſake we are certainly perſuaded that thou wilt deny us nothing that we ſhall ask in his name, according to thy Will. For thy Spirit doth aſſure our Conſciences, that thou art our merciful Father, and ſo loveſt us thy Children thro him; that nothing is able to remove thine heavenly Grace and Favour from us. To thee therefore, O Father, with the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, be all Honour and Glory, world without end. So be it.

## *Another Confeſſion and Prayer commonly uſed in the Church of* Edinburgh, *on the Day of Common Prayers.*

O Dreadful and moſt mighty God, thou that from the beginning haſt declar'd thy ſelf a conſuming Fire againſt the Contemners of thy moſt holy Precepts, and yet to the penitent Sinners haſt always ſhew'd thy ſelf a favourable Father,

ther, and a God full of Mercy: we thy Creatures, and Workmanſhip of thine own hands, confeſs our ſelves moſt unworthy to open our eyes unto the Heavens, but far leſs to appear in thy preſence. For our Conſciences accuſe us, and our manifeſt Iniquities have born witneſs againſt us, that we have declin'd from thee. We have been polluted with Idolatry; we have given thy Glory to Creatures, we have ſought Support where it was not to be found, and have ſlighted thy moſt wholeſom Admonitions. The manifeſt Corruption of our Lives in all eſtates, evidently proveth, that we have not rightly regarded thy Statutes, Laws, and holy Ordinances. And this was not only done, O Lord, in the time of our Blindneſs; but even now, when of thy mercy thou haſt open'd unto us an entrance to thine heavenly Kingdom, by the preaching of thine holy Evangel, the whole Body of this miſerable Realm ſtill continueth in their former Impiety. For the moſt part, alas! following the Footſteps of the blind and obſtinate Princeſs, utterly deſpiſe the Light of thine Evangel, and delight in Ignorance and Idolatry: Others live as a People without God, and without all fear of thy terrible Judgments: And ſome, O Lord, that in mouth profeſs thy bleſſed Evangel, by their ſlanderous Life blaſpheme the ſame. We are not ignorant, O Lord, that thou art a righteous Judg, that cannot ſuffer Iniquity long to be unpuniſh'd upon the obſtinate Tranſgreſſors; eſpecially, O Lord, when that after ſo long Blindneſs and horrible Defection from thee, ſo lovingly thou calleſt us again to thy Favour and Fellowſhip, and that yet we do obſtinately rebel. We have, O Lord, in our extreme miſery call'd unto thee, yea, even when we appear'd utterly to have been conſum'd in the Fury of our Enemies, and then didſt thou mercifully incline thine ears unto us. Thou foughteſt for us, even by thine own Power, when in us there was neither Wiſdom nor Force. Thou alone brakeſt the Yoke from our necks, and ſet us at liberty, when we by our fooliſhneſs had made our ſelves Slaves unto Strangers: and mercifully unto this day haſt thou continued with us the Light of thine Evangel, and ſo ceaſeſt not to heap upon us Benefits, both ſpiritual and temporal. But yet alas, O Lord, we clearly ſee, that our great Ingratitude craveth further Puniſhment at thy hands, the ſigns whereof are evident before our eyes. (For the whiſpering of Sedition, the Contempt of thy Graces offer'd, and the Maintenance of Idolatry, are aſſur'd ſigns of thy further Plagues to fall upon us in particular for our grievous Offences. And this unmeaſurable Intemperateneſs of the Air, doth alſo threaten thine accuſtom'd Plague of Famine, which commonly followeth riotous Exceſs and Contempt of the

Poor, wherewith alas the whole Earth is repleniſh'd.)

We have nothing, O Lord, that we may lay betwixt us and thy Judgment, but thine only Mercy, freely offer'd unto us in thy dear Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, purchas'd to us by his Death and Paſſion. For if thou wilt enter into Judgment with us thy Creatures, and keep in mind our grievous Sins and Offences, then can there no fleſh eſcape Condemnation. And therefore we moſt humbly beſeech thee, O Father of Mercies, for Chriſt Jeſus thy Son's ſake, to take from us theſe ſtony Hearts, who ſo long have heard as well thy Mercies as ſevere Judgments, and yet have not been effectually moved with the ſame; and give unto us Hearts mollify'd by thy Spirit, that may both conceive and keep in mind the Reverence that is due unto thy Majeſty. Look, O Lord, unto thy choſen Children labouring under the Imperfections of the Fleſh, and grant unto us that Victory that thou haſt promis'd unto us by Jeſus Chriſt thy Son our only Saviour, Mediator, and Lawgiver. To whom, with thee and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and praiſe now and ever.

## *A Confeſſion of Sins and Petitions made unto God in the time of our extreme Troubles, and yet commonly uſed in the Churches of* Scotland *before the Sermon.*

ETernal and everlaſting God, Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, thou that ſheweſt Mercy and keepeſt covenant with them that love, and in reverence keep thy Commandments, even when thou poureſt forth thy hot Diſpleaſure and juſt Judgments upon the obſtinate inobedient: we here proſtrate our ſelves before the Throne of thy Majeſty, from our hearts confeſſing, that juſtly thou haſt puniſh'd us by the Tyranny of Strangers, and that more juſtly thou mayſt bring upon us again the Bondage and Yoke, which of thy mercy for a ſeaſon thou haſt remov'd: Our Kings, Princes, and People in blindneſs have refus'd the Word of thine eternal Verity, and in ſo doing we have refus'd the League of thy Mercy offer'd us in Jeſus Chriſt thy Son, which albeit thou now of thy mere mercy haſt offer'd to us again in ſuch abundance, that none can be excus'd by reaſon of Ignorance, yet not the leſs to the judgment of men, Impiety overfloweth the whole face of this Realm. For the great multitude delight themſelves in Ignorance and Idolatry; and ſuch alas, as appear to reverence and embrace thy Word, do not expreſs the Fruits of Repentance, as it becometh the People, to whom thou haſt ſhew'd thy ſelf ſo merciful and favourable. Theſe are thy juſt Judgments, O Lord, whereby thou puniſheſt Sin by Sin, and Man by his own Iniquity; ſo that there can be no end of Sin, except thou prevent us with thy undeſerv'd Grace. Convert us therefore, O Lord, and we ſhall be converted; ſuffer not our Unthankfulneſs to procure of thy moſt juſt Judgments, that Strangers again empire above us, neither yet that the Light of thy Evangel be taken from us. But howſoever it be, that the great multitude be altogether rebellious, and alſo that in us there remaineth perpetual Imperfections, yet for the Glory of thy own Name, and for the Glory of thy only beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe Verity and Evangel thou of thy mere mercy haſt manifeſted amongſt us; it will pleaſe thee to take us into thy protection, and in thy defence, that all the world may know, that as of thy mere mercy thou haſt begun this Work of our Salvation amongſt us, ſo of this ſame mercy thou wilt continue it. Grant us this, merciful Father, for Chriſt Jeſus thy Son's ſake. So be it.

¶ *This done, the People ſing a Pſalm altogether in a plain Tune; which ended, the Miniſter prayeth for the Aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit, as the ſame ſhall move his Heart, and ſo proceedeth to the Sermon, uſing after the Sermon this Prayer following, or ſuch like.*

## *A Prayer for the whole State of Chriſt's Church.*

ALmighty God, and moſt merciful Father, we humbly ſubmit our ſelves and fall down before thy Majeſty, beſeeching thee from the bottom of our hearts, that this Seed of thy Word, now ſown among us, may take ſuch deep root, that neither the burning heat of Perſecution cauſe it to wither, neither the thorny Cares of this Life do choke it, but that as Seed ſown in good ground, it may bring forth thirty, ſixty, and an hundred fold, as thine heavenly Wiſdom hath appointed. And becauſe we have need continually to crave many things at thine hands, we humbly beſeech thee, O heavenly Father, to grant us thine holy Spirit, to direct our Petitions, that they may proceed from ſuch a fervent mind as may be agreeable to thy moſt bleſſed Will.

And ſeeing that our Infirmity is able [1] to do nothing without thine help, and that thou art not ignorant with how many and great [2] Tentations we poor Wretches are on every ſide incloſ'd and compaſs'd, let thy Strength, O Lord, ſuſtain our Weakneſs, that we being defended with the Force of thy Grace, may be ſafely preſerv'd againſt all

[1] 1 Cor. 3. Joh. 19. Phil. 2.

[2] Pſal. 40. 1 Pet. 1.

all Aſſaults of Satan, who goeth about continually like a [1] roaring Lion ſeeking to devour us. [2] Increaſe our Faith, O merciful Father, that we do not ſwerve at any time from thy heavenly Word, but augment in us Hope and Love, with a careful keeping of all thy Commandments, that no [3] Hardneſs of Heart, no Hypocriſy, no [4] Concupiſcence of the eyes, nor Inticements of the World, do draw us away from thine Obedience. And ſeeing we live now in theſe moſt [5] perillous times, let thy fatherly Providence defend us againſt the Violence of all our Enemies, which do every where purſue us, but chiefly againſt the wicked Rage and furious Uproars of that Romiſh Idol, Enemy [6] to thy Chriſt.

Furthermore, foraſmuch as by thine holy Apoſtle we be taught to make our Prayers and Supplications for all men, we pray not only for our ſelves here preſent, but beſeech thee alſo to reduce all ſuch as be yet ignorant, from the miſerable Captivity of Blindneſs and Error, to the pure underſtanding of thine heavenly Truth, that we all with one Conſent and Unity of Minds, may worſhip thee our only God and Saviour: And that all Paſtors, Shepherds, and Miniſters, to whom thou haſt committed the Diſpenſation of thine holy Word, and Charge of thy choſen People, may both in their Life and Doctrine be found faithful, ſetting only before their eyes thy Glory; and that by them all poor Sheep which wander and go aſtray, may be gather'd and brought home to thy Fold.

Moreover, becauſe the Hearts of Rulers are in thine hands, we beſeech thee to direct and govern the Hearts of all Kings, Princes, and Magiſtrates, to whom thou haſt committed the [7] Sword: eſpecially, O Lord, according to our bounden Duty we beſeech thee to maintain and increaſe the noble Eſtate of the King's Majeſty, and his honourable Council, with all the Eſtate and whole Body of the Commonwealth. Let thy fatherly Favour ſo preſerve him, and thine holy Spirit ſo govern his Heart, that he may in ſuch ſort execute his Office, that thy Religion may be purely maintain'd, [8] Manners reform'd, and Sin puniſh'd according to the preciſe Rule of thine holy Word.

And for that we be all [9] Members of the myſtical Body of Chriſt Jeſus, we make our re-

[1] 1 Pet. 5.

[2] Luke 17.

[3] Pſal. 95. Heb. 3, 4.

[4] 1 John 2.

[5] 1 Tim. 4. 2 Pet. 3. 2 Tim. 3. Jude.

[6] Revel. 12.

[7] Rom. 13. John 19.

[8] 1 Tim. 2. Jam. 1.

[9] 2 Cor. 12. Rom. 12.

queſts unto thee, O heavenly Father, for all ſuch as are [1] afflicted with any kind of Croſs or Tribulation, as War, Plague, Famine, Sickneſs, Poverty, Impriſonment, Perſecution, Baniſhment, or any other kind of thy Rods, whether it be [2] Grief of Body or Unquietneſs of Mind, that it would pleaſe thee to give them patience and conſtancy, till thou ſend them full Deliverance out of all their Troubles. And finally, O Lord God, moſt merciful Father, we moſt humbly beſeech thee to ſhew thy great Mercies upon our Brethren, who are perſecuted, caſt in priſon, and daily condemn'd to death for the Teſtimony of thy Truth. And tho they be utterly deſtitute of all Man's aid, yet let thy ſweet Comfort never depart from them, but ſo inflame their hearts with thine holy Spirit, that they may boldly and chearfully abide ſuch trial, as thy godly Wiſdom ſhall appoint; ſo that at length as well by their death, as by their life, the Kingdom of thy Son Jeſus Chriſt may increaſe and ſhine thro all the World. In whoſe name we make our humble Petitions unto thee, as he hath taught us:

[1] Jam. 5.

[2] 1 Cor. 1. Heb. 13.

*Our Father which art in Heaven,* &c.

ALmighty and everliving God, vouchſafe, we beſeech thee, to grant us perfect continuance in thy lively Faith, augmenting the ſame in us daily, till we grow to the full meaſure of our perfection in Chriſt, whereof we make our Confeſſion, ſaying:

*I believe in God,* &c.

¶ *Then the People ſing a Pſalm; which ended, the Miniſter pronounceth one of theſe Bleſſings, and ſo the Congregation departeth.*

THE Lord bleſs us and ſave us: the Lord make his Face ſhine upon us, and be merciful unto us: the Lord turn his countenance towards us, and grant us his Peace. Numb. 6.

THE Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Love of God, and Communion of the Holy Ghoſt, be with us all. So be it. 2 Cor. 13.

¶ *It ſhall not be neceſſary for the Miniſter daily to repeat all theſe things before-mention'd; but beginning with ſome manner of Confeſſion, to proceed to the Sermon: which ended, he either uſeth the Prayer for all Eſtates before-mention'd, or elſe prayeth, as the*

*Spirit of God ſhall move his Heart; framing the ſame according to
the time and matter which he hath intreated of.*
Levit. 26. *And if there ſhall be at any time any preſent*
Deut. 28. *Plague, Famine, Peſtilence, War, or ſuch like,*
1 Kings 8. *which be evident tokens of God's wrath, as it is*
2 Sam. 24. *our part to acknowledg our Sins to be the occaſion*
*thereof, ſo are we appointed by the Scriptures to give our ſelves to Mourning, Faſting, and Prayer, as the means to turn away God's heavy Diſpleaſure. Therefore it ſhall be convenient, that the Miniſter at ſuch time, do not only admoniſh the People thereof, but alſo uſe ſome Form of Prayer, according as the preſent neceſſity requireth, to the which he may appoint, by a common conſent, ſome ſeveral day after the Sermon, weekly to be obſerv'd.*

¶ *Theſe Prayers that follow are uſed in the* French *Church of* Geneva : *The firſt ſerveth for Sunday after the Sermon, and the other that followeth, is ſaid upon Wedneſday, which is the Day of Common Prayer.*

## *Another manner of Prayer after the Sermon.*

ALmighty God and Heavenly Father, ſince thou haſt promis'd to grant our requeſts which we ſhall make unto thee in the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, thy well-beloved Son; and we are alſo taught by him and his Apoſtles to aſſemble our ſelves in his name, promiſing that he will be among us, and make Interceſſion for us unto thee, for the obtaining of all ſuch things as we ſhall agree upon here in earth : We therefore (having firſt thy Commandment to pray for ſuch as thou haſt appointed Rulers and Governours over us, and alſo for all things needful both for thy People, and for all ſorts of Men; foraſmuch as our Faith is grounded on thine holy Word and Promiſes, and that we are here gather'd together before thy face, and in the name of thy Son our Lord Jeſus) We, I ſay, make our earneſt Supplication unto thee, our moſt merciful God and bountiful Father, that for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, our only Saviour and Mediator, it would pleaſe thee of thine infinite mercy, freely to pardon our Offences, and in ſuch ſort to draw and lift up our Hearts and Affections towards thee, that our Requeſts may both proceed of a fervent mind, and alſo be agreeable unto thy moſt bleſſed Will and Pleaſure, which is only to be accepted.

We beſeech thee therefore, O heavenly Father, as touching all Princes and Rulers, unto whom thou haſt committed the Adminiſtration of thy Juſtice; and namely, as touching the excellent eſtate of the King's Majeſty, and all his honourable Council, with the reſt of the Magiſtrates and Commons of the Realm; that it would pleaſe thee to grant him thine holy Spirit, and increaſe the ſame from time to time in him, that he may with a pure Faith acknowledg Jeſus Chriſt, thine only Son our Lord, to be King of all Kings, and Governor of all Governors, even as thou haſt given all power unto him both in Heaven and in Earth; and ſo give himſelf wholly to ſerve him, and to advance his Kingdom in his Dominions (ruling by thy Word his Subjects, which be thy Creatures, and the Sheep of thy Paſture) that we being maintain'd in Peace and Tranquillity, both here and every where, may ſerve thee in all Holineſs and Vertue; and finally, being deliver'd from all fear of Enemys, may render Thanks unto thee all the days of our Life.

We beſeech thee alſo, moſt dear Father and Saviour, for all ſuch as thou haſt appointed Miniſters unto thy faithful People, and unto whom thou haſt committed the charge of Souls, and the Miniſtry of thine holy Goſpel; that it would pleaſe thee ſo to guide them with thine holy Spirit, that they may be found faithful and zealous of thy Glory, directing always their whole Studys unto this end; that the poor Sheep which be gone aſtray out of the Flock, may be ſought out and brought again unto the Lord Jeſus, who is the chief Shepherd and Head of all Biſhops, to the intent they may from day to day grow and increaſe in him unto all Righteouſneſs and Holineſs: and on the other part, that it would pleaſe thee to deliver all thy Churches from the danger of ravening Wolves, and from Hirelings, who ſeek their own Ambition and Profit, and not the ſetting forth of thy Glory only, and the ſafeguard of thy Flock.

Moreover, we make our Prayers unto thee, O Lord God, moſt merciful Father, for all Men in general, that as thou wilt be known to be the Saviour of all the World, by the Redemption purchas'd by thine only Son Jeſus Chriſt; even ſo that ſuch as have been hitherto holden captive in Darkneſs and Ignorance for lack of the knowledg of thy Goſpel, may thro the Preaching thereof, and the clear Light of thine holy Spirit, be brought into the right way of Salvation, which is to know that thou art only very God, and that he, whom thou haſt ſent, is Jeſus Chriſt: likewiſe that they whom thou haſt already endu'd with thy Grace, and illuminated their Hearts with the knowledg of thy Word, may continually increaſe in Godlineſs, and be plenteouſly inrich'd with ſpiritual Benefits; ſo that we may altogether worſhip thee, both with

Heart and Mouth, and render due Honour and Service unto Chriſt our Maſter, King, and Law-maker.

In like manner, O Lord of all true Comfort, we commend unto thee in our Prayers all ſuch Perſons as thou haſt viſited and chaſtis'd by thy Croſs and Tribulation, all ſuch People as thou haſt puniſh'd with Peſtilence, War, or Famine, and all other Perſons afflicted with Poverty, Impriſonment, Sickneſs, Baniſhment, or any like bodily Adverſity, or haſt otherwiſe troubled and afflicted in Spirit; that it would pleaſe thee to make them perceive thy fatherly Affection toward them, that is, that theſe Croſſes be Chaſtiſings for their Amendment, to the intent they ſhould unfeignedly turn unto thee, and ſo by cleaving unto thee might receive full Comfort, and be deliver'd from all manner of Evil. But eſpecially we commend unto thy divine Protection all ſuch which are under the Tyranny of Antichriſt, and both lack this food of Life, and have not liberty to call upon thy Name in open Aſſembly; chiefly, our poor Brethren who are impriſon'd and perſecuted by the Enemies of thy Goſpel, that it would pleaſe thee, O Father of Conſolations, to ſtrengthen them by the power of thine holy Spirit, in ſuch ſort as they never ſhrink back, but that they may conſtantly perſevere in thine holy Vocation; and ſo to ſuccour and aſſiſt them as thou knoweſt to be moſt expedient, comforting them in their Afflictions, maintaining them in thy Safeguard againſt the rage of Wolves, and increaſing in them the Gifts of thy Spirit, that they may glorify thee their Lord God, both in their Life and in their Death.

*If the Lord's Supper be miniſtred, then is here added this Clauſe.*
** And to celebrate his holy Supper.*

Finally, O Lord God moſt dear Father, we beſeech thee to grant unto us alſo, which are here gather'd together in the name of thy Son Jeſus, to hear his Word preach'd, * that we may acknowledg truly and without Hypocriſy, in how miſerable a ſtate of perdition we are by nature, and how worthily we procure unto our ſelves everlaſting damnation, heaping up from time to time thy grievous Puniſhments toward us, thro our wicked and ſinful Life, to the end that (ſeeing there remaineth no ſpark of Goodneſs in our nature, and that there is nothing in us as touching our firſt Creation, and that which we receive of our Parents, meet to enjoy the Heritage of God's Kingdom) we may wholly render up our ſelves with all our Hearts, and with an aſſur'd confidence unto thy dearly belov'd Son Jeſus our Lord, our only Saviour and Redeemer; to the intent that he dwelling in us, may mortify our old Man, that is to ſay, our ſinful Affections, and that we may be renew'd into a more godly Life, whereby by thine holy Name (as it is worthy of all Honour) may be advanc'd and magnify'd throughout the World, and in all places.

*Hallow'd be thy Name.*

*Thy Kingdom come.*

Likewiſe that thou mayſt have the Tuition and Governance over us, and that we may learn daily more and more to humble and ſubmit our ſelves unto thy Majeſty, in ſuch ſort that thou mayſt be counted King and Governor over all, guiding thy People with the Scepter of thy Word, and by the virtue of thine Holy Spirit, to the Confuſion of thine Enemies, thro the might of thy Truth and Righteouſneſs: ſo that by this means all Power and Height which withſtandeth thy Glory, may be continually thrown down and aboliſh'd, unto ſuch time as the full and perfect face of thy Kingdom ſhall appear, when thou ſhalt ſhew thy ſelf in judgment in the Perſon of thy Son;

*Thy Will be done.*

whereby alſo we, with the reſt of thy Creatures, may render unto thee perfect and true Obedience, even as thine heavenly Angels do apply themſelves only to the performing of thy Commandments; ſo that thine only Will may be fulfil'd without any contradiction, and that every Man may bend himſelf to ſerve and pleaſe thee, renouncing their own Wills, with all the Affections and Deſires of the Fleſh.

*Give us this day our daily Bread.*

Grant us alſo, good Lord, that we thus walking in the love and dread of thine holy Name, may be nouriſh'd thro thy Goodneſs, and that we may receive at thine hands all things expedient and neceſſary for us, and ſo uſe thy Gifts peaceably and quietly to this end, that when we ſee that thou haſt care of us, we may the more affectuouſly acknowledg thee to be our Father, looking for all good Gifts at thine hand; and by withdrawing and pulling back all our vain confidence from Creatures, may ſet it wholly upon thee, and ſo reſt only in thy moſt bountiful Mercy.

*And forgive us our Treſpaſſes.*

And forſomuch as while we continue here in this tranſitory Life, we are ſo miſerable, ſo frail, and ſo much inclin'd unto Sin, that we fall continually and ſwerve from the right way of thy Commandments; we beſeech thee pardon us our innumerable Offences, whereby we are in danger of thy Judgment and Condemnation, and forgive us ſo freely that Death and Sin may hereafter have no Title againſt us: neither lay unto our charge the wicked root of Sin, which doth evermore remain in us; but grant that by thy Commandment we may forget the wrongs which others do unto us, and inſtead of ſeeking Vengeance may procure the wealth of our Enemies. And foraſmuch

as

*And lead us not into Temptation.* as of our ſelves we are ſo weak, that we are not able to ſtand upright one minute of an hour, and alſo that we are ſo belaid and aſſaulted evermore with ſuch a multitude of ſo dangerous Enemys, that the Devil, the World, Sin, and our own Concupiſcences do never leave off to fight againſt us; let it be thy good pleaſure to ſtrengthen us with thy holy Spirit, and to arm us with thy Grace, that thereby we may be able conſtantly to withſtand all Temptations, and to perſevere in this ſpiritual Battel againſt Sin, until ſuch time as we ſhall obtain the full Victory, and ſo at length may triumphantly rejoice in thy Kingdom, with our Captain and Governor, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

¶ *This Prayer following is us'd to be ſaid after the Sermon on the day which is appointed for Common-Prayer; and it is very proper for our ſtate and time, to move us to true Repentance, and to turn back God's ſharp Rods which yet threaten us.*

## *Another Prayer.*

GOD Almighty and Heavenly Father, we acknowledg in our Conſciences, and confeſs, as the Truth is, that we are not worthy to lift up our Eyes unto Heaven, much leſs meet to come into thy Preſence, and to be bold to think that thou wilt hear our Prayers, if thou have reſpect to that which is in us; for our Conſciences accuſe us, and our own Sins do bear witneſs againſt us: yea, and we know that thou art a righteous Judg, which doſt not count Sinners righteous, but puniſheſt the faults of ſuch as tranſgreſs thy Commandments. Therefore, O Lord, when we conſider our whole Life, we are confounded in our own Hearts, and cannot chuſe but be beaten down, and as it were deſpair, even as tho we were already ſwallow'd up in the deep Gulf of Death. Notwithſtanding, moſt merciful Lord, ſince it hath pleas'd thee of thy infinite Mercy, to command us to call upon thee for help, even from the deep bottom of Hell; and that the more lack and default we feel in our ſelves, ſo much the rather we ſhould have recourſe unto thy Sovereign Bounty: Since alſo thou haſt promis'd to hear and accept our Requeſts and Supplications, without having any reſpect to our Worthineſs, but only in the Name, and for the Merits of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whom alone thou haſt appointed to be our Interceſſor and Advocate; we humble our ſelves before thee, renouncing all vain confidence in man's help, and cleave only to thy mercy, and with full confidence call upon thine holy Name to obtain pardon for our Sins.

Firſt O Lord, beſides the innumerable benefits which thou doſt univerſally beſtow upon all Men in Earth, thou haſt given us ſuch ſpecial Graces, that it is not poſſible for us to rehearſe them, no nor ſufficiently to conceive them in our minds. As namely, it hath pleas'd thee to call us to the knowledg of thine holy Goſpel, drawing us out of the miſerable bondage of the Devil, whoſe Slaves we were, and delivering us from moſt curs'd Idolatry and wicked Superſtition, wherein we were plung'd, to bring us into the light of thy Truth. Notwithſtanding ſuch is our Obſtinacy and Unkindneſs, that not only we forget thoſe thy Benefits, which we have receiv'd at thy bountiful hand; but have gone aſtray from thee, and have turn'd our ſelves from thy Law, to go after our own Concupiſcence and Luſts; and neither have given worthy Honour and due Obedience to thine holy Word, neither have advanc'd thy Glory as our Duty requir'd. And altho thou haſt not ceas'd continually to admoniſh us moſt faithfully by thy Word, yet we have not given ear to thy fatherly Admonition.

Wherefore, O Lord, we have ſin'd and have grievouſly offended againſt thee, ſo that ſhame and confuſion appertaineth unto us; and we acknowledg that we are altogether guilty before thy Judgment, and that if thou wouldſt intreat us according to our Demerits, we could look for none other than Death and everlaſting Damnation: For altho we would go about to clear and excuſe onr ſelves, yet our own Conſcience would accuſe us, and our Wickedneſs would appear before thee to condemn us. And in very deed, O Lord, we ſee by the Corrections which thou haſt already us'd towards us, that we have given thee great occaſion to be diſpleas'd with us; for ſeeing thou art a juſt and an upright Judg, it cannot be without cauſe that thou puniſheſt thy People. Wherefore, foraſmuch as we have felt thy Stripes, we acknowledg that we have juſtly ſtir'd up thy Diſpleaſure againſt us, yea and yet we ſee thine Hand lifted up to beat us afreſh; for the Rods and Weapons wherewith thou art accuſtom'd to execute thy Vengeance, are already in thine hand; and the Threatnings of thy Wrath, which thou uſeſt againſt the wicked Sinners, be in full readineſs.

Now tho thou ſhouldſt puniſh us much more grievouſly than thou haſt hitherto done, and that whereas we have receiv'd one Stripe, thou wouldſt give us an hundred; yea, if thou wouldſt make the Curſes of thine Old Teſtament, which came then upon thy People *Iſrael*, to fall upon us, we confeſs that thou ſhouldſt do therein very righteouſly, and we cannot deny but we have fully deſerv'd the ſame.

Yet, Lord, forſomuch as thou art our Father, and we be but Earth and Slime; ſeeing thou art our Maker, and we the Workmanſhip of thy Hands; ſeeing thou art our Paſtor, and we thy Flock; ſeeing alſo that thou art our Redeemer, and we are the People whom thou haſt bought: finally, becauſe thou art our God, and we thy choſen Heritage, ſuffer not thine Anger ſo to kindle againſt us, that thou ſhouldſt puniſh us in thy Wrath; neither remember our Wickedneſs, to the end to take Vengeance thereof, but rather chaſtiſe us gently according to thy Mercy.

Truth it is, O Lord, that our Miſdeeds have inflam'd thy Wrath againſt us; yet conſidering that we call upon thy Name, and bear thy Mark and Badg, maintain rather the Work that thou haſt begun in us by thy free Grace, to the end that all the World may know that thou art our God and Saviour. Thou knoweſt that ſuch as be dead in the Grave, and whom thou haſt deſtroy'd and brought to Confuſion, will not ſet forth thy Praiſes; but the heavy Souls and comfortleſs, the humble Hearts, the Conſciences oppreſs'd and laden with the grievous burden of their Sins, and therefore thirſt after thy Grace, they ſhall ſet forth thy Glory and Praiſe.

Thy People of *Iſrael* oftentimes provok'd thee to anger thro their Wickedneſs; whereupon thou didſt, as right requir'd, puniſh them: but ſo ſoon as they acknowledg'd their Offences, and return'd to thee, thou didſt receive them always to mercy. And were their Enormitys and Sins never ſo grievous, yet for thy Covenant ſake, which thou hadſt made with thy Servants *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, thou haſt always withdrawn from them the Rods and Curſes which were prepar'd for them, in ſuch ſort that thou didſt never refuſe to hear their Prayers.

We have obtain'd by thy Goodneſs a far more excellent Covenant which we may alledg; that is, the Covenant which thou firſt mad'ſt and eſtabliſh'ſt by the hand of Jeſus our Saviour, and was alſo by thy Divine Providence written with his Blood, and ſeal'd with his Death and Paſſion.

Therefore, O Lord, we renouncing our ſelves, and all vain confidence in man's help, have our only refuge to this thy moſt bleſſed Covenant, whereby our Lord Jeſus, thro the offering up of his Body in Sacrifice, hath reconcil'd us unto thee. Behold therefore, O Lord, in the face of thy Chriſt, and not in us, that by his Interceſſion thy Wrath may be appeas'd, and that the bright beams of thy Countenance may ſhine upon us to our great Comfort and aſſur'd Salvation;

and from this time forward vouchſafe to receive us under thine holy Tuition, and govern us with thine holy Spirit, whereby we may be regenerate anew unto a far better Life, ſo that thy Name may be ſanctify'd.

*Thy Kingdome come, Thy Will be done even in Earth as it is in Heaven: Give us this day our daily Bread: And forgive us our Debts, even as we forgive our Debtors: And lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil: For thine is the Kingdom, and the Power and the Glory, for ever and ever,* Amen.

And albeit we are moſt unworthy in our own ſelves to open our Mouths, and to intreat thee in our Neceſſitys; yet forſomuch as it hath pleas'd thee to command us to pray one for another, we make our humble Prayers unto thee for our poor Brethren and Members, whom thou doſt viſit and chaſtiſe with thy Rods and Corrections, moſt earneſtly deſiring thee to turn away thine Anger from them. Remember, O Lord, we beſeech thee, that they are thy Children as we are; and tho they have offended thy Majeſty, yet that it would pleaſe thee not to ceaſe to proceed in thine accuſtom'd Bounty nnd Mercy, which thou haſt promis'd ſhould evermore continue towards thine Elect. Vouchſafe therefore, good Lord, to extend thy Pity upon all thy Churches, and towards all thy People, whom thou doſt now chaſtiſe either with Peſtilence or War, or ſuch like thine accuſtom'd Rods, whether it be by Sickneſs, Priſon or Poverty, or any other Affliction of Conſcience and Mind: That it would pleaſe thee to comfort them as thou knoweſt to be moſt expedient for them, ſo that thy Rods may be Inſtructions for them to aſſure them of thy favour, and for their amendment, when thou ſhalt give them Conſtancy and Patience, and alſo aſſuage and ſtay thy Corrections; and ſo at length, by delivering them from all their Troubles, give them moſt ample occaſion to rejoice in thy Mercy, and to praiſe thine holy Name. Chiefly that thou wouldſt, O Lord, have compaſſion as well on all, as on every one of them that employ themſelves for the maintenance of thy Truth; ſtrengthen them, O Lord, with an invincible Conſtancy, defend them and aſſiſt them in all things and every where; overthrow the crafty Practices and Conſpiracys of their Enemys and thine, bridle their Rage, and let their bold Enterprizes which they undertake againſt thee and the Members of thy Son, turn to their own Confuſion: and ſuffer not thy Kingdom of Chriſtians to be utterly deſolate, neither permit that the remembrance of thine holy Name be clean aboliſh'd in Earth; nor that they, among whom it hath pleas'd thee to have thy Praiſes celebrated, be deſtroy'd and brought to nought; and that the Turks, Pagans, Papiſts, and other

Infidels might boaſt themſelves thereby, and blaſpheme thy Name.

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## *Prayers us'd in the Churches of* Scotland, *in the time of their Perſecution by the* Frenchmen, *but principally when the Lord's Table was to be miniſtred.*

ETernal and everliving God, Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we thy Creatures and the Workmanſhip of thine own hands, ſometimes dead by Sin, and thrall to Satan by means of the ſame, but now of thy mere Mercy call'd to Liberty and Life, by the preaching of thine Evangel, do take upon us this boldneſs (not of our ſelves, but of the Commandment of thy dear Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt) to pour forth before thee the Petitions and Complaints of our troubled Hearts, oppreſs'd with Fear and wounded with Sorrow. True it is, O Lord, that we are not worthy to appear in thy Preſence, by the reaſon of our manifold Offences; neither yet are we worthy to obtain any Comfort of thy hands, for any Righteouſneſs that is in us. But ſeeing, O Lord, that to turn back from thee, and not to call for thy Support in the time of our trouble, it is the entrance to Death, and the plain way to Deſperation: we therefore confounded in our ſelves (as the People that on all ſides is aſſaulted with Sorrows) do preſent our ſelves before thy Majeſty, as our Sovereign Captain and only Redeemer, Jeſus Chriſt, hath commanded us; in whoſe Name, and for whoſe Obedience, we humbly crave of thee remiſſion of our former Iniquitys, as well committed in matters of Religion, as in our Lives and Converſation. The Examples of others that have call'd unto thee in their like Neceſſitys, give unto us Experience, that thou wilt not reject us, neither yet ſuffer us for ever to be confounded. Thy People *Iſrael* did oftentimes decline from thy Laws, and did follow the Vanity of Superſtition and Idolatry; and oftentimes didſt thou correct and ſharply puniſh them, but thou didſt never utterly deſpiſe them, when in their Miſerys unfeignedly they turn'd unto thee. Thy Church of the *Jews* were Sinners, O Lord, and the moſt part of the ſame did conſent to the Death of thy dear Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and yet didſt not thou deſpiſe their Prayers, when in the time of their grievous Perſecution they call'd for thy Support. O

Lord, thou haſt promis'd no leſs to us, than thou haſt perform'd to them; and therefore take we boldneſs at thine own Commandment, and by the Promiſe of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, moſt humbly do crave of thee, that as it hath pleas'd thy Mercy, partly to remove our Ignorance and Blindneſs by the light of thy bleſſed Evangel, that ſo it may pleaſe thee to continue the ſame light with us, till that thou deliver us from all Calamity and Trouble. And for this purpoſe, O Lord, it will pleaſe thee to thruſt out faithful Workmen in this thy Harveſt within this Realm of *Scotland*, to the which after ſo long Darkneſs of Papiſtry and Superſtition, thou haſt offer'd the Truth of thine Evangel in all Pureneſs and Simplicity. Continue this thy Grace with us, O Lord, and purge this Realm from all falſe Teachers, from dumb Dogs, diſſembled Hypocrites, cruel Wolves, and all ſuch as ſhew themſelves Enemies to thy true Religion.

But now, O Lord, the Dangers which appear, and the Trouble which increaſeth by the cruel Tyranny of forſworn Strangers, compelleth us to complain before the Throne of thy Mercy, and to crave of thee Protection and Defence againſt their moſt injuſt Perſecution. That Nation, O Lord, for whoſe pleaſure and for defence of whom we have offended thy Majeſty, and violated our Faith, oft breaking the Leagues of Unity and Concord, which our Kings and Governors have contracted with our Neighbours: That Nation, O Lord, for whoſe alliance our Fathers and Predeceſſors have ſhed their Blood, and we (whom now by Tyranny they oppreſs) have oft ſuſtain'd the hazard of Battel: That Nation finally to whom always we have been faithful, now after their long practis'd Deceit, by manifeſt Tyranny do ſeek our Deſtruction; worthily and juſtly mayſt thou, O Lord, give us to be Slaves unto ſuch Tyrants, becauſe for the maintenance of their Friendſhip, we have not fear'd to break our ſolemn Oaths made unto others, to the great diſhonour of thine holy Name: and therefore juſtly mayſt thou puniſh us by the ſame Nation, for whoſe pleaſure we fear'd not to offend thy divine Majeſty. In thy Preſence, O Lord, we lay for our ſelves no kind of Excuſe; but for thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, we cry for Mercy, Pardon and Grace. Thou knoweſt, O Lord, that their crafty Wits in many things have abus'd our Simplicity; for under pretence of the maintenance of our Liberty, they have ſought, and have found the way (unleſs thou alone confound their Counſels) to bring us in their perpetual Bondage. And now the rather, O Lord, do they ſeek our Deſtruction, becauſe we have refus'd that *Roman* Antichriſt, whoſe Kingdom they defend, in daily ſhedding the Blood of thy Saints. In us, O Lord, there is no Strength, no Wiſdom, no Number nor Judgment to withſtand their Force, their Craft, their Multitude and Diligence; and therefore, look thou upon us, O Lord, according to thy Mercy. Behold the Tyranny us'd againſt our poor Brethren and Siſters, and have thou reſpect to that deſpiteful Blaſphemy which unceſſantly they ſpew forth againſt thine eternal Truth. Thou haſt aſſiſted thy Church even from the beginning, and for the deliverance of the ſame thou haſt plagu'd the cruel Perſecutors from time to time: Thy Hand drown'd *Pharaoh*; thy Sword devour'd *Amalek*; thy Power repuls'd the Pride of *Sennacherib*; and thine Angel ſo plagu'd *Herod*, that Worms and Lice were Puniſhers of his Pride. O Lord, thou remaineſt one for ever, thy Nature is unchangeable; thou canſt not but hate Cruelty, Pride, Oppreſſion and Murder, which now the Men whom we never offended pretend againſt us: Yea farther, by all means they ſeek to baniſh from this Realm thy dear Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the true preaching of his Word, and faithful Miniſters of the ſame; and by Tyranny they pretend to maintain moſt abominable Idolatry, and the Pomp of that *Roman* Antichriſt. Look thou therefore upon us, O Lord, in the multitude of thy Mercys; ſtretch out thine Arm, and declare thy ſelf Protector of thy Truth; repreſs the Pride, and daunt thou the Fury of theſe cruel Perſecutors: Suffer them never ſo to prevail againſt us, that the brightneſs of thy Word be extinguiſh'd in this Realm; but whatſoever thou haſt appointed in thine eternal Counſel to become of our Bodys, yet we moſt humbly beſeech thee for Jeſus Chriſt thy Son's ſake, ſo to maintain the Purity of thine Evangel within this Realm, that we and our Poſterity may enjoy the Fruition thereof, to the Praiſe and Glory of thine holy Name, and to our everlaſting Comfort. And this we moſt affectuouſly deſire of thy Mercy, by the Merits and Interceſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. To whom with thee and the Holy Ghoſt be all Honour, Glory, Praiſe and Benediction, now and ever. So be it.

*This is added ſo oft as the Lord's Table is miniſtred.*

NOW laſt, O Lord, we that be here aſſembled to celebrate the Supper of thy dear Son our Lord Chriſt, who did not only once offer his Body, and ſhed his Blood upon the Croſs for our full Redemption, but alſo to keep us in recent memory of that his ſo great Benefit, provided that his Body and Blood ſhould be given to us to the nouriſhment of our Souls: We, I ſay, that preſently are conven'd, to be Partakers of that his moſt holy Table, moſt humbly do beſeech thee to grant us Grace, that in Sincerity of Heart, in true Faith, and with ardent and unfeign'd Zeal, we may receive of him ſo great a Benefit; to wit, that fruitfully we may poſſeſs his Body and his Blood, yea, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, very God and very Man, who is that Heavenly Bread which giveth Life unto the World. Give us Grace, O Father, ſo to eat his Fleſh, and ſo to drink his Blood, that hereafter we live no more in our ſelves, and according to our corrupt Nature; but that he may live in us, to conduct and guide us to that moſt bleſſed Life that abideth for ever.

Grant unto us, O Heavenly Father, ſo to celebrate this day the bleſſed memory of thy dear Son, that we may be aſſur'd of thy Favour and Grace towards us. Let our Faith ſo be exercis'd, that not only we may feel the Increaſe of the ſame, but alſo that the clear Confeſſion thereof, with the good Works proceeding of it, may appear before Men to the Praiſe and Glory of thine holy Name, which art God everlaſting, bleſſed for ever. So be it.

## ¶ *A Thankſgiving unto God after our deliverance from the Tyranny of the* Frenchmen, *with Prayers made for the continuance of the Peace betwixt the Realms of* England *and* Scotland.

NOW, Lord, ſeeing that we enjoy comfort both in Body and Spirit, by reaſon of this quietneſs of thy Mercy granted unto us, after our moſt deſperate Troubles, in the which we appear'd utterly to have been overwhelm'd: We praiſe and glorify thy Mercy and Goodneſs, who piteouſly look'd upon us when we in our own ſelves were utterly confounded. But ſeeing, O Lord, that to receive Benefits at thy hands, and not to be thankful for the ſame, is nothing elſe but a Seal againſt us in the day of Judgment: We moſt humbly beſeech thee, to grant unto us Hearts ſo mindful of the Calamitys paſt, that we continually may fear to provoke thy Juſtice to puniſh us with the like or worſe Plagues. And ſeeing that when we by our own Power were altogether unable to have freed our ſelves from the Tyranny of Strangers, and from the Bondage and Thraldom pretended againſt us, thou of thine eſpecial Goodneſs didſt move the Hearts of our Neighbours (of whom we had deſerv'd no ſuch favour) to take upon them the common burden with us, and for our deliverance, not only to ſpend the Lives of many, but alſo to hazard the Eſtate and Tranquillity of their Realm and Commonwealth: Grant unto us, O Lord, that with ſuch Reverence we may remember thy Benefits receiv'd, that after this in our default, we never enter into hoſtility againſt the Realm and Nation of *England*. Suffer us never, O Lord, to fall to that Ingratitude and deteſtable Unthankfulneſs, that we ſhall ſeek the Deſtruction and Death of thoſe, whom thou haſt made Inſtruments to deliver us from the Tyranny of mercileſs Strangers. Diſſipate thou the Counſels of ſuch as deceitfully travel to ſtir the Hearts of the Inhabitants of either Realm againſt the other: Let their malicious Practices be their own Confuſion, and grant thou of thy Mercy that Love, Concord and Tranquillity may continue and increaſe amongſt the Inhabitants of this Iſle, even to the coming of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whoſe glorious Evangel thou of thy Mercy doſt call us both to Unity, Peace and Chriſtian Concord. The full perfection whereof we ſhall poſſeſs in the Fulneſs of thy Kingdom, when all Offences ſhall be remov'd, Iniquity ſhall be ſuppreſs'd, and thy choſen Children be fully endu'd with that perfect Glory, in the which now our Lord Jeſus reigneth: To whom with thee and the Holy Ghoſt, be all Honour, Praiſe and Glory, now and ever. So be it.

## *A Prayer us'd in the Aſſembly of the Church, as well Particular as General.*

ETernal and everliving God, Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, thou that of thy infinite Goodneſs haſt choſen to thy ſelf a Church, unto the which ever from the Fall of Man thou haſt manifeſted thy ſelf; firſt by thine own Voice to *Adam*, next to *Abraham* and his Seed, then to all *Iſrael* by the publication of thy holy Law, and laſt by ſending of thy only Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that great Angel of thy Counſel, into this World, and clad with our Nature, to teach unto us thy holy Will, and to put an end to all Revelations and Prophecies: who alſo elected to himſelf Apoſtles, to whom, after his Reſurrection, he gave Commandment to publiſh and preach his Evangel to all Realms and Nations, promiſing to be with them even to the end of of the World; yea, and moreover, that whereſoever two or three were gather'd together in his Name, that he would be there in the midſt of them; not only to inſtruct and teach them, but alſo to ratify and confirm ſuch things as they ſhall pronounce or decree by thy Word. Seeing, O Lord, that this hath been thy Love and fatherly Care towards thy Church, that not only thou plantedſt it, ruleſt and guideſt the Choſen in the ſame by thine holy Spirit and bleſſed Word; but alſo that when the external Face of the ſame is polluted, and the viſible Body falleth to Corruption, then thou of thy Mercys provideſt that it may be purg'd and reſtor'd again to the former Purity, as well in Doctrine as in Manners, whereof thou haſt given ſufficient document from age to age; but eſpecially now, O Lord, after this publick Defection from thy Truth and bleſſed Ordinance, which our Fathers and we have ſeen in that *Roman* Antichriſt, and in his uſurp'd Authority.

Now (I mean) O Lord, haſt thou reveal'd thy ſelf and thy belov'd Son Jeſus Chriſt, clearly to the World again, by the true preaching of his bleſſed Evangel; which alſo of thy Mercy is offer'd unto us within this Realm of *Scotland*, and of the ſame thy Mercy haſt made us Miniſters, and burden'd us with a charge within thy Church.

But, O Lord, when we conſider the multitude of Enemys that oppone themſelves unto thy Truth, the Practices of Satan, and the Power of thoſe that reſiſt thy Kingdom, together with our own Weakneſs, few number, and manifold Imperfections, we cannot but fear the ſudden way taking of this thy great Benefit; and therefore, deſtitute of all worldly Comfort, we have refuge to thy only Mercy and Grace, moſt humbly beſeeching thee for Chriſt Jeſus thy Son's ſake, to oppone thine own Power to the Pride of our Enemys, who ceaſe not to blaſpheme thine eternal Truth.

Give unto us, O Lord, that preſently are aſſembled in thy Name, ſuch abundance of thy holy Spirit, that we may ſee thoſe things that ſhall be expedient for the advancement of thy Glory, in the midſt of this perverſe and ſtubborn Generation: give us Grace, O Lord, that univerſally among our ſelves we may agree in the Unity of true Doctrine. Preſerve us from damnable Errors, and grant unto us ſuch Purity and Cleanneſs of Life, that we be not ſlanderous to thy bleſſed Evangel.

Bleſs thou ſo our weak Labours, that the Fruits of the ſame may redound to the praiſe of thy holy Name, to the profit of this preſent Generation, and of the Poſterity to come, thro Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghoſt be all Honour and Praiſe now and ever.

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## *The Order of Baptiſm.*

The Tranſgreſſion of God's Ordinance is called Iniquity and Idolatry, and is compar'd to Witchcraft and Sorcery, 1 *Sam.* 15.

How dangerous alſo it is to enterprize any thing raſhly, or without the Warrant of God's Word; the examples of *Saul*, *Oza*, *Ozias*, *Nadab* and *Abihu* ought ſufficiently to warn us, 1 *Sam.* 13. 2 *Sam.* 6. 2 *Chro.* 25. *Lev.* 10. *Numb.* 3.

¶ *Firſt Note, that, foraſmuch as it is not permitted by God's Word, that Women ſhould preach or miniſter the Sacraments, and it is evident, that the Sacraments are not ordain'd of God to be us'd in private Corners, as Charms or Sorcerys, but left to the Congregation, and neceſſarily annex'd to God's Word, as Seals of the ſame: therefore the Infant which is to be baptiz'd, ſhall be brought to the Church on the day appointed, to Common-Prayer and Preaching, accompany'd with the Father and Godfather. So that after the Sermon, the Child being preſented to the Miniſter, he demandeth this Queſtion:*

DO you preſent this Child to be baptiz'd, earneſtly deſiring that he may be ingrafted in the myſtical Body of Jeſus Chriſt? *The Anſwer.*

Yea, we require the ſame.

*The Miniſter proceedeth.*

THen let us conſider, dearly Beloved, how Almighty God hath not only made us his Children by [1] Adoption, and receiv'd us into the Fellowſhip of his Church; but alſo hath promis'd that he will be our [2] God, and the God of our Children unto the thouſandth Generation; which thing as he confirm'd to his People of the Old Teſtament by the Sacrament [3] of Circumciſion, ſo hath he alſo renew'd the ſame to us in his New Teſtament by the Sacrament of [4] Baptiſm; doing us thereby to wit, that our Infants appertain to him by Covenant, and therefore ought not to be defrauded of thoſe holy Signs and Badges [5] whereby his Children are known from Infidels and Pagans.

[1] Rom. 8. Gal. 4. Eph. 1. 2.

[2] Gen. 17. Exod. 20. Deut 7. Iſ. 59.

[3] Gen. 17. Rom. 4.

[4] Col. 2. Gal. 3. Acts 2.

[5] Acts 10.

Neither is it requiſite, that all thoſe that receive this Sacrament, have the uſe of Underſtanding and Faith, but chiefly that they be contain'd under the name of God's [1] People; ſo that Remiſſion of Sins in the Blood of Chriſt Jeſus doth appertain unto them by God's Promiſe; which thing is moſt evident by St. *Paul*, who pronounceth the Children begotten and born (either of the Parents being faithful) to be clean and holy. Alſo our Saviour Chriſt admitteth Children to his Preſence, imbracing and bleſſing them; which Teſtimonys of the Holy Ghoſt aſſure us, that Infants be of the number of God's People, and that Remiſſion of Sins doth alſo appertain to them in Chriſt: therefore without injury they cannot be debar'd from the common Sign of God's Children. And yet is not this outward Action of ſuch neceſſity, that the lack thereof ſhould be hurtful to their Salvation, if that, prevented by Death, they may not conveniently be preſented to the Church. But we (having reſpect to that Obedience, which Chriſtians owe to the Voice and Ordinance of Jeſus Chriſt, who commanded to preach and baptize all without exception) do judg them only unworthy of any Fellowſhip with him, who contemptuouſly refuſe ſuch ordinary means, as his Wiſdom hath appointed to the Inſtruction of our dull Senſes.

[1] Acts 2.
1 Cor. 7.

Furthermore it is evident, that Baptiſm was ordain'd to be miniſtred in the Element of [2] Water, to teach us, that like as Water outwardly doth waſh away the filth of the Body, ſo inwardly doth the Vertue of Chriſt's Blood purge our Souls from that Corruption and deadly Poiſon, wherewith [3] by nature we were infected; whoſe venomous [4] Dregs, altho they continue in this our Fleſh, yet by the merits of his Death [5] are not imputed unto us, becauſe the juſtice of Jeſus Chriſt is made [6] ours by Baptiſm: not that we think any ſuch Vertue or Power to be included in the viſible Water or outward Action (for many have been baptiz'd, and yet never inwardly purg'd) but that our Saviour Chriſt, who commanded Baptiſm to be miniſtred, will, by the power of his Holy Spirit, effectually work in the Hearts of his [7] Elect in time convenient, all that is meant and ſignify'd by the ſame. And this the Scripture calleth our [8] Regeneration, which ſtandeth chiefly in theſe two points; in Mortification, that is

[2] Mat. 3.
1 Pet. 3.
1 John 5.
1 Cor. 10.
[3] Eph. 2.
[4] Rom. 7.
[5] Rom. 4.
Gal. 3. Pſ.32.
[6] Rom. 6.
Gal. 3.
*As* Judas, Simon Magus, Hymenæus, Alexander, Philetus.
[7] Acts 2. 13.
[8] Eph. 3.
1 Cor 12.
Rom.6.Col.2.

to ſay, a reſiſting of the rebellious Luſts of the Fleſh, and in newneſs of Life, whereby we continually ſtrive to walk in that Pureneſs and Perfection, wherewith we are clad in Baptiſm.

And altho we in the Journy of this Life be incumber'd with many Enemies, which in the way aſſail us, yet we fight not without fruit. For this continual Battel which we fight againſt Sin, Death, and Hell, is a moſt infallible Argument, that God the Father, mindful of his Promiſe made unto us in Chriſt Jeſus, doth not only give us motions and courage to reſiſt them, but alſo aſſurance to overcome and obtain Victory. Wherefore, dearly beloved, it is not only of neceſſity that we be once baptiz'd, but alſo it much profiteth oft to be preſent at the Miniſtration thereof, that we (being put in mind of the League and Covenant made between God and us, that he will be our God and we his People, he our Father and we his Children) may have occaſion as well to try our Lives paſt, as our preſent Converſation, and to prove our ſelves, whether we ſtand faſt in the Faith of God's Elect, or contrariwiſe have ſtray'd from him thro [1] Incredulity and ungodly Living: whereof if our Conſciences do accuſe us, yet by hearing the loving Promiſes of our heavenly Father (who calleth all men to Mercy by [2] Repentance) we may from henceforth walk more warily in our Vocation. Moreover, ye that be Fathers and Mothers, may take hereby moſt ſingular comfort, to ſee your Children thus receiv'd into the boſom of Chriſt's Congregation, whereby you are daily admoniſh'd, that ye nouriſh and bring up the Children of God's Favour and Mercy, over whom his fatherly Providence [3] watcheth continually; which thing as it ought greatly to rejoice you, knowing that [4] nothing can come unto them without his good pleaſure, ſo ought it to make you diligent and careful, to nurture and inſtruct them in the [5] true Knowledg and Fear of God. Wherein if you be negligent, ye do not only injury to your own Children, hiding from them the good Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God their Father, but alſo heap Damnation upon your ſelves, in ſuffering his Children, bought with the Blood of his dear Son, ſo traitorouſly for lack of Knowledg to turn back from him. Therefore it it your Duty, with all diligence to provide that your Children in time convenient be inſtructed in all [1] Doctrine neceſſary for a true Chriſtian: chiefly that they be taught to reſt upon the Juſtice of Chriſt Jeſus alone, and to abhor and flee all Superſtition, Papiſtry, and Idolatry. Finally, to the intent that we may be aſſur'd that you the Father and the Surety conſent to the performance hereof, declare here before God and the face of his Congregation the Sum of that Faith, wherein you believe, and will inſtruct this Child.

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[1] Eph. 3. Col. 3. Heb. 1. [2] Ezek. 18. Acts 11. 13. 2 Pet. 3. Deut. 4. [3] Mat. 18. [4] Mat. 6. Luke 12. [5] Deut. 4. 6, 13. Eph. 6.

[1] Gen. 18. Deut. 32.

*The true uſe of the Catechiſm, to the execution whereof the Fathers and Godfathers bind themſelves.*

¶ *Then the Father, or in his abſence, the Godfather, ſhall rehearſe the Articles of his Faith: which done, the Miniſter explaineth the ſame as after followeth.*

THE Chriſtian Faith, whereof now ye have briefly heard the Sum, is commonly divided in twelve Articles: but that we may the better underſtand what is contain'd in the ſame, we ſhall divide it into four principal parts. The firſt ſhall concern God the Father. The ſecond Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. The third ſhall expreſs to us our Faith in the Holy Ghoſt. And the fourth and laſt ſhall declare what is our Faith concerning the Church, and of the Graces of God freely given to the ſame. Firſt, of God we confeſs three things, to wit, that he is our Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth. Our Father we call him, and ſo by Faith believe him to be, not ſo much becauſe he hath created us (for that we have common with the reſt of Creatures, who yet are not call'd to the honour to have God to them a favourable Father) but we call him Father by reaſon of his free Adoption, by the which he hath choſen us to Life everlaſting in Jeſus Chriſt: and this his moſt ſingular Mercy we prefer to all things earthly and tranſitory; for without this, there is to Mankind no Felicity, no Comfort, nor no final Joy: and having this, we are aſſur'd that by the ſame Love by the which he once hath freely choſen us, he ſhall ſo conduct the whole courſe of our Life, that in the end we ſhall poſſeſs that immortal Kingdom that he hath prepar'd for his choſen Children. For from this Fountain of God's free Mercy or Adoption, ſpringeth our Vocation, our Juſtification, our continual Sanctification, and finally our Glorification. As witneſſeth the Apoſtle.

*I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth.*

The ſame God our Father we confeſs Almighty, not only in reſpect of that he may do, but in conſideration that by his Power and godly Wiſdom are all Creatures in Heaven and

Earth, and under the Earth, ruled, guided and kept in that order that his eternal Knowledg and Will hath appointed them. And that is it which in the third part we do confeſs, that he is the Creator of Heaven and Earth, that is to ſay, that the Heaven and Earth, and the Contents thereof are ſo in his hand, that there is nothing done without his knowledg, neither yet againſt his will, but that he ruleth them ſo, that in the end his godly Name ſhall be glorify'd in them. And ſo we confeſs and believe, that neither the Devils, nor yet the wicked of the World have any power to moleſt or trouble the choſen Children of God, but in ſo far as it pleaſeth him to uſe them as Inſtruments, either to prove and try our Faith and Patience, or elſe to ſtir us to more fervent Invocation of his Name, and to continual Meditation of that heavenly Reſt and Joy that abideth us after theſe tranſitory Troubles. And yet ſhall not this excuſe the Wicked, becauſe they never look in their Iniquity to pleaſe God, nor yet to obey his Will.

*And in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord.*

*Conceiv'd by the Holy Ghoſt,*

*Born of the Virgin* Mary.

In Jeſus Chriſt we confeſs two diſtinct and perfect Natures, to wit, the eternal Godhead and the perfect Manhood join'd together: ſo that we confeſs and believe, that that eternal Word which was from the beginning, and by the which all things were created, and yet are conſerv'd and kept in their being, did in the time appointed in the Counſel of his heavenly Father, receive our Nature of a Virgin, by Operation of the Holy Ghoſt. So that in his Conception we acknowledg and believe, that there is nothing but Purity and Sanctification; yea, even inſomuch as he is become our Brother. For it behov'd him that ſhould purge others from their Sins, to be pure and clean from all ſpot of Sin, even from his Conception. And as we confeſs and believe him conceiv'd by the Holy Ghoſt; ſo do we confeſs and believe him to be born of a Virgin nam'd *Mary*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, and of the Family of *David*, that the Promiſe of God and the Prophecy might be fulfill'd, to wit, that the Seed of the Woman ſhould break down the Serpent's head, and that a Virgin ſhould conceive and bear a Child, whoſe Name ſhould be *Emanuel*, that is to ſay, God with us. The name Jeſus, which ſignifieth a Saviour, was given unto him by the Angel, to aſſure us, that it is he alone that ſaveth his People from their Sins. He is call'd Chriſt, that is to ſay Anointed, by reaſon of the Offices given unto him by God his Father, to wit, that he alone is appointed King, Prieſt, and Prophet. King, in that all Power is given to him in Heaven and Earth; ſo that there is none other but he in Heaven nor Earth, that hath juſt Authority and Power to make Laws to bind the Conſciences of Men; neither yet is there any other that may defend our Souls from the Bondage of Sin, nor yet our Bodies from the Tyranny of Man: And this he doth by the Power of his Word, by the which he draweth us out of the Bondage and Slavery of Satan, and maketh us to reign over Sin, whilſt that we live and ſerve our God in Righteouſneſs and Holineſs of our Life. A Prfeſt, and that perpetual and everlaſting, we confeſs him, by reaſon that by the Sacrifice of his own Body, which he once offer'd up upon the Croſs, he hath fully ſatisfy'd the Juſtice of his Father in our behalf: ſo that whoſoever ſeeketh any means beſides his Death and Paſſion in Heaven or in Earth to reconcile them unto God's Favour, they do not only blaſpheme, but alſo ſo far as in them is, renounce the Fruit and Efficacy of that his only one Sacrifice. We confeſs him to be the only Prophet, who hath reveal'd unto us the whole Will of his Father in all things pertaining to our Salvation. This our Lord Jeſus we confeſs to be the only Son of God, becauſe there is none ſuch by Nature, but he alone. We confeſs him alſo our Lord, not only by reaſon we are his Creatures, but chiefly becauſe he hath redeem'd us by his precious Blood, and ſo hath gotten juſt dominion over us, as over the People whom he hath deliver'd from Bondage of Sin, Death, Hell, and the Devil, and hath made us Kings and Prieſts to God his Father.

*Suffer'd under* Pontius Pilate; *was crucify'd.*

*Dead and bury'd, He deſcended into Hell.*

We farther confeſs and believe, that the ſame our Lord Jeſus was accus'd before an earthly Judg, *Pontius Pilate*; under whom albeit oft and divers times he was pronounc'd to be innocent, he ſuffer'd the Death of the Croſs, hang'd upon a Tree betwixt two Thieves. Which Death, as it was moſt cruel and vile before the eyes of Men, ſo was it accurſed by the mouth of God himſelf, ſaying, *Curſed is every one that hangeth on a Tree.* And this kind of Death ſuſtain'd he in our Perſon, becauſe he was appointed of God his Father to be our Pledg, and he that ſhould bear the Puniſhment of our Tranſgreſſions. And ſo we acknowledg and believe, that he hath taken away that Curſe and Malediction that hang'd on us by reaſon of Sin. He verily died rendring up his Spirit into the hands of his Father, after that he had ſaid, *Father into thy hands I commend my Spirit.* After his death we confeſs his Body was buried, and that he deſcended to the Hell. But becauſe he was the Author of Life, yea the very Life it ſelf, it was im-

impoſſible that he ſhould be retain'd under the dolors of Death.

*The third day he roſe again from the dead.*

And therefore the third Day he roſe again, Victor and Conqueror of Death and Hell: by the which his Reſurrection he hath brought Life again into the World, which he by the Power of his holy Spirit, communicateth unto his lively Members: ſo that now unto them corporal Death is no Death, but an entrance into that bleſſed Life, wherein our Head Jeſus Chriſt is now enter'd.

*He aſcended into Heaven, he ſitteth at the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty.*

For after that he had ſufficiently prov'd his Reſurrection to his Diſciples, and unto ſuch as conſtantly did abide with him unto the death; he viſibly aſcended to the Heavens, and was taken from the eyes of Men, and plac'd at the Right hand of God the Father Almighty, where preſently he remaineth in his Glory, only Head, only Mediator, and only Advocate for all the Members of his Body: of which we have moſt eſpecial comfort. Firſt for that, that by his Aſcenſion the Heavens are open'd unto us, and an entrance made to us, that boldly we may appear before the Throne of our Father's Mercy. And ſecondarily, that we know that this Honour and Authority is given unto Jeſus Chriſt our Head in our name, and for our profit and utility.

*From thence he ſhall come to judg the Quick and the Dead.*

For albeit that in body he now be in Heaven, yet by the power of his Spirit he is preſent here with us, as well to inſtruct us, as to comfort and maintain us in all our Troubles and Adverſities. From the which he ſhall finally deliver his whole Church, and every true Member of the ſame, in that day when he ſhall viſibly appear again Judg of the Quick and Dead. For this finally we confeſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that as he was ſeen viſibly to aſcend, and ſo left the World, as touching that Body that ſuffer'd and roſe again; ſo do we conſtantly believe, that he ſhall come from the Right Hand of his Father, when all eyes ſhall ſee him; yea, even thoſe that have pierc'd him. And then ſhall be gather'd as well thoſe that then ſhall be found alive, as that before have ſlept.

Mat. 25.

Separation ſhall be made betwixt the Lambs and the Goats, that is to ſay, betwixt the Elect and the Reprobate: The one ſhall hear this joyful Voice, *Come ye bleſſed of my Father, poſſeſs the Kingdom that is prepar'd for you before the beginning of the World.* The other ſhall hear that fearful and irrevocable Sentence, *Depart from me, ye Workers of Iniquity, to the Fire that never ſhall be quench'd.* And for this cauſe this Day in the Scriptures is call'd the Day of refreſhing, and of the Revelation of all Secrets: becauſe that then the Juſt ſhall be deliver'd from all Miſeries, and ſhall be poſſeſs'd in the fulneſs of their Glory. Contrariwiſe, the Reprobate ſhall receive judgment and recompence of all their Impiety, be it openly or ſecretly wrought.

*I believe in the Holy Ghoſt.*

As we conſtantly believe in God the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt, as before is ſaid; ſo do we aſſuredly believe in the Holy Ghoſt, whom we confeſs God equal with the Father and the Son, by whoſe working and mighty Operation our Darkneſs is remov'd, our Eyes ſpiritual are illuminated, our Souls and Conſciences ſprinkled with the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and we retain'd in the Truth of God, even to our lives end. And for theſe cauſes we underſtand that this eternal Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son, hath in the Scriptures divers Names. Sometimes call'd Water, by reaſon of Purgation, and giving Strength to this our corrupt Nature to bring forth good Fruit: without whom this our Nature ſhould utterly be barren, yea it ſhould utterly abound in all wickedneſs. Sometimes the ſame Spirit is call'd Fire, by reaſon of the Illumination and burning Heat of Fire that he kindleth in our Hearts. The ſame Spirit alſo is call'd Oil or Unction, by reaſon that his working mollifieth the hardneſs of our hearts, and maketh us receive the Print of that Image of Jeſus Chriſt, by whom only we are ſanctify'd.

*The holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints.*

We conſtantly believe that there is, was, and ſhall be, even till the coming of the Lord Jeſus, a Church, which is holy and univerſal, to wit, the Communion of Saints. This Church is holy, becauſe it receiveth free Remiſſion of Sins, and that by Faith only in the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt. Secondly, becauſe it being regenerate, it receiveth the Spirit of Sanctification, and power to walk in newneſs of Life, and in good Works, which God hath prepar'd his Choſen to walk in. Not that we think that the Juſtice of this Church, or of any Member of the ſame, ever was, is, or yet ſhall be ſo full and perfect, that it needeth not to ſtoop under Mercy: but that becauſe the Imperfections are pardon'd, and the Juſtice of Jeſus Chriſt imputed unto ſuch as by true Faith cleave unto him. Which Church we call Univerſal, becauſe it conſiſteth and ſtandeth of all Tongues and Nations, yea of all Eſtates and Conditions of Men and Women, whom of his mercy God calleth from Darkneſs to Life, and from the Bondage and Thraldom of Sin, to his ſpiritual Service and Purity of Life. Unto whom alſo he communicateth his holy Spirit, giving unto them one Faith, one Head and ſovereign Lord, the Lord Jeſus, one Baptiſm, and right Uſe of Sacraments: whoſe Hearts alſo he knitteth together in Love and Chriſtian Concord. To this Church holy and univerſal, we acknowledg and believe three notable Gifts to be granted, to wit, Remiſſion of Sins, which by true Faith muſt be obtain'd in this life. Reſurrection of the Fleſh, which all ſhall have, albeit not in equal condition. For the Reprobate (as before is ſaid) ſhall riſe, but to fearful Judgment and Condemnation, and the Juſt ſhall riſe to be poſſeſs'd in Glory. And this Reſurrection ſhall not be an Imagination, or that one Body ſhall riſe for another; but every man ſhall receive in his own Body as he hath deſerv'd, be it good or evil. The Juſt ſhall receive the Life everlaſting, which is the free gift of God given and purchas'd to his Choſen by Jeſus Chriſt our only Head and Mediator: To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory now and ever.

*The Forgiveneſs of Sins, the Reſurrection of the Body, and the Life everlaſting.*

*Then followeth this Prayer.*

ALmighty and everlaſting God, which of thine infinite Mercy and Goodneſs haſt promis'd unto us, that thou wilt not only be our God, but alſo the God and Father of our Children: we beſeech thee, that as thou haſt vouchſafed to call us to be partakers of this thy great Mercy in the [1] Fellowſhip of Faith; ſo it may pleaſe thee to ſanctify with thy [2] Spirit, and to receive into the number of thy Children this Infant, whom we ſhall baptize according to thy [3] Word; to the end that he coming to perfect age, may [4] confeſs thee only the true God, and whom thou haſt ſent, Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo ſerve him, and be [5] profitable unto his Church, in the whole courſe of his life; that after this life be ended, he may be brought as a lively Member of his Body unto the full Fruition of thy [6] Joys in the Heavens, where thy Son our Saviour Chriſt reigneth world without end. In whoſe name we pray as he hath taught us,

[1] Gal. 3. 1 Pet. 1. Phil. 3.
[2] Rom. 3. 2 Cor. 5. Rom. 8. Eph. 2.
[3] Mat. 28. Mar. 16. Acts 2.
[4] Rom. 10. John 17.
[5] Rom. 12. 1 Cor. 12. 1 Theſſ. 5.
[6] 1 Cor. 2. Rom. 6. Tit. 3.

*Our Father*, &c.

¶ *When they have pray'd in this ſort, the Miniſter requireth the Child's Name, which known, he ſaith,* *N.* I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

¶ *And as he ſpeaketh theſe words, he taketh Water in his hand, and layeth it upon the Child's Forehead; which done, he giveth thanks, as followeth:*

FOraſmuch, moſt holy and merciful Father, as thou doſt not only beautify and bleſs us with common Benefits like unto the reſt of Mankind, but alſo heapeſt upon us moſt abundantly rare and wonderful Gifts, of duty we lift up our eyes and minds unto thee, and give thee moſt humble thanks for thine infinite goodneſs, which haſt not only number'd us among thy Saints, but alſo of thy free mercy doſt caſt our Children unto thee, marking them with this Sacrament, as a ſingular token and badge of thy Love. Wherefore, moſt loving Father, tho we be not able to deſerve this ſo great a Benefit (yea, if thou wouldeſt handle us according to our merits, we ſhould ſuffer the Puniſhment of eternal Death and Damnation) yet for Chriſt's ſake we beſeech thee, that thou wilt confirm this thy favour more and more towards us, and take this Infant into thy tuition and defence, whom we offer and preſent unto thee with common Supplications, and never ſuffer him to fall to ſuch Unkindneſs, whereby he ſhould [1] loſe the force of Baptiſm, but that he may perceive thee continually to be his merciful Father, thro thine holy Spirit working in his heart, by whoſe divine Power he may ſo prevail againſt Satan, that in the end obtaining the Victory, he may be exalted into the Liberty of thy Kingdom. So be it.

[1] 2 Cor. 5.

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## *The Manner of the Lord's Supper.*

¶ *The day when the Lord's Supper is miniſter'd, which commonly is uſed once a month, or ſo oft as the Congregation ſhall think expedient, the Miniſter uſeth to ſay as followeth.*

LET us mark, dear Brethren, and conſider, how Jeſus Chriſt did ordain unto us his holy Supper, according as St. *Paul* maketh rehearſal in the 11th Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, ſaying,

*I have receiv'd of the Lord that which I have deliver'd unto you, to wit, that the Lord Jeſus, the ſame night he was betray'd, took*

*Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, ſaying, Take ye, eat ye, this is my Body which is broken for you, do you this in remembrance of me. Likewiſe after Supper he took the Cup, ſaying, This Cup is the New Teſtament or Covenant in my Blood: Do ye this, ſo oft as ye ſhall drink thereof, in remembrance of me. For ſo oft as you ſhall eat this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye ſhall declare the Lord's death until his coming. Therefore whoſoever ſhall eat this Bread, and drink the Cup of the Lord unworthily, he ſhall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Then ſee that every man prove and try himſelf, and ſo let him eat of this Bread and drink of this Cup: For whoſoever eateth or drinketh unworthily, he eateth and drinketh his own Damnation, for not having due regard and conſideration of the Lord's Body.*

¶ *This done, the Miniſter proceedeth to the Exhortation.*

DEarly beloved in the Lord, foraſmuch as we be now aſſembled to celebrate the holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt; let us conſider theſe words of St. *Paul*, how he exhorteth all Perſons diligently to try and examine themſelves, before they preſume to eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup. For as the Benefit is great, if with a truly penitent Heart and lively Faith we receive that holy Sacrament (for then we [1] ſpiritually eat the fleſh of Chriſt, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Chriſt, and Chriſt in us; we be one with Chriſt, and Chriſt with us) ſo is the danger great, if we receive the ſame unworthily: for then we be guilty of the Body and Blood of Chriſt our Saviour, we eat and drink our own Damnation, not conſidering the Lord's Body; we kindle God's wrath againſt us, and provoke him to plague us with divers Diſeaſes and ſundry kinds of Death.

And therefore in the Name and Authority of the eternal God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, I excommunicate from this Table all Blaſphemers of God, all Idolaters, all Murderers, all Adulterers, all that be in malice or envy, all diſobedient Perſons to Father or Mother, Princes or Magiſtrates, Paſtors or Preachers, all Thieves, and Deceivers of their Neighbours; and finally, all ſuch as live a life directly fighting againſt the will of God: charging them, as they will anſwer in the preſence of him who is the righteous Judg, that they preſume not to prophane this moſt holy Table. And yet this I pronounce not to ſeclude any penitent Perſon, how grievous ſoever his Sins before have been, ſo that he feel in his heart unfeign'd Repentance for the ſame; but only ſuch as continue in ſin without repentance. Neither yet is this pronounc'd againſt ſuch as

[1] John 6.

as aſpire to a greater Perfection than they can in this preſent Life attain unto.

For albeit we feel in our ſelves much frailty and wretchedneſs, as that we have not our Faith ſo perfect and conſtant as we ought, being many times ready to diſtruſt God's goodneſs thro our corrupt Nature, and alſo that we are not ſo throughly given to ſerve God, neither have ſo fervent a Zeal to ſet forth his glory, as our Duty requireth, feeling ſtill ſuch rebellion in our ſelves, that we have need daily to [1] fight againſt the Luſts of our fleſh: yet nevertheleſs, ſeeing that our Lord hath dealt thus mercifully with us, that he hath printed his [2] Goſpel in our hearts, ſo that we are preſerv'd from falling into deſperation and miſbelief: And ſeeing alſo he hath endu'd us with a [3] will and deſire to renounce and withſtand our own Affections, with a longing for his Righteouſneſs and the keeping of his Commandments; we may be now right well aſſur'd, that thoſe Defaults and manifold Imperfections in us, ſhall be no hindrance at all againſt us, to cauſe him not to accept and impute us as worthy to come to his ſpiritual Table. For the end of our coming thither, is not to make proteſtation [4] that we are upright or juſt in our Lives, but contrariwiſe we come to ſeek our Life and Perfection in Jeſus Chriſt, acknowledging in the mean time, that we of our ſelves be the Children [5] of wrath and damnation.

[1] Gal. 5.

[2] Heb. 8. Jer. 31. Iſa. 59.

[3] Rom. 7. Philip. 1.

[4] Luke 18.

[5] Eph. 2. 2. Luke 8.

Let us conſider then, that this Sacrament is a ſingular Medicine for all poor ſick Creatures, a comfortable Help to weak Souls, and that our Lord requireth no other worthineſs on our parts, but that we unfeignedly acknowledg our Naughtineſs and Imperfection. Then to the end that we may be worthy Partakers of his Merits, and moſt comfortable Benefits (which is the true eating of his [6] Fleſh and drinking of his Blood) let us not ſuffer our minds to wander about the conſideration of theſe earthly and corruptible things (which we ſee preſent to our eyes, and feel with our hands) to ſeek Chriſt bodily preſent in them, as if he were inclos'd in the Bread or Wine, or as if theſe Elements were turn'd and chang'd into the Subſtance of his Fleſh and Blood. For the only way to diſpoſe our Souls to receive nouriſhment, relief, and quickning of his Subſtance, is to lift up our minds by Faith above all things worldly and ſenſible, and thereby to enter into Heaven, that we may find and receive Chriſt,

[6] John 6.

where he [1] dwelleth undoubtedly very God and very Man, in the incomprehenſible Glory of his Father: To whom be all praiſe, honour and glory now and ever. *Amen.*

¶ *The Exhortation ended, the Miniſter cometh down from the Pulpit, and ſitteth at the Table, every man and woman in like wiſe taking their place as occaſion beſt ſerveth; then he taketh* [2] *Bread, and giveth thanks either in theſe words following, or like in effect.*

O Father of Mercy and God of all Conſolation, ſeeing [3] all Creatures do acknowledg and confeſs thee as Governour and Lord, it becometh us, the Workmanſhip of thine own hands, at all times to reverence and magnify thy godly Majeſty: firſt, for that thou haſt created us to thine own [4] Image and Similitude, but chiefly becauſe thou haſt deliver'd us from that everlaſting [5] Death and Damnation, into the which Satan drew Mankind by the means of Sin; from the bondage whereof neither Man nor Angel was [6] able to make us free. But thou, O Lord, rich in mercy and infinite in goodneſs, haſt provided our Redemption to ſtand in thine only and well-beloved Son, whom of very [7] love thou didſt give to be made Man like [8] unto us in all things, Sin [9] excepted, that in his Body he might receive the Puniſhment of our [10] Tranſgreſſion, by his death to make [11] ſatisfaction to thy Juſtice, and by his Reſurrection [12] to deſtroy him that was Author of Death, and ſo to bring again [13] Life to the World, from which the whole Offspring of [14] *Adam* moſt juſtly was exil'd.

O Lord, we acknowledg that no Creature is able to [15] comprehend the Length and Breadth, the Deepneſs and Height of that thy moſt excellent Love, which moved thee to ſhew mercy where none was [16] deſerv'd; to promiſe and give Life, where Death had gotten the victory; to receive us into thy Grace, when we could do nothing but rebel againſt thy Juſtice. O Lord, the blind Dulneſs of our corrupt Nature will not ſuffer us ſufficiently to weigh theſe thy moſt ample Benefits: yet neverthleſs at the [17] commandment of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, we preſent our ſelves to this his Table (which he hath left to be uſed in [1] remembrance of his death until his coming again) to declare and witneſs before the world, that by him alone we have receiv'd [2] Liberty and Life; that by him alone thou doſt acknowledg us thy Children and [3] Heirs; that by him alone we have [4] entrance to the Throne of thy Grace; that by him alone we are [5] poſſeſs'd in our ſpiritual Kingdom, to eat and drink at his [6] Table, with whom we have [7] converſation preſently in Heaven, and by whom our Bodies ſhall be rais'd up again from the duſt, and ſhall be plac'd with him in that endleſs Joy, which thou, O Father of mercy, haſt prepar'd for thine Elect [8] before the Foundation of the World was laid. And theſe moſt ineſtimable Benefits, we acknowledg and confeſs to have receiv'd of thy [9] free Mercy and Grace, by thine only beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt: for the which therefore we thy Congregation, [10] moved by thine holy Spirit, render all thanks, praiſe and glory, for ever and ever.

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[1] 1 Tim. 6. [2] Mat. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22. 1 Cor. 11. [3] Revel. 5. [4] Gen. 1. [5] Eph. 2. Gal 1. Gen. 3. [6] Acts 4. Heb. 1. Rev. 5. [7] John 3. [8] Heb. 8. [9] Heb. 4. [10] 1 Pet. 2. Iſa. 45. & 53. [11] Mat. 3. 17. Jer. 3. Heb. 8. Rom. 5. [12] Heb. 2. [13] John 6. [14] Gen. 3. Rom. 5. [15] Eph. 3. [16] Eph. 2. [17] Mat. 16. Luke 22.

¶ *This done, the Miniſter breaketh the Bread, and delivereth it to the People, who diſtribute and divide the ſame among themſelves, according to our Saviour Chriſt's Commandment, and likewiſe giveth the Cup. During the which time, ſome place of the Scriptures is read, which doth lively ſet forth the Death of Chriſt, to the intent that our Eyes and Senſes may not only be occupied in theſe outward Signs of Bread and Wine, which are call'd the viſible Word, but that our Hearts and Minds alſo may be fully fixt in the contemplation of the Lord's death, which is by this holy Sacrament repreſented. And after the Action is done, he giveth thanks, ſaying,*

MOST merciful Father, we render to thee all praiſe, thanks, and glory, for that it hath pleas'd thee of thy great mercies to grant unto us miſerable Sinners ſo excellent a Gift and Treaſure, as to receive us into the fellowſhip and company of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, whom thou haſt deliver'd to death for us, and haſt given him unto us, as a neceſſary Food and Nouriſhment unto everlaſting Life. And now we beſeech thee alſo, O heavenly Father, to grant us this requeſt, that thou never ſuffer us to become ſo unkind, as to forget ſo worthy Benefits, but rather imprint and faſten them

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[1] 1 Cor. 11. [2] Rom. 8. 1 Pet. 1. Eph. 5. [3] Eph. 2. Heb. 4. Rom. 3. John 5. Gal. 5. [4] Eph. 2. [5] Mat. 25. John 14. Luke 12. [6] Luke 22. Rev. 2. [7] Phil. 3. Eph. 2. [8] Eph. 1. Rev. 13. [9] Rom. 3. Eph. 2. [10] Rom. 8. Mat. 26.

[1] Luke 17.
[2] Gal. 5.
[3] 1 Tim. 4.
Eph. 5.
2 Pet. 3.
[4] Mat. 5.
1 Pet. 2.

ſure in our hearts, that we may [1] grow and increaſe daily more and more in true Faith, which continually is [2] exercis'd in all manner of good Works: and ſo much the rather, O Lord, confirm us in theſe [3] perillous days and rages of Satan, that we may conſtantly ſtand and continue in the confeſſion of the ſame, to the advancement of thy [4] glory, which art God over all things, bleſſed for ever. So be it.

¶ *The Action thus ended, the People ſing the 103d Pſalm*; My Soul give laud, *&c. or ſome other of Thankſgiving: which ended, one of the Bleſſings before-mention'd is recited, and ſo they riſe from the Table, and depart.*

## To the Reader.

Why this Order is obſerv'd rather than any other.

¶ *If ſo be that any would marvel why we follow rather this Order than any other, in the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament, let him diligently conſider, that firſt of all we utterly renounce the Error of the Papiſts. Secondly, We reſtore unto the Sacrament his own Subſtance, and to Chriſt his proper place. And as for the words of the Lord's Supper, we rehearſe them, not becauſe they ſhould change the Subſtance of the Bread or Wine, or that the Repetition thereof, with the intent of the Sacrificer, ſhould make the Sacrament (as the Papiſts falſly believe) but they are read and pronounc'd, to teach us how to behave our ſelves in that Action, and that Chriſt might witneſs unto our Faith, as it were with his own mouth, that he hath ordain'd theſe Signs for our ſpiritual Uſe and Comfort; we do firſt therefore examine our ſelves, according to St.* Paul's *Rule, and prepare our Minds, that we may be worthy Partakers of ſo high Myſteries. Then taking Bread, we give thanks, break and diſtribute it, as Chriſt our Saviour hath taught us. Finally, the Miniſtration ended, we give thanks again, according to his example; ſo that without his word and warrant, there is nothing in this holy Action attempted.*

## *The Form of Marriage.*

¶ *After the Banes or Contract hath been publiſh'd three ſeveral days in the Congregation (to the intent that if any perſon have intereſt or title to either of the Parties, they may have ſufficient time to make their challenge) the Parties aſſemble at the beginning of the Sermon, and the Miniſter at time convenient ſaith as followeth.*

### *Of Marriage, the Exhortation.*

DEarly beloved Brethren, we are here gather'd together in the ſight of God, and in the face of this Congregation, to knit and join theſe Parties together in the honourable Eſtate of Matrimony, which was inſtituted and authoris'd by God himſelf in Paradiſe, Man being then in the ſtate of Innocency. For what time God made Heaven and Earth, and all that is in them, and had created and faſhion'd Man alſo after his own ſimilitude and likeneſs, unto whom he gave Rule and Lordſhip over all the Beaſts of the Earth, Fiſhes of the Sea, and Fowls of the Air, he ſaid, *It is not good that Man live alone: let us make him an Helper like unto himſelf.* And God brought a faſt Sleep upon him, and took one of his ribs, and ſhaped *Eve* thereof: doing us thereby to underſtand, that Man and Wife are one Body, one Fleſh, and one Blood; ſignifying alſo unto us the [1] myſtical Union that is between Chriſt and his Church; for the which cauſe man [2] leaveth his Father and Mother, and taketh him to his Wife, to keep company with her; the which alſo he ought to love, even as our Saviour loveth his Church, that is to ſay, his [3] elect and faithful Congregation, for the which he gave his life.

And ſemblably alſo it is the [4] Wife's duty to ſtudy to pleaſe and obey her Husband, ſerving him in all things that be godly and honeſt: for ſhe is in ſubjection, and under the governance of her Husband, ſo long as they continue both alive. And this holy Marriage, being a thing moſt honourable, is of ſuch vertue and force, that thereby the Husband hath no more right or power over his own Body, but the Wife; and likewiſe the Wife hath no power over her own Body, but the Husband; foraſmuch as God hath ſo knit them

[1] Eph. 5.

[2] Gen. 2. Mat. 19. Mar. 10. 2 Cor. 6.

[3] John 17. Rom. 5. Heb. 9. 1 Pet. 3.

[4] Eph. 5. Col. 3. 1 Pet. 3. 1 Cor. 11. 1 Tim. 2.

them together in this mutual Society to the procreation of Children, that they ſhould bring them up in the Fear of the Lord, and to the increaſe of Chriſt's Kingdom.

Wherefore they that be thus coupled together by God, cannot be ſever'd or put apart, unleſs it be for a ſeaſon with the aſſent of both Parties, to the end to give themſelves the more fervently to Faſting and Prayer, giving diligent heed in the mean time, that their long being apart be not a ſnare to bring them into the danger of Satan, thro Incontinency: and therefore to avoid fornication every Man ought to have his own Wife, and every Woman her own Huſband. So that ſo many as cannot live chaſt, are [1] bound by the Commandment of God to marry, that thereby the holy [2] Temple of God, which is our Bodies, may be kept pure and undefil'd. For ſince our Bodies are now become the very Members of Jeſus Chriſt, how horrible and deteſtable a thing is it, to make them the Members of an Harlot? Every one ought therefore to keep his Veſſel in all [3] pureneſs and holineſs: for whoſoever [4] polluteth and defileth the Temple of God, him will God deſtroy.

[1] Mat. 19.
1 Cor. 7.
[2] 1 Cor. 3. & 6.
2 Cor. 6.
Levit. 26.
1 Pet. 1.
[3] 1 Theſſ. 4.
Rom. 12.
Eph. 5.
[4] 1 Cor. 3.

¶ *Here the Miniſter ſpeaketh to the Parties that ſhall be married, in this wiſe.*

I Require and charge you, as you will anſwer at the Day of Judgment, when the [1] Secrets of all hearts ſhall be diſclos'd, that if either of you do know any Impediment, why ye may not be lawfully join'd together in Matrimony, that ye confeſs it: for be ye well aſſur'd, that ſo many as be coupled otherwiſe than God's Word doth allow, are not join'd together by God, neither is their Matrimony lawful.

[1] 1 Cor. 4.
Mat. 7.
Rom. 2.

¶ *If no Impediment be by them declar'd, then the Miniſter ſaith to the whole Congregation:*

I Take you to witneſs that be here preſent, beſeeching you all to have good remembrance hereof: And moreover, if there be any of you, which knoweth that either of theſe Parties be contracted to any other, or knoweth any other lawful Impediment, let them now make declaration thereof.

¶ *If no cauſe be alledg'd, the Miniſter proceedeth, ſaying,*

FOraſmuch as no Man ſpeaketh againſt this thing, you *N.* ſhall proteſt here before God, and his holy Congregation, that you have taken, and are now contented to have *N.* here preſent for your lawful Wife, promiſing to keep her, to love and treat her in all things according to the Duty of a faithful Husband, forſaking all other during her life, and briefly to live in an holy Converſation with her, keeping faith and truth in all points, according as the Word of God and his holy Goſpel doth command.

*The Anſwer.*

Even ſo I take her before God, and in the preſence of this his Congregation.

*The Miniſter to the Spouſe alſo ſaith,*

YOU *N.* ſhall proteſt here before the face of God, in the preſence of this holy Congregation, that you have taken,
and are now contented to have *N.* here preſent
for your lawful Husband, promiſing to him [1] Sub- [1] 1 Cor. 11.
jection and Obedience, forſaking all other du- Eph. 5. Col. 3.
ring his life, and finally to live in an holy Con- 1 Tim. 2.
verſation with him, keeping faith and truth in 1 Pet. 3.
all points, as God's Word doth preſcribe. Eſther 2.

*The Anſwer.*

Even ſo I take him before God, and in the preſence of this his Congregation.

*The Miniſter then ſaith,*

GIVE diligent ear then to the Goſpel, that ye may underſtand how our Lord would have this holy Contract kept and obſerv'd, and how ſure and faſt a knot it is, which may in no wiſe be looſ'd, according as we be taught in the 19th Chapter of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel:

*The Phariſees came unto Chriſt to tempt him, and to grope his mind, ſaying, Is it lawful for a man to put away his Wife for every light cauſe? He anſwer'd, ſaying, Have ye not read, that he which created man at the beginning made them male and female? ſaying, For this thing ſhall man leave Father and Mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they twain ſhall be one Fleſh, ſo that they are no more two, but one Fleſh. Let no man therefore put aſunder that which God hath coupled together.*

If ye believe aſſuredly theſe words, which our Lord and Saviour did ſpeak (according as ye have heard them now rehears'd hears'd out of the holy Goſpel) then may you be certain, that God hath even ſo knit you together in this holy ſtate of Wedlock. Wherefore apply your ſelves to live together in godly Love, in Chriſtian peace and good Example, ever holding faſt the Band of Charity without any breach, keeping Faith and Truth the one to the other, even as God's Word doth appoint.

¶ *Then the Miniſter commendeth them to God, in this or ſuch-like ſort.*

The Lord ſanctify and bleſs you: The Lord pour the riches of his Grace upon you, that ye may pleaſe him, and live together in holy Love to your lives end. So be it.

¶ *Then is ſung the 128th Pſalm,* Bleſſed are they that fear the Lord, *&c. or ſome other appertaining to the ſame purpoſe.*

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## *The Viſitation of the Sick.*

BEcauſe the Viſitation of the Sick is a thing very neceſſary, and yet notwithſtanding it is hard to preſcribe all Rules appertaining thereunto, we refer it to the Diſcretion of the godly and prudent Miniſter, who, according as he ſeeth the Patient afflicted, either may lift him up with the ſweet Promiſes of God's Mercy thro Chriſt, if he perceive him much afraid of God's Threatnings; or contrariwiſe, if he be not touch'd with the feeling of his Sins, may beat him down with God's Juſtice: evermore like a ſkilful Phyſician framing his Medicine, according as the Diſeaſe requireth. And if he perceive him to want any Neceſſaries, he not only relieveth him according to his Ability, but alſo provideth by others that he may be furniſh'd ſufficiently. Moreover, the Party that is viſited may at all times for his comfort ſend for the Miniſter; who doth not only make Prayers for him there preſently, but alſo if it ſo require, commendeth him in the publick Prayers to the Congregation.

### *A Prayer to be ſaid in viſiting of the Sick.*

OH our good God, Lord and Father, the Creator and Conſerver of all things, the Fountain of all Goodneſs and Benignity, like as (among other thine infinite Benefits, which thou of thy great goodneſs and grace doſt diſtribute ordinarily unto all Men) thou giveſt them health of Body, to the end that they ſhould the better know thy great liberality, ſo that they might be the more ready to ſerve and glorify thee with the ſame; ſo contrariwiſe, when we have ill-behav'd our ſelves in offending thy Majeſty, thou haſt accuſtom'd to admoniſh us, and call us unto thee by divers and ſundry Chaſtiſements, thro the which it hath pleas'd thy Goodneſs to ſubdue and tame our frail Fleſh; but eſpecially by the grievous Plagues of Sickneſs and Diſeaſes, uſing the ſame as a mean to awake and ſtir up the great dulneſs and negligence that is in us all, and advertiſing us of our evil Life by ſuch Infirmitys and Dangers, eſpecially when as they threaten the very Death, which (as aſſur'd Meſſengers of the ſame) are all to the Fleſh full of extreme Anguiſh and Torments, altho they be notwithſtanding, to the Spirit of the Elect, as Medicines both good and wholeſom. For by them thou doſt move us to return unto thee for our Salvation, and to call upon thee in our Afflictions, to have thine help, which art our dear and loving Father.

In conſideration whereof, we moſt earneſtly pray unto thee our good God, that it would pleaſe thy infinite Goodneſs to have pity on this thy poor Creature, whom thou haſt as it were bound and ty'd to the Bed by moſt grievous Sickneſs, and brought to great extremity by the heavineſs of thine hand.

O Lord, enter not into accompt with him, to render the reward due unto his Works; but thro thine infinite Mercy remit all his faults, for the which thou haſt chaſtis'd him ſo gently, and behold rather the Obedience which thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord hath rendred unto thee, to wit, the Sacrifice which it pleas'd thee to accept as a full recompence for all the Iniquitys of them that receive him for their Juſtice and Sanctification, yea for their only Saviour.

Let it pleaſe thee, O God, to give him a true Zeal and Affection, to receive and acknowledg him for his only Redeemer, to the end alſo, that thou may'ſt receive this ſick Perſon to thy Mercy, qualifying all the Troubles which his Sins, the Horror of Death, and dreadful fear of the ſame, may bring to his weak Conſcience. Neither ſuffer thou, O Lord, the Aſſaults of the mighty Adverſary to prevail, or take from him the comfortable hope of Salvation, which thou giveſt to thy dearly beloved Children.

And foraſmuch as we are all ſubject to the like ſtate and condition, and to be viſited with like battel when it ſhall pleaſe thee to call us unto the ſame; we beſeech thee moſt humbly, O Lord, with this thy poor Creature, whom thou now preſently chaſtiſeſt, that thou wilt not extend thy rigorous judgment againſt him, but that thou wouldſt vouchſafe to ſhew him thy Mercy, for the love of thy dear Son, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; who, having ſuffer'd the moſt ſhameful and extreme Death of the Croſs, bare willingly the fault of this poor Patient, to the end that thou mighteſt acknowledg him as one redeem'd with his precious Blood, and receiv'd into the Communion of his Body, to be participant of eternal Felicity in the Company of thy bleſſed Angels. Wherefore, O Lord, diſpoſe and move his Heart to receive by thy Grace, with all Meekneſs, this gentle and fatherly Correction, which thou haſt laid upon him, that he may indure it patiently and with willing Obedience, ſubmitting himſelf with Heart and Mind to thy bleſſed Will and favourable Mercy, wherein thou now viſiteſt him after this ſort for his Profit and Salvation. It may pleaſe thy Goodneſs, O Lord, to aſſiſt him in all his Anguiſhes and Troubles: And altho the Tongue and Voice be not able to execute their Office in this behalf, to ſet forth thy Glory; that yet at the leaſt, thou wilt ſtir up his Heart to aſpire unto thee only, which art the only Fountain of Goodneſs; and that thou faſt root and ſettle in his Heart the ſweet Promiſes which thou haſt made unto us, in Chriſt Jeſus thy Son our Saviour, to the intent he may remain conſtant againſt all the Aſſaults and Tumults, which the Enemy of our Salvation may raiſe up to trouble his Conſcience.

And ſeeing it hath pleas'd thee, that by the Death of thy dear Son, Life Eternal ſhould be communicated unto us, and by the ſhedding of his Blood the waſhing of our Sins ſhould be declar'd, and that by his Reſurrection alſo, both Juſtice and Immortality ſhould be given us; it may pleaſe thee to apply this holy and wholeſome Medicine to this thy poor Creature in ſuch extremity, taking from him all trembling and dreadful Fear, and to give him a ſtout Courage in the midſt of all his preſent Adverſitys.

And foraſmuch as all things, O Heavenly Father, be known unto thee, and thou canſt, according to thy good pleaſure, miniſter unto him all ſuch things as ſhall be neceſſary and expedient; let it pleaſe thee, O Lord, ſo to ſatisfy him by thy Grace, as may ſeem moſt meet unto thy Divine Majeſty.

Receive him, Lord, into thy Protection, for he hath his recourſe and acceſs to thee alone, and make him conſtant and firm in thy Commandments and Promiſes, and alſo pardon all his Sins, both ſecret, and thoſe which are manifeſt, by the which he hath moſt grievouſly provok'd thy Wrath and ſevere Judgments againſt him; ſo as in place of Death (the which both he and all we have juſtly merited) thou wilt grant unto him that bleſſed Life, which we alſo attend and look for by thy Grace and Mercy.

Nevertheleſs, O heavenly Father, if thy good pleaſure be that he ſhall yet live longer in this World; it may then pleaſe thee to augment in him thy Graces, ſo as the ſame may ſerve unto thy Glory: yea, Lord, to the intent he may conform himſelf, the more diligently and with more carefulneſs, to the example of thy Son Chriſt Jeſus; and that in renouncing himſelf, he may cleave fully unto him, who to give Conſolation and Hope unto all Sinners, to obtain Remiſſion of all their Sins and Offences, hath carry'd with him, into the Heavens, the Thief which was crucify'd with him upon the Croſs.

But if the time by thee appointed be come that he ſhall depart from us unto thee, make him to feel in his Conſcience, O Lord, the fruit and ſtrength of thy Grace, that thereby he may have a new taſte of thy fatherly Care over him, from the beginning of his Life unto the very end of the ſame, for the love of thy dear Son, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

Give him thy Grace, that with a good heart and full aſſurance of Faith, he may receive to his Conſolation ſo great and excellent a Treaſure, to wit, the Remiſſion of his Sins in Chriſt Jeſus thy Son, who now preſenteth him to this poor Perſon in diſtreſs, by the vertue of thy Promiſes reveal'd unto him by thy Word, which he hath exercis'd with us in thy Church and Congregation, and alſo in uſing the Sacraments, which thou therein haſt eſtabliſh'd for confirmation of all their Faith that truſt in thee unfeignedly.

Let true Faith, O Lord, be unto him as a moſt ſure Buckler, thereby to avoid the Aſſaults of Death, and more boldly walk for the advancement of eternal Life, to the end that he, having a moſt lively apprehenſion thereof, may rejoice with thee in the Heavens eternally.

Let him be under thy Protection and Governance, O heavenly Father; and altho he be ſick, yet canſt thou heal him; he is caſt down, but thou canſt lift him up; he is ſore troubled, but thou canſt ſend redreſs; he is weak, thou canſt ſend ſtrength; he acknowledgeth his uncleanneſs, his ſpots, his filthineſs and iniquitys, but thou canſt waſh him and make him clean; he is wounded, but thou canſt miniſter moſt ſovereign Salves; he is fearful and trembling, but thou canſt give him good courage and boldneſs: To be ſhort, he is, as it were, utterly loſt, and as a ſtray'd Sheep, but thou canſt call him home to thee again. Wherefore, O Lord, ſeeing that this poor Creature (thine own Workmanſhip) reſigneth him wholly into thy hands, receive him into thy merciful Protection.

tion. Alſo we poor miſerable Creatures, which are, as it were, in the field ready to fight till thou withdraw us from the ſame, vouchſafe to ſtrengthen us by thine holy Spirit, that we may obtain the Victory in thy Name againſt our deadly and mortal Enemy: And furthermore, that the Affliction and Combat of this thy poor Creature in moſt grievous Torments, may move us to humble our ſelves with all reverent fear and trembling under thy mighty hand, knowing that we muſt appear before thy Judgment-Seat when it ſhall pleaſe thee ſo to appoint. But, O Lord, the Corruption of our frail Nature is ſuch, that we are utterly deſtitute of any means to appear before thee, except it pleaſe thee to make us ſuch as thou thy ſelf requireſt us to be; and further, that thou give us the Spirit of Meekneſs and Humility, to reſt and ſtay wholly on thoſe things which thou only commandeſt.

But foraſmuch as we be altogether unworthy to enjoy ſuch Benefits, we beſeech thee to receive us in the Name of thy dear Son, our Lord and Maſter, in whoſe Death and Satisfaction ſtandeth wholly the hope of our Salvation.

It may alſo pleaſe thee, O Father of Comfort and Conſolation, to ſtrengthen with thy Grace theſe which imploy their Travel and Diligence to the aiding of this ſick Perſon, that they faint not by overmuch and continual Labour, but rather to go heartily and chearfully forward in doing their Endeavors towards him; and if thou take him from them, then of thy Goodneſs to comfort them, ſo as they may patiently bear ſuch departing, and praiſe thy Name in all things. Alſo O heavenly Father, vouchſafe to have pity on all other ſick Perſons, and ſuch as be by any other ways or means afflicted, and alſo on thoſe who as yet are ignorant of thy Truth, and appertain nevertheleſs unto thy Kingdom.

In like manner on thoſe that ſuffer Perſecution, tormented in Priſon, or otherwiſe troubled by the Enemys of thy Verity, for bearing teſtimony to the ſame. Finally, on all the neceſſitys of thy People, and upon all the ruins or decays which Satan hath brought upon thy Church. O Father of Mercy ſpread forth thy Goodneſs upon all thoſe that be thine, that we forſaking our ſelves, may be the more inflam'd and confirm'd to reſt only upon Thee alone. Grant theſe our requeſts, O our dear Father, for the love of thy dear Son our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who liveth and reigneth with thee in Unity of the Holy Ghoſt, true God for evermore. So be it.

## *Of Burial.*

THE Corps is reverently brought to the Grave, accompany'd with the Congregation, without any further Ceremonys; which being bury'd, the Miniſter, if he be preſent and requir'd, goeth to the Church, if it be not far off, and maketh ſome comfortable Exhortation to the People touching Death and Reſurrection.

## *The Order of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline.*

*The Neceſſity of Diſcipline.*

AS no City, Town, Houſe or Family can maintain their Eſtate and proſper without Policy and Governance; even ſo the Church of God, which requireth more purely to be govern'd than any City or Family, cannot without Spiritual Policy and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline continue, increaſe and flouriſh. And as the Word of God is the Life and Soul of this Church; ſo this godly Order and Diſcipline is as it were Sinews in the Body, which knit and join the Members together with decent Order and Comlineſs: It is a bridle to ſtay the wicked from their Miſchiefs: It is a ſpur to prick forward ſuch as be ſlow and negligent; yea, and for all Men, it is the Father's Rod, even in a readineſs to chaſtiſe gently the faults committed, and to cauſe them afterward to live in more godly Fear and Reverence. Finally, it is an Order left by God unto his Church, whereby Men learn to frame their Wills and Doings according to the Law of God, by inſtructing and admoniſhing one another, yea and by correcting and puniſhing all obſtinate Rebels and Contemners of the ſame.

*What Diſcipline is.*

There are three Cauſes chiefly which move the Church of God to the executing of Diſcipline: Firſt, that Men of evil Converſation be not numbred among God's Children, to their Father's Reproach, as if the Church of God were a Sanctuary for naughty and vile Perſons. The ſecond reſpect is, that the good be not infected with accompanying the Evil; which thing St. *Paul* foreſaw, when he commanded the *Corinthians* to baniſh from among them the inceſtuous Adulterer, ſaying, *A little* [1] *Leven maketh ſour the whole Lump of Dough.* The third

*For what Cauſes it ought to be uſ'd.*

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[1] 1 Cor. 5. Gal. 5.

Cauſe is, that a Man thus corrected or excommunicated, might be [1] aſham'd of his fault, and ſo thro Repentance come to Amendment; the which thing the Apoſtle calleth delivering to Satan, that his Soul may be ſav'd in the day of the Lord; meaning, that he might be puniſh'd with Excommunication, to the intent his Soul ſhould not periſh for ever.

*The Order of proceeding in private Diſcipline.*

First therefore it is to be noted, that this Cenſure, Correction or Diſcipline, is either private or publick: private, as if a Man commit either in Manners or Doctrine againſt thee, to admoniſh him brotherly [2] between him and thee; if ſo be he ſtubbornly reſiſt thy charitable Advertiſements, or elſe by continuance in his fault, declare that he amendeth not; then, after he hath been the ſecond time warn'd in preſence of two or three Witneſſes, and continueth obſtinately in his Error, he ought, as our Saviour Chriſt commandeth, to be diſclos'd and utter'd to the Church; ſo that according to publick Diſcipline, he either may be receiv'd thro Repentance, or elſe be puniſh'd as his fault requireth.

*Publick Diſcipline.*

*What things are to be obſerv'd in private Diſcipline.*

And here, as touching private Diſcipline, three things are to be noted: Firſt, that our Admonitions proceed of a godly Zeal and Conſcience, rather ſeeking to win our Brother than to ſlander him. Next, that we be aſſur'd that his Fault be reprovable by God's Word. And finally, that we uſe ſuch Modeſty and Wiſdom, that if we ſomewhat doubt of the matter whereof we admoniſh him, yet with godly Exhortations he may be brought to the knowledg of his Fault. Or if the Fault appertain to many, or be known of divers, that our Admonitions be done in preſence of ſome of them.

Briefly, if it concern the whole Church, in ſuch ſort that the concealing thereof might procure ſome danger to the ſame; that then it be utter'd to the Miniſters and Seniors, to whom the Policy of the Church doth appertain.

*Of publick Diſcipline, and the End thereof.*

Alſo in publick Diſcipline it is to be obſerv'd, that the Miniſtry pretermit nothing at any time unchaſtis'd with one kind of Puniſhment or other, if they perceive any thing in the Congregation, either evil in Example, ſlanderous in Manners, or not becoming their Profeſſion: as if there be any covetous Perſon, any Adulterer, or Fornicator, forſworn Thief, Briber, falſe Witneſs-bearer, Blaſphemer, Drunkard, Slanderer, Uſurer, any Perſon diſobedient, ſeditious or diſſolute, any Hereſy or Sect, as Papiſtical, Anabaptiſtical, and ſuch like: briefly, whatſoever it be that might * ſpot the Chriſtian Congregation, yea, rather whatſoever is not to Edification, ought not to eſcape either Admonition or Puniſhment.

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[1] 2 Theſſ. 3. 1 Cor. 5. [2] Mat. 18. Luke 17. Jam. 5. Lev. 19. 2 Theſſ. 3.

* Eph. 5.

And becauſe it cometh to paſs ſometime in the Church of Chriſt, that when other Remedies eſſay'd profit nothing, they muſt proceed to the Apoſtolical Rod and Correction, as unto Excommunication (which is the greateſt and laſt Puniſhment belonging to the ſpiritual Miniſtry) it is ordain'd, that nothing be attempted in that behalf, without the determination of the whole Church; wherein alſo they muſt beware and take good heed, that they ſeem not more ready to expel from the Congregation, than to receive again thoſe, in whom they perceive worthy Fruits of Repentance to appear; neither yet to forbid him the hearing of Sermons, which is excluded from the Sacraments and other Dutys of the Church, that he may have liberty and occaſion to repent. Finally, that all Puniſhments, Corrections, Cenſures and Admonitions ſtretch no further than God's Word with Mercy may lawfully bear.

*Excommunication is the laſt Remedy.*

*Rigor in Puniſhment ought to be avoided.*

*God's Word is the only Rule of Diſcipline.*

Mat. 18. *If any refuſe to hear the Congregation, let him be to thee as an Heathen, and as a Publican.*

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# Phenix XXI.

## *The Burden of* Iſſachar *: or, the Tyrannical Power and Practices of the Presbyterian Government in* Scotland, *in their Parochial Seſſion, Presbytery, Provincial Synods, and General Aſſembly.*

*With the Articles of Presbyterian Faith inconſiſtent with Monarchy.*

Printed in 1646.

### *Of the Parochial Seſſion.*

*Firſt, Of the Seſſion, how and of whom conſtituted.*

EVERY Pariſh hath one or more Miniſters; if more, all of them are equal in all Honour and Juriſdiction, only the Senior hath the Precedency. To the Miniſter or Miniſters of each Pariſh, to make up a Seſſion, in which is fix'd the Parochial Juriſdiction, a competent number of Lay-Elders (whom they call *Presbyteri non docentes*) and Deacons, proportionable to the Precinct and Extent of the

Pariſh, are conjoin'd; which aſſociate Body thus compacted is the ſpiritual Parochial Sanhedrim.

This Seſſion ſits once a Week, or oftner, *pro re nata*; in which all Parochial Caſes, which concern external Order and Cenſure, are determin'd and order'd.

If there be but one Miniſter in the Pariſh, he is conſtant Moderator; if there be more, they moderate by turns, either weekly or monthly, as they agree.

*The Miniſter is Moderator.*

Whatſoever thing is order'd, determin'd, or decreed, is done by the joint Conſent of the Miniſter, Lay-Elders and Deacons, or by the plurality of Voices. The Miniſter, who is the Moderator, hath no caſting nor negative Voice.

*He hath no Negative Voice.*

The Power of all Juriſdiction is radically and equally in all, for binding, for looſing, for all Cenſures Eccleſiaſtical, for Orders which concern external Order and Worſhip; ſo the Power of the Keys is as much in the Lay-Elders and Deacons, as in the Miniſter or Miniſters. What ſacrilegious Intruſion upon ſacred Orders this is, I need not inform one of your Underſtanding.

*The Juriſdiction ſpiritual is radically in the Lay-Elders.*

To make this frame good, they maintain, that *Jure Divino* there be four Orders of Eccleſiaſtical Offices (allow me to ſpeak in this Epiſtle all along their Dialect) or Perſons. Firſt, *Preaching-Elders*, whom they call Miniſters. Secondly, *Doctors*, theſe are Profeſſors in the Chair, ſuch as are in Univerſitys. Thirdly, *Lay* or *Ruling-Elders*, who now have *vocem deliberativam & deciſivam in rebus fidei*, *Cultus*, *politia*, and *in foro exteriori Eccleſiæ, in cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis*; are as much intereſted and authoriz'd, as Preaching-Elders. Fourthly, *Deacons*, who have truſt of the Means and Monys deſtinated for pious and charitable Uſes.

*Their four ſacred Orders.*

This is very conſiderable too, that altho they hold theſe four Orders and Offices neceſſary for the Government of Chriſt's Church, *de Jure divino*, by divine Right and Inſtitution; yet neither the Parochial Conclave, nor any Presbyterial Conſiſtory (except it be where the Presbyterial Seat is in a City where an Univerſity is) have any Doctor or Doctors amongſt them. Nay, which is more, nor be any ſuch in their general Aſſemblys; or if they be, they appear only in that capacity, as Commiſſioners from and for the Univerſity.

It is worth your notice-taking, that their Lay-Elders and Deacons are yearly elected. Here is truly verify'd of them, that *Hodie Clericus, cras Laicus.*

*This Year they are Sacred, the next Profane.*

*The competent Caſes of this Seſſion.*

The things within the Compaſs of Seſſion-Juriſdiction, are things merely Parochial, the ordering of the Pariſh-Church and peculiar Service, the Cenſure of leſſer Scandals (I muſt ſpeak their words) as Fornication, Drunkenneſs, Scolding, Profanation of the Sabbath (they mean the Lord's Day) *&c.* Capital ſcandalous Crimes, or Scandals of higheſt ſtrain, are reſerv'd as Caſes of peculiar Juriſdiction for the Presbytery; as alſo leſſer Offences, when they are attended with Obſtinacy, and what is cenſurable or puniſhable by the greater Excommunication. If I miſtake not, they know not much, at leaſt uſe not much the leſſer Excommunication. In the Caſes above-mention'd, the Cognition, Examination, and Judgment of the Cauſe is proper to the *Presbytery*; the Miniſter with his Parochial Conclave, are only the Executioners. If any Parochial difficult Caſe occur, which this Parochial Sanhedrim cannot determine, the uſe is to conſult with the Presbytery.

*They enjoin civil Puniſhments and Fines.*

When the Seſſion cenſureth any Delinquent or ſcandalous Perſon, they order his publick and ſolemn Repentance (if by ſome ſuperiour Judicatory it be not determin'd) as they think fit, by plurality of Voices; after performance of which Order, the Penitent is receiv'd into the Communion of the Church. But before the Delinquent be admitted to do his Repentance, he is fin'd in a pecuniary Mulct, at their diſcretion, proportion'd to the demerit of the Offence, and the ability of the Perſon, as he is poorer or richer. It is true, this Mony is, for the moſt part, imploy'd to pious and charitable Uſes. As they puniſh by pecuniary Fines, ſo corporally too, by impriſoning the Perſons of the Delinquents, uſing them diſgracefully, carting them thro Citys, making them ſtand in *Jogs*, as they call them, Pillorys (which in the Country Churches are fix'd to the two ſides of the main Door of the Pariſh-Church) cutting the half of their Hair, ſhaving their Beards, *&c.* And it is more than ordinary, by their original and proper Power, to baniſh them out of the bounds and limits of the Pariſh or Presbytery, as they liſt to order it. Is not this *poteſtas utriuſque gladii?* And would not a good learned Juriſt ſay, that this is not only Intruſion upon merely civil Power, but upon the very Royal Rights themſelves? The Imperial Law, if I be not miſtaken, maketh Baniſhment ſo peculiar to the Sovereign Authority, that without its Power and Conſent, it cannot be inflicted upon any *Civis*, any Subject.

Their ordinary Practice more in this is, that when a pecuniary Mulct is inflicted, if the Delinquent pay not the defin'd and determin'd Sum, or at leaſt give ſecurity for the payment of it, altho he ſhould teſtify all the Contrition which is requiſite, by humble Confeſſion, and offer moſt willingly to do all Penance, to give all Satisfaction, he will not be admitted to ſatisfy publickly; nay, he is proceeded againſt for Contumacy, and they will threaten Excommunication.

*They will not baptize the Child, if either of the Parents have not paid the Fine, or ſatisfy'd the Church.*

Nor is that to be paſs'd by, that if a Child be born in Fornication, and either of the Parents hath not ſatisfy'd the Church, they will refuſe to baptize the poor Infant, till the Church get Satisfaction. This is conſonant with Scripture, *Anima quæ peccaverit, ipſa morietur.* It it fit now, in the next place, to ſpeak of

## *The Presbytery.*

WHICH is the next Judicatory, to which the Seſſion is ſubordinate: It hath in it ſomewhere more, ſomewhere fewer Pariſh-Churches; as ſome are made up of twenty, ſome of twelve, ſome of fewer.

All Perſons within theſe Pariſhes, within the Precinct of this Presbytery, of what quality ſoever (the King or his Family herein are not exempted, nay nor from the Juriſdiction of his Parochial Seſſion) are under the Power and Juriſdiction of this grand Conſiſtory.

*The Members Conſtituents of the Presbytery.*

The Members, Conſtituents of this Presbytery, are all the Parochial Miniſters within its Compaſs, and a Lay-Elder for each Pariſh. The Lay-Elders are in number equal to the Preaching-Elders; and in Power, Voice, Juriſdiction, in Hereſy, Idolatry, Worſhip, Cenſure, *&c.* are *pari conſortio honoris & poteſtatis præditi,* are ſo equal and uniform, that a Ploughman from the Plough, or a Tradeſman from his Shop, ſitting there in the capacity of a Lay-Elder, his Voice is as good as the Voice of the moſt reverend and learned Divine, if any be there. They maintain a parity in all, only a little difference in this, that a Lay-Elder cannot be Moderator, yet have they no Canon for it. And we are able to prove by their Books, that Men who were never in ſacred Orders of Prieſt or Biſhop, have been Moderators, not only of their Presbytery, but of their ſo much idoliz'd General Aſſembly.

Mr. *Robert Toole*, who was never Prieſt, nor Deacon, only Reader in St. *Andrews*, was in one turn, for a year, or half a year, or ſome laſting time, Moderator of the Presbytery of St. *Andrews*; and Mr. *George Buchanan*, who was never Churchman, and Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, who had never the Order of Deacon, both of them have been Moderators of their great General Aſſembly.

*The Caſes proper to it.*

The Caſes proper to this Judicatory, are, Firſt, Such as are from every individual Pariſh, within its Compaſs, refer'd or preſented. Secondly, All Crimes and Scandals of higheſt ſtrain, namely, ſuch as are civilly puniſhable by Death. Thirdly, All Crimes which come under the Cenſure of Excommunication. Fourthly, All Appeals from Seſſions. Fifthly, All Differences which cannot be compos'd or determin'd in the Parochial Conclave. Sixthly, The Viſitation and Cenſure of all that is amiſs in every Pariſh, either in Preacher or other. Seventhly, The appointing of Readers and School-maſters.

*The time of meeting.*

They meet once a Week in ſome places, in other places only once a Fortnight, all the Miniſters in their ſeveral turns, at their *Meeting-Exerciſe*, as they call it; that is, there is appointed by the Presbytery ſome one Book of Old or New Teſtament, which every one by turns in his own courſe interpreteth in the Pariſh-Church, where the Presbytery doth meet. Two always ſpeak, the firſt from the Reader's Desk or Pew, the other in ſome other place diſtant from him, but convenient for hearing. The firſt analyſeth, interpreteth, and taketh away the doubts of his Text; and (as they enjoin) he is bound to the Doctoral Part. The ſecond, when the firſt hath done, addeth to what is ſaid, hath a Warrant to ſupply the Defects, or correct the Errors of the firſt Speaker; but eſpecially, his Charge is the Paſtoral Part, to apply the Text, and bring it home to the Affections.

*Lay-Preachers.*

There be Ingredients in this Exerciſe, ſuch as God's Church before this late Age never knew, a kind of Creatures whom they call Expectants. Theſe are Students in Divinity, or Country School-maſters, or ſuch Youths who are bred with ſome *Gamaliel*; who after they have given their private Trials, by Preaching and Diſpute, are enrol'd Expectants of ſuch or ſuch a Presbytery. Theſe muſt keep their turns in exerciſing, and adding (as they call it) with the actual Miniſters (ſo they call them) and once admitted to that Presbytery, may, whenſoever imploy'd, preach in any Pariſh-Church within the bounds of that Presbytery, do all Miniſterial Acts, except baptize, or give the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (for ought I know, there is no Conſecration us'd by them in that holy Action, but a mere Thankſgiving) nay, they may be conſtant Helpers, and Co-preachers with a Rabby, if he, the Pariſh, and Presbytery agree to it. I pray you ſhew me wherever you read of ſuch a Profanation, that a Layman, without Orders, Impoſition of Hands, ſhall be a publick Preacher of God's Word, and intrude upon this ſacred Function. Theſe, for the moſt part, were the beardleſs Boys K. *James*, of bleſſed memory, mentioneth in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, *Who would brave him to his Face*, pag. 4.

Within one County there may be two or three, more or fewer Presbyterys, according as there be more or fewer Pariſh-Churches; and yet all theſe Presbyterys are independent one from another: only it is remarkable, that the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, becauſe (as they ſpeak) it is ſeated on the Watch-Tower, hath well nigh obtain'd by Cuſtom and other means a ſuperintending Power over all other Presbyterys; and other Presbyterys many times ſend thither, to have Reſolution of their difficult Caſes. The reaſon is, beſides the Eminency of this City by its Wealth, and the Reſidence of all higheſt Courts of Juſtice there, altho this allobrogical Brood maintain Parity, there be notwithſtanding ſome few Patriarchs who rule and over-rule all, who lord it and pope it over the Lord's Inheritance: and in this City ordinarily are ſome of theſe Patriarchs; and the *Reſponſa prudentum* from hence, are receiv'd as Oracles by remote Presbyterys, and reverenc'd as Anſwers by *Urim* and *Thummim*.

There is none who liveth within the Verge of a Presbytery, but is anſwerable to this Claſſis and Judicatory, and muſt appear whenſoever, or for whatſoever cited. The King and his Family are not exempted, nor privileg'd: if he be cited, and appear not, he may be excommunicated for his Diſobedience and Contumacy; if he appear, he muſt ſubmit his earthly Scepter to that their Scepter, which they term the Scepter of Chriſt; he muſt do what is enjoin'd. The Presbytery is independent from the Crown of an earthly King, who is God's and Chriſt's Vicegerent in the general Kingdom of his Providence only; but this Sanhedrim is Chriſt's Vicegerent in his oeconomical Kingdom, as Mediator, as they ſpeak, and conſequently to it he muſt vail his Crown, ſubmit his Scepter, and from it receive Chriſt's Laws and Ordinances.

King *James* of bleſſed memory knew this well, who therefore in that Conference at *Hampton-Court*, *pag.* 79. ſaith, *A* Scotiſh *Presbytery as well agreeth with a Monarchy as God and the Devil*;

*Devil*; *then* Jack *and* Tom, *and* Will *and* Dick *ſhall meet, and at their Pleaſures cenſure me, and my Council, and all my Proceedings. Then* Will *ſhall ſtand up and ſay, It muſt be thus*; *then* Dick *ſhall reply and ſay, Nay marry, but we will have it thus: And therefore here I muſt once reiterate my former Speeches* (the King is anſwering to Dr. *Rainolds*, who ſeemeth to beg of his Majeſty a Presbytery, or ſomething like to it) *Le Roy s'aviſera: Stay I pray you for one ſeven Years, before you demand that of me*; *and if you then find me purſey and fat, and my Windpipes ſtuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you*; *for let that Government be once up, I am ſure I ſhall be kept in breath, then ſhall we all of us have Work enough, both our Hands full: but Dr.* Rainolds, *till you find that I grow lazy, let that alone.*

*The Presbytery hath kept State with K.*James.

It is more than notoriouſly known to many yet living, and is upon Record in the Presbytery Books of *Edinburgh*, how King *James*, not once, but many times, hath ſent Men of Honour and good Quality, demanding or rather requeſting for ſome things at their hands, who have heard the Commiſſioners propoſe the King's Mind; but they, to keep the Power and Place Chriſt hath given them in that Dignity, ſutable to ſo high a Truſt, have diſmiſs'd the Gentlemen ſent by the King without Anſwer, and by an Order of that Spiritual Houſe have appointed one or two, as Commiſſioners of the Presbytery, to go to the King with their Will and Pleaſure, loſing nothing of Chriſt's Authority, and carrying themſelves with the King almoſt as if two free Eſtates, or two free Kings had met and were dealing together.

*All Caſes and Crimes are within the Cenſure of the Presbytery.*

As no Perſon is exempted from Obedience and Submiſſion to this Power, ſo no Crime or Sin whatſoever committed, or ſuſpected to be committed, within the Seignory of this petty Principality; and that ſometimes is ſo extravagantly and tranſcendently too look'd after, and call'd in queſtion (eſpecially if indiſcreet Zeal or holy Spleen work and move by the Spirit on a holy Brother) that if there be a Fact and Fault committed, ſecret or known to a very few, it is brought forth to the Light of the World. There is no care taken to reconcile the Lapſed to God in a private way, and to conceal his Offence, but diſgrac'd he is publickly. What ſound Repentance this may work, judg you. How conſonant this is to the Apoſtolical Canon, *They that ſin publickly, rebuke publickly*; and to the common Maxim of the Church, *De occultis non judicat Eccleſia*, he may eaſily ſee, who hath not divorc'd himſelf from common ſenſe and reaſon. To cure theſe ſecret Sins by the power of the Keys, *in interiori foro conſcientiæ*, and to cover them with the Mantle of Charity, ſmelleth rankly of auricular Confeſſion, Popiſh Abſolution, and *Sigillum confeſſionis.* See the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, *pag.* 93. It is certain, a fooliſh Man revealing fooliſhly his Faults to his Wife, the zealous Wife, upon ſome quarrelling betwixt her and her Husband, hath gone to a good Miniſter, reveal'd what was told her, and the honeſt impartial Miniſter hath convented the Man, charg'd him with his Sin, and made him confeſs, ſatisfy and do Penance publickly.

Nay, upon a Surmiſe, Suggeſtion, Suſpicion, or any Miſinformation, if the Miniſter or Lay-Elder delate (that is, preſent) two Perſons to converſe ſo familiarly, that it is to be fear'd that they are guilty of Fornication, if they be unmarried; or of Adultery, if both of them, or either of them be marry'd; they ſhall be cited and convented, examin'd by all Proofs, Preſumptions, Interrogatorys, *&c.* whether or not they have ſin'd. If that the Preſumptions be pregnant, altho no proof be, they ſhall be put in cloſe Priſon, fead on Bread and Water, kept that none may come at them, all Members Conſtituents of theſe Judicatorys appointed to try what they know againſt the next Court-Day. When no proof can be had, and all the Preſumptions do not faſten Guiltineſs upon the Accuſed, and the Impriſonment and other hard Uſages cannot extort a Confeſſion, they are diſmiſs'd: But an Act is enacted, that if thoſe two Perſons, ſuſpected of Fornication or Adultery, ſhall be ſeen to meet, or be in company together, except they meet in Church or Market, it ſhall be holden *pro confeſſo*, as confeſs'd, that they are guilty of what they are charg'd with.

*Crimes ſuſpected are curiouſly here inquir'd after.*

Nay, ſometimes the Partys, altho innocent, and no real Evidence being produc'd againſt them, are brought on the Lord's Day publickly to the middle of the Church before the Pulpit, to declare, ſometimes to confirm their Declaration by an Oath, that they are innocent and free of that Crime wherewith they are charg'd. And ſometimes they are forc'd to make their publick Repentance in the Church, upon a Pillory, for their unchriſtian Behaviour; becauſe that altho the Partys charg'd be free, yet their Converſation hath been ſuſpicious and ſcandalous.

A whole Volume might be written of young Women, by theſe Courſes diſgrac'd and defam'd, of many Familys divided and ſcatter'd; whereas before there was no jealouſy betwixt the Man and the Wife.

This Judicatory of the Presbytery is ſo high, and of ſo vaſt a latitude, that as the Pope bringeth in all civil Cauſes to himſelf as a competent Judg, *ſub formalitate peccati*; ſo this Papal Conclave bringeth any thing, howſoever merely and purely civil, under its laſh, *ſub formalitate ſcandali*, as ſcandalous to a Chriſtian Profeſſion.

*Presbyterian Government inconſiſtent with the Liberty of Trade and Commerce.*

It is not forgotten by many yet living, how the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* attempted to cenſure Eccleſiaſtically the Merchants there, for carrying Wheat to *Spain* in time of a Famine or Dearth there; for this was to feed and maintain God's Enemies. But above all, that was a *Piaculum*, an almoſt inexpiable Sin, to tranſport Wax to *Spain*; for this was to be acceſſory to Idolatry, in reſpect the greateſt part of this Wax was employ'd in making Tapers and Candles to the Virgin *Mary*, and other Saints.

*Inconſiſtent with the Authority of Civil Judicatories.*

In *St. Andrews*, *J. T.* was indebted to *P. T.* a conſiderable Sum of Mony, the greateſt part of his Stock. *J. T.* delaying or ſhuffling, or not able to pay *P. T.* at the Day of Payment deſign'd in the Bond, *P.T.* obtain'd before the Lords of Seſſion a Judgment againſt *J. T.* with power to demand Payment in the King's Name, and upon diſobedience to be out-law'd, and fall into a *Premunire*, or Eſcheating of his movable Goods and Chattels. *I. T.* bemoans himſelf to the Presbytery: The Presbytery convents *P. T.* before them, threatens him with Excommunication, if he did perſiſt to put in execution the Judgment of the higheſt Judicatory in the Kingdom: And for fear of this dreadful Court and horrid Sentence, he paſſes from his purſuit, continueth the demanding of repaying of his Mony. You ſee here what Power this Presbytery hath over all, and the higheſt of Civil Judicatories.

*The Presbytery at pleaſure repealeth Royal Grants by Law confirm'd.*

Infinite Inſtances of this kind may be produc'd: Give me leave to add one of a higher ſtrain. The City of *Edinburgh*, by the Kings of *Scotland*, amongſt other Favours and Privileges, hath a Royal Grant of a weekly Market-Day on Monday: This Grant is confirm'd by Letters Patents under the Great Seal, and by the ſtanding Laws of the Kingdom. The Presbytery here, by their tranſcendent ſole Authority, diſcharg'd any Market to be kept on Monday: The reaſon was, becauſe it occaſion'd the travelling of Men and Horſe the Lord's Day before, which profan'd the Sabbath. If the Tradeſmen, who found at home what Loſs they had by wanting their Market, had not with Force and Violence oppos'd their Sovereignty, and made them forſake it, it was like enough to have paſs'd, and obtain'd longer.

The moſt active in this caſe were the Shoe-makers, who were moſt prejudic'd by the diſcharge of the Monday Market. They threatned the Miniſtry right down, That if they perſiſted in that courſe, they would thruſt them out of the Gates of the City; which Threats reſtor'd the Monday's Market. When King *James*, that Miracle of Piety, Learning, and Royal Prudence, heard of this, he with uncover'd Head, and lifted up Hands, ſaid to this, or much about this ſenſe: *I thank God the Shoemakers have more power to repreſs the Inſolence and Violence of the Presbytery, than I and my Council both.*

*The Presbytery will not ſuffer Landlords to ſue for their Rents.*

It is known to many yet living, that they have cited before them Noblemen, and Gentlemen of good Quality, who had intended Civil Actions againſt their own Tenants before the ordinary Judg, and diſcharg'd them to proſecute them any further, under the pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. This was *in re civili*, in a civil buſineſs; but *modus conſiderandi*, as they took notice of it, it was ſpiritual. And why? Becauſe the holy Brethren pretended this did withdraw People from their lawful Vocations, bred Strifes and Contention amongſt Brethren, and did hinder the progreſs of the Goſpel.

*Some few of the Presbytery tyrannize over the reſt of their poor Brethren, remove and tranſplant at pleaſure.*

As the particular Miniſters of individual Pariſhes are under them, ſo they find the Tyranny of their *Archiſynagogi*, their prime leading Miniſters, in that meaſure, that their little Finger is heavier than a Biſhop's whole Hand and Loins. Biſhops are like to a paternal Government, chaſtiſing with Rods; but the Presbyterians ſcourge them with Scorpions. Any Lord, Knight, or Eſquire, who is cunning, and can by fair Carriage, or otherwiſe, gain Favour or Credit with ſome few *Patriarchal Presbyters*, he is able at pleaſure to turn out an honeſt Man (who perhaps is too free in rebuking the Gentleman for his Sins, or cannot or will not condeſcend to grant his unlawful and unjuſt Demands) and to bring in one to his own Fancy and Humour, with whom, and by whom, he is able to work and effectuate his own bad Intendments. This *Holy Sanhedrim*, altho the Parochial Miniſter for Intellectual Abilities be ſufficiently enabled, and for moral Integrity be blameleſs; yet they will find it fit he be tranſplanted from that Church, becauſe the Congregation is not edify'd by him: At a Viſitation, the Landlord is able to make all ſay and witneſs, they are not edify'd by him. Or if a Presbyter, who hath more power with the *Dominus Moderator* and his Aſſiſtants, being in a Pariſh of a ſmall Stipend, and eſpying ſomewhere a better Pariſh, and an honeſt Man in it, but not ſo much reſpected by the High Prieſts of the *Sanhedrim*, he will turn him out by the Presbytery, enter the Charge, and reap the Benefit of a better Pariſh; and place the other (it may be, and often proves ſo, the better and worthier Man) in another Pariſh of leſs worth, and deterior his Condition. There needs no other reaſon for this, but that this Sacred Conſiſtory, directed and aſſiſted with Infallibility, do find it *è re Eccleſiæ*, that it is for God's Glory, and the Good of the Church.

*An honeſt Man remov'd from his place, and one by them brought in, to make away ſacrilegiouſly the Church Patrimony.*

I might inſtance a world of theſe Examples; only let me tell you of one of the Presbytery of *Cooper* in *Fife*. A Nobleman there having one Mr. *Weymis*, an honeſt Man, a Preacher and Parſon at one of the Churches, the which whole Pariſh belong'd to the Nobleman, uſed all the Entreaties, all the Threatnings he could, to perſuade Mr. *Weymis* to make over to him and his Houſe the Right of the Benefice, which, if I miſtake not, was a Parſonage. The good Man refus'd it: The Nobleman finding the Man immovable, having prepar'd the way with the Ringleaders, accuſeth the honeſt Man before the Presbytery, obtaineth Sentence of removing Mr. *Weymis* from that Church and Benefice, and bringeth in one Mr. *Scrogie*, who, with the Conſent of the Presbytery, ſacrilegiouſly made over the Right of the Church to the Nobleman and his Family. Mr. *Weymis* was tranſplanted to another Church. The Right made over by *Scrogie*, was afterwards confirm'd by Act of Parliament. K. *James*, when this Nobleman came to him, ſpoke to him to this ſenſe: My Lord, I wonder how you have ſo much power with the Presbytery to obtain ſuch a thing, and work ſo ſtrange a matter; I pray you teach me the way, for I would gladly know it. The Nobleman anſwer'd, to this ſenſe, or much about it: Sir, you take not the right way: I prepar'd my Buſineſs, by gaining the prime Men to my courſe, I ſent to *A. B*'s Houſe ſo much Malt, and to *C. D*'s Houſe ſo much Meal, to *N.* a Carcaſe of Beef: This got me the power to put away *Weymis*, to bring in *Scrogie*, and from him, with the Conſent of the Presbytery, to have the Right of the Parſonage impropriate to me and my Houſe. Sir, this courſe you muſt take, if you would work any thing by, or with theſe Men.

The Teſtament of a Gentleman of Wit, and more than ordinary Worth and Eſteem, is to this day extant (altho he died many years ago) wherein confeſſing his many Sins (he was much guilty of Uncleanneſs, and was of more than ordinary reach in political and ſubtle ways) abhorring himſelf for them, and earneſtly begging pardon, profeſs'd and proteſted, That no Sin did wound his Conſcience ſo much, as his deep Hypocriſy; who, without the true Fear of God, made great ſhew of Religion, where none, or little was: and to cover his Sins from the World, to hide his Shame, and the better to effectuate his private Deſigns, he made much of ſome few prime leading Miniſters; by doing of which, he was not challeng'd for his Sins, and was enabled to work his other ends. This hath been, and is this day a conſtant courſe kept by all of that Cut and Coat.

It is known, that no Kingdom of the Kings was ſo much infeſted with Feuds (as they call them) as that of *Scotland:* nor was there any thing more ordinary, than neighbourly Feuds in Pariſhes, to be fought, to the effuſion of much Blood, partly beginning ſometimes within the Church, and ended in the Churchyard, where many times ſome were kill'd: And it was as ordinary, to find each Presbytery divided in their Affection and Courſe, according as they affected the one or the other Party. Nor was *Scotland* ever free of Feuds, ſheathing their Swords in their Neighbour's Bowels, murdering one another, till a little before King *James* came into *England*; nor did ever that Kingdom enjoy ſuch Peace and Plenty, as during the time of Epiſcopacy.

*The Presbytery the Seminary and Nurſery of Feuds.*

Sir, by the few Inſtances I have given you of many, you may ſee clearly, that Presbyterian Government is not only inconſiſtent with Monarchy, but deſtructive of the Liberty of the Subject's Perſon and Trade; encroaching upon all Authority, Sovereign and Delegate; reſtraining at pleaſure Cauſes and Suits, commenc'd before Judges; forbidding Execution of Judgments, obtain'd before the ordinary Judges; repealing Grants, Letters Patents, Rights and Privileges, authoriz'd by Law; aſſuming to it ſelf the Civil Power, exacting Civil Fines, pecuniary Mulcts; inflicting corporal Puniſhments, painful and diſgraceful; defaming young, diſgracing married Perſons: and in brief, is againſt the Peace of the Kingdom, of Families and Neighbours. And for their Clergy or Fellow-Presbyters, they tyrannize over their Conſcience, depoſe or tranſplant them at pleaſure, for reaſons known to ſome few of the more active. It is proper now to ſpeak next of

## *Provincial Synods.*

IN deſcribing of which, we need not to inſiſt much; for except that the Juriſdiction is of greater extent and latitude, in its Eſſentials, Conſtitution, and Power, with the Exerciſe of it, it is the very ſame.

*What it is.*

A Provincial Synod is the apiſh Imitation of a Provincial Council, conſiſting of a Metropolitan, and the Suffragan Biſhops of his Province: With them it is an aſſociate Body of the Commiſſioners choſen out of all the individual Presbyteries within the Precinct of the Province. How many there be of them in the Kingdom of *Scotland* at this inſtant, I know not; but the Kingdom is divided into ſo many Provinces, as they in their prudence think it fitteſt for the Government of the Church.

If I remember right, by their Platform of Diſcipline, theſe Provincial Synods are to meet twice a year, or oftner, *pro re natâ.*

*The Extent of their Power.*

Theſe Synodal Aſſemblies have a ſuperintending and over-ruling Power over all the Presbyteries within the Limits of that Province.

*The Caſes which fall within their Juriſdiction.*

The Caſes proper to theſe Courts are; Firſt, All matters which do appertain to the whole Province: Secondly, All Referrees from all Presbyteries within its Verge: Thirdly, All Caſes of every ſeveral Presbytery, which were difficult, and could not there be determin'd: Fourthly, The due Cenſure of all that is thought to be done amiſs in any Presbytery within its laſh: Fifthly, What is order'd and decreed in thoſe Provincial Synods, ties all within the particular Presbyteries and Pariſhes, as well Lay as Clergymen, to Obedience. Any Presbytery elſe, that moveth without the Sphere of this Province, is not ty'd to obey what this decrees, by virtue of any Authority flowing from it.

*The politick Stratagem of the great* Gamaliels.

The ſame courſe is holden in all things in the *Provincial Sanhedrim*, which is kept in the Presbyterial Conſiſtory; ſo that I need not trouble you by reſuming and repeating the like. Only here is ſome piece and uſe of good Policy, which is this: In a Province there may be ſome four, or five, or ſix, or more knowing leading Miniſters, who over-rule different and diſtant Presbyteries, and ſo cannot formally and fairly join their Wits and Power to compaſs their common and private Ends. The Meeting of this Provincial Synod occaſioneth the Meeting of thoſe leading Men in the ſame place; who, after they have communicated Counſels, and agreed upon the courſe, are able to draw their Brethren, their Pupils of their Faction, as *Servum Pecus*, ſlaviſhly, yet with much Zeal, to diſpute, debate, and vote for what they in their Wiſdom think fit for their own ends. Which courſe laid down, will be ſo prevalent, that if it be againſt King, Country, Preacher, or Laymen, in that concerneth the publick, or any private man's Intereſt, to whom they ſtand engag'd, it is to as little purpoſe to ſome good men to oppoſe or moderate this courſe, as to a Man to ſtop a Current of a Flood, after a great Inundation of Rain, with his Foot.

There is another Trick of Policy too, whereby the Apoſtles of this Province advance their own Credit: That the wiſeſt of the Nobility and Gentry ſee who are the active and doing men; and having their particular Intereſt many times, both in the publick, and their own private, they make their Addreſs to theſe Popes, gain them to their courſe, and ſtrengthen themſelves by the ſpiritual Sword to diſturb the Publick, or to gain their private Ends, whether right or wrong. When the Commiſſioners from hence return to their ſeveral Presbyteries, they intimate to them, to command the particular Miniſters to preach in their Pariſhes Doctrine tending to the Advancement of thoſe Deſigns: and this is ſo much obey'd, that the Miniſter of the King's Family, or Pariſh, muſt ſing the ſame Song, altho it concern the King in his Honour, or in what is moſt dear to him, and be to the prejudice of his Perſon, Sovereignty, and Government.

Theſe 'Αρχηγοὶ, theſe prime Men of God, are attended and honour'd ſo by the ſubtle and cunning Nobles and Gentlemen, that they are well-nigh deify'd; in their coming to and fro to Aſſemblies, Presbyteries, or upon other occaſions, the moſt eminent of the Province wait upon them, intreat them to come to their Houſes, ſet them at the head of the Tables by my Lady, provide for them the beſt Chambers. And that you may know, howſoever they pretend Parity, that it is *Proteſtatio contra factum*, never Biſhop in *Scotland* hath come into Cities with ſuch Convoys, been attended with ſuch great Perſonages, as ſome of this holy Brotherhood. It is to this day remember'd, that when Mr. *Robert Bruce* came from his Viſitation in the Weſt or South, returning to *Edinburgh*, and entring by the Cannon-Gate, King *James* looking out at his Window in his

*The great Honour which is given to the Patriarchal Preſbyters.*

Palace at *Holyrood-Houſe*, with Indignation (which extorted from him an Oath) ſaid; *Mr.* Robert Bruce *I am ſure intends to be King, and declare himſelf Heir to King* Robert *the* Bruce.

*The preſumptuous Carriage of Mr.* R. Bruce *toward King* James.

If you would allow me upon this to digreſs, I beg to be bold to tell you a true Story, and the moſt inſolent, I believe, you ever read or heard. When Queen *Elizabeth* was waxed old, King *James* bethinking how to come at the peaceable Poſſeſſion of that Right, God and Nature had intitled him to after her Death; and reſolving to recal and pardon the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly*, and *Arrol* (who at that time were baniſh'd, and beyond Seas) fear'd, if by himſelf and his Sovereignty he ſhould do it, becauſe they were profeſs'd Papiſts, the Church would except againſt it, and move his Subjects to Sedition and Rebellion; yet the Noblemen were moſt able to ſtrengthen him, and do him beſt ſervice in the Kingdom. To prevent this miſchief, he ſent one of his truſted and worthy Courtiers to Mr. *Robert Bruce*, one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, who at that time had great ſway in the Church, deſiring him to come to his Majeſty about ſome Buſineſs of high concernment. Mr. *Robert* did come. The good admirable King welcom'd him more than courteouſly, took him into his Retiring or Bed-Chamber, and ſpoke powerfully to this ſenſe: ‘ Mr. *Robert*, I have ſent ‘ for you to have your Advice in a Buſineſs of great weight ‘ concerning the Peace of *Scotland* and *England*, and which ‘ concerns me in Right and Honour moſt nearly. Q. *Elizabeth*, my Siſter and Couſin, is ſick, and cannot live long; ‘ you know I have God's and Nature's Right to that Crown. ‘ I cannot loſe it in Honour or in Juſtice; and yet my Prayer to God is, that I may come at my Right without any ‘ Blood. I know there is ſome Faction in *England* againſt me, ‘ but my Friends are more prevalent there. It concerneth ‘ me, in the point of Prudence, to provide that there be no ‘ Faction and Diviſion in this my Kingdom of *Scotland*; for if ‘ this Kingdom be all one way for me in hearty Obedience ‘ and Subjection, the diſaffected Party in *England* will be better adviſ'd, than to work me trouble to their great diſadvantage. Now, ſaith the beſt and wiſeſt of Kings, I fear ‘ nothing, but that theſe three Noblemen beyond Seas, becauſe of their Forfeiture, may be wrought upon by Papiſts, ‘ encourag'd and enabled by them there, and the *Engliſh* Papiſts, who are moſt againſt my coming to the Crown of *England*, knowing I am a ſound Proteſtant, to come hither and ‘ trouble me and the Peace of this Kingdom. Do you not ‘ think it fit, that I give them a Pardon, reſtore them to their

'Honour and Lands, and by ſo doing ſo gain them, that 'thus I may ſave the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood? To this Demand ſo piouſly made, the Anſwer was: 'Sir, you may 'pardon *Angus* and *Arrol*, and recal them; but it is not fit, 'nor will you ever obtain my Conſent to pardon or recal '*Huntly*. To this the moſt gracious King ſweetly reply'd: 'Mr. *Robert*, it were better for me to pardon and recal him, 'and not the other two, than the other two without him: 'Firſt, becauſe you know he hath a greater Command, and 'is more powerful than both of them. Secondly, you know 'I am more aſſur'd of his Affection to me; for he hath 'married my dear and near Kinſwoman, the Duke of *Lenox*'s 'Siſter. His Rejoinder was; Sir, I cannot agree to it. The King out of the great depth of his Wiſdom and Prudence, and his tranſcendent Goodneſs, concluded thus; 'Mr. *Robert*, 'I have imparted my moſt ſecret Thoughts to you firſt before 'any, and to you only: I am ſo confident of your Zeal and 'good Affection to me and my Honour, that I intreat you to 'think upon this matter a day or two; and after your better 'Thoughts and Prayers, return to me, and tell me clearly 'what you think. Thus was he diſmiſs'd, with as much reſpect as the King could give to any of his higheſt Subjects. The truth is, at this time this Man had more power in *Edinburgh* than the King; and his Credit there had a mighty influence upon all his Sect, and many in the Kingdom. Within a day or two he returns to his Majeſty; yet, if I be inform'd right, not till he was call'd upon. When he enter'd the King's Preſence-Chamber, the King took him into a ſecret retiring Room, as before, made the door be ſhut, and ſpeaketh to this ſenſe: 'Now Mr. *Robert*, I hope you have thought 'more ſeriouſly upon that weighty Buſineſs I propos'd to you 'the laſt day, and have pray'd God to direct you and me both: 'Tell me then, what you think of my Purpoſe and Reſolu'tion concerning thoſe three Noblemen? He returneth this Anſwer; 'Sir, the more I think of it, the more I am con'firm'd in the Advice I gave to you the laſt day. I agree 'with all my heart, that you recal *Angus* and *Arrol*, but for '*Huntly* it cannot be. The King reſum'd and repeated his Reaſons before-mention'd, and added ſome more. He obſtinately oppos'd and contradicted it. All do know, who knew any thing of thoſe times, that *Angus* and *Arrol* were as bigotted Papiſts, if not more, than *Huntly*; there was no difference in Religion: The truth is, Mr. *Bruce* was a Lover of the Earl of *Argyle*, who lov'd not much the Earl of *Huntly*. This was the Spirit inſpir'd him, as it ſeemeth. King *James* deſir'd his reaſons: He gave none, but ſpoke majeſtically. Then the

King told him downright; ‘ Mr. *Robert*, I have told you my ‘ purpoſe; you ſee how nearly and highly it concerneth me: ‘ I have given you my reaſons for my Reſolution; you give ‘ me your Opinion, but you ſtrengthen it not with reaſon: ‘ wherefore I will hold my own Reſolution, and do as I firſt ‘ ſpoke to you. To the which, with Chriſtian and Subject-like Reverence he return'd this reply; ‘ Well, Sir, you may ‘ do as you liſt, but chuſe you, you ſhall not have me and the ‘ Earl of *Huntly* both for you. Sir, judg by this in what caſe Monarchy is in ſuch a Government; for that this is truth, I am as much aſſur'd of, as moral Certainty can aſſure any Man of moral Truth, which with his own ears he hath not heard. And yet this Man was but Miniſter of *Edinburgh*.

*The Country honour not theſe Apoſtles in the Name of a Diſciple, as it appeareth by the Diſreſpect all other Miniſters have from the Pariſhioners.*

To return thither, from whence we digreſs'd, that you may know, that this great Honour, which is done to thoſe great ones, the Cabinet Council of all Provincial and General Aſſemblies, by theſe cunning and ſubtle Nobles and others, is not done in the *name of a Diſciple, in the name of a Prophet*; reflect a little with your eyes, and conſider how the ſame men reſpect and entertain their own Pariſh-Miniſter. When the *Gamaliel* ſits by my Lady, the Pariſh-Prieſt will be below the Candleſtick; and will be forc'd to come to his Lord, or Laird, and crouch down for a morſel of Bread, and ſmall piece of Mony. Nay, before the *Gamaliel* be gone, he muſt prompt and catechiſe the poor Stipendiary, how to carry himſelf with the Lord or Laird; not to exact too rigorouſly what is due in his competent Stipend, nor in Preaching, Doctrine, or Diſcipline, to offend the Lord or Laird. Such good Chriſtians, ſuch *Jehoſhua's*, *Nehemiah's*, and *Eſdras*'s, are to be much made of, for the Cauſe of God. I dare to ſay, never Biſhop or Archbiſhop in *England* or *Scotland* hath us'd more Authority, nor did ever carry themſelves ſo arrogantly towards the meaneſt of their Clergy, as theſe Men do over their ſimpler Brethren. I come now at laſt to

## *The General Aſſembly.*

*The Prerogative of this Court.*

THIS is the Great and High *Sanhedrim*; the laſt Reſolution of Faith is almoſt in this aſſociate Body: Here Chriſt ſits in the higheſt Glory and Dignity he can upon Earth: Here is the ultimate Deciſion of all Controverſies: Here you may find really that fancy'd Infallibility of the Pope. The Juriſdiction in this is univerſal, in all concerneth *Eccleſiaſtica*, *Eccleſiaſticos*, and what concerneth all, *Temporalia in ordine ad Spiritualia.*

The Authority of it is Sovereign, independent from any, deriv'd to them by Truſt immediately from Chriſt; to him alone they are accountable. Whoſoever obeyeth not this Sovereignty, is to be excommunicated: The Magiſtrate is at their command, and as they preſcribe, to puniſh in Eſtate, in Body, in Life and Death. If the King obey not, he is to be excommunicated: and to ſtrengthen this, the Nobility, Gentry, collective Body, nay, every individual Perſon is to concur, to compel and cenſure him to the utmoſt of his power, to puniſh, to dethrone, to un-king, to kill, *&c.* Let us come and ſee how this goodly Judicatory is made up.

*The independent Sovereignty of it.*

It is compos'd, Firſt, of the Commiſſioners ſent from all the Presbyteries of the Kingdom: which (as I hear and am inform'd) is thus order'd; every Presbytery ſendeth out two Preaching-Elders, and a Lay-Elder: by this it ſeemeth, that the Clergy hath the advantage.

*Of whom, and how it is compos'd.*

Secondly, therefore conſider, that beſides the Commiſſioners from Presbyteries, there cometh from every Borough and Corporation one Commiſſioner; and *Edinburgh*, for ſome ſpiritual Prerogative no doubt, is honour'd and privileg'd to ſend two.

Thirdly, the Univerſities and Colleges ſend their Commiſſioners, which for the moſt part are not Doctors nor Miniſters, but Laymen and Graduates in Liberal Arts and Sciences. This will go near to equal the Number of Lay-Commiſſioners to that of Preaching-Miniſters.

Fourthly, the King is a Member conſtituent too, and ſhould be there either perſonally by himſelf, or virtually and repreſentatively, in or by his Commiſſioner. He hath one Voice too, and that affirmative only. In what Capacity they admit the King to be a Member conſtituent of this Spiritual Court, I know not well, if they be agreed upon it. Some hold that he is there as *Princeps Membrum*; by this I ſee he is the firſt Gentleman there, and it may be, hath the Right Hand too. Some ſay, as a Repreſentative of the Civil Body of the Kingdom, and ſits there in that Capacity. All of them agree in this, that he is bound by his own Preſence, or Commiſſioners, to ſee and provide that no Diſturbance or Violence be offer'd.

*How the King is a Member of it, and of no power above the meaneſt Ruling Elder.*

The King, if preſent, and his Commiſſioner, if abſent, have ſo much Honour indulg'd to him, that he or his Commiſſioner may have four, five, or ſix Aſſiſtants for Advice; but theſe Synodical Fathers give their Indulgences with ſuch circumſpect Prudence, that to preſerve Chriſt's Honour and their own intire, the King or his Commiſſioner may debate and adviſe with his Council or Aſſiſtants, or deſire any of them to ſpeak, while matters are in debating: but when it cometh to the Deciſion and Determination by Voices, and Plurality of Voices maketh the Decree, the King has only one Voice, and that affirmative only, not negative.

*The King muſt execute their Commands, altho they be againſt his Conſcience.*

By this it is certain, that if the greater part of Voices determine contrary to the King's Voice, nay to his Mind and Conſcience, he is bound to put it in execution: for *Poteſtas Juris* is radically in the whole Aſſembly; the King hath no more but *Poteſtatem Facti*, to be an Executioner *Rei Judicatæ*, of the Decrees; otherwiſe he is cenſurable: and if he be obſtinately refractory, he is not worthy to hold his Crown.

The King preſides too, as they confeſs; but ſo, that it is only civilly, and in his civil Capacity.

If I be not miſtaken, yet I dare not avouch this confidently, The King hath not power to propoſe any thing Spiritual, or that concerneth the Church; but if he do it, it muſt be done by the right Father of the Aſſembly, the *Moderator*. This I dare to ſay, that neither the King nor his Commiſſioner can hinder or oppoſe the propoſing of any thing they think concerneth the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt: for this were no free General Aſſembly, and to limit the Holy one of *Iſrael*. Nay, if the thing propos'd, conceiv'd by them to be Spiritual, be ſo twiſted with the things Civil, that the ordering or eſtabliſhing of it may carry along with it a Change and Diſtemper in the State and Government, or import Danger to the King and Crown; the Moderator, or any Commiſſioner, hath power to propoſe it, to determine it, and never to conſider or reflect upon the Danger of King, State, or Kingdom, and that for God and Chriſt's Glory.

*The proper Moderator is a Preacher.*

The proper, natural, and right Preſident of this Seraphical Judicatory, is one of the Preaching Elders (altho we obſerv'd before, how Laymen, as *Buchanan*, *Melvil*, *Bruce*, have been Moderators) a Lay-Elder now cannot be Moderator.

Here is the Legiſlative Power, here is the Sovereignty of Chriſt's Kingdom, here is the higheſt Tribunal and Judicatory of Chriſt upon the Earth; from which no Perſon, no Office, no Condition of Creature is privileg'd; from it lieth no Appeal.

*They indict the Aſſembly by their own Power.*

The King hath no power to appoint the Time or Place of this Aſſembly, but once a year it muſt neceſſarily meet. And at the cloſe of every Aſſembly, the preſent appoints the Day and Place for the next. If any great Exigency really, or in their fancy intervening, requireth the Meeting of a General Aſſembly before the time determin'd, the Commiſſioners from the Aſſembly are to make remonſtrance of it unto the King.

*The vaſt Power of this Court.*

Whatſoever Power the Pope unjuſtly uſurps, the Catholick Church, or her Virtual and Repreſentative, an Oecumenical Council, juſtly challengeth; this General Aſſembly vindicateth to it ſelf, only *Authoritativè*, by way of Authority, within the Church of the Kingdom and Nation; yet *Conſenſivè*, and *Charitativè*, to extend to all Neighbour-Churches in the World, whatever it be that concerneth *Fidem*, *Cultum*, *Regimen*, *&c. Credenda*, *Agenda.*

And yet if this infallible ſupreme Judicatory would reſerve to it ſelf that Juriſdiction which is due to Men in Sacred Orders, and which intrinſically, radically, and originally is in them *ex vi ordinis*, altho Presbyters intrude upon higher Callings, and they place all Eccleſiaſtical Power, at leaſt communicate it to Lay People, the Prince's Condition were tolerable: Nay, if they did only trench upon what is due to Sovereignty, and with which he is inveſted from God Almighty, which is reſtrain'd *ad externum hominem*, and *externum Regimen*, altho Sovereignty by it be brought into ſtraiter and narrower bounds, a King might be in ſome poor condition, tho rob'd of his Right. But when they come to this, that *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, in order to Spiritual things, they will give the King Laws, repeal his Laws, command and expect Performance and Obedience, otherwiſe excommunicate; and if a King neglect that Excommunication, incite inferior Magiſtrates, Nobles, and Commons, to bring him in order, to compel and force him; he is in a worſe condition under this Sovereignty, than under the Pope, by how much it is worſe to a King to be ſubjected to an untamed furious Beaſt, the Multitude, than to the Tyranny of one.

All theſe Lay-Elders, all theſe Commiſſioners from Corporations and Boroughs, are *de jure divino*, as fully Judges in all

*Laymen Judges in higheſt points of Faith and Worſhip*, &c.

matters of Faith, Worſhip, Government; Judges of Hereſy, Idolatry, Superſtition, of the higheſt Points of Orthodox and Catholick Myſteries, of the groſſeſt and ſubtileſt Hereſies, *Arianiſm*, *Arminianiſm*, *Macedonianiſm*, *Montaniſm*, *Socinianiſm*, *Anabaptiſm*, &c. as any Man in Sacred Orders there, have *vocem deliberativam*, *vocem deciſivam*, have a debating diſcuſſive Voice, and concur as much with the Influence of their Voice, to preſcribe and give us *Normam Fidei*, *Cultus*, *Politiæ*, a Confeſſion of Faith, a Preſcript for Worſhip, Canons for Government and Diſcipline, as ever Biſhops had in lawful Chriſtian Councils. Biſhops, Limbs and Members of Antichriſt, are no part of it. Now is forgotten that of the Council of *Chalcedon*, *Concilium Epiſcoporum eſt*; and that old barbarous, but Chriſtian enough Verſe;

*Ite foras Laici, non eſt vobis locus ici.*

*Commiſſioners of Boroughs are there only in a Lay Capacity.*

I would gladly ask one of theſe Rabbies, and great Maſters in *Iſrael*, How cometh it that the Commiſſioners of Boroughs ſit there, vote there? Are they too *de jure divino*, by Divine Right? If they anſwer, that ſuch are choſen as are or have been Lay-Elders, I rejoin, The Lay-Elders come in that Capacity only, as Commiſſioners of the particular Presbyteries: Theſe are not Members Conſtituents of the Presbytery in that Capacity, that they are or have been Lay-Elders, but have Right and Intereſt in this high Court in that Capacity merely, as Commiſſioners of Boroughs. Look upon their Acts of General Aſſembly, and you will find, that it authorizes Commiſſioners from Boroughs to be Parts conſtituent of this Judicatory, *quà tales*, as ſent from the Boroughs.

*We find Doctors no where.*

Again, I ask, ſeeing you make Doctors one of your four holy Functions Eccleſiaſtical, conſtituted by Chriſt, in what Judicatory find we them? In Seſſions they are not: In few Presbyteries they be; and if there, in ſome other Capacity: In General Aſſemblies, if any be, they appear as Commiſſioners from the Univerſity in this Capacity only. And many times it is ſeen, that Profeſſors of Philoſophy have been Commiſſioners of Colleges in General Aſſemblies.

*The Power that this* Sanhedrim *aſſumeth.*

Leaving theſe Abſurdities, which are monſtrouſly groſs, I come to conſider next, what is the Sovereign Power of this high *Sanhedrim*. If they would, in Chriſtian Moderation, aſſume no more to themſelves but only a directive Power, and by humble Remonſtrances and Supplications, with that Reverence due to Sovereignty and Majeſty, petition the King to animate their Acts, Canons, and Conſtitutions, with the influence of his Legiſlative Power; this were fair Quarter. But by your favour, no ſooner have they enacted it here, and ſo ſoon as it is ſolemnly intimated, which is, by returning to every Presbytery, with its Commiſſioners, a Copy of the Acts, Orders, and Ordinances, and by the Presbytery's Order every Miniſter hath publiſh'd them in the Pariſh Church; all things ſo done are animated with a poteſtative Power, by the influence theſe Orders receive from that legiſlative Power Chriſt hath entruſted them with in his Oeconomical Kingdom. All then are bound to Obedience, if it be in the meaneſt indifferent thing; nay, if this Order croſs or repeal a ſtanding Law, all Diſobedients are liable to all Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, and may forthwith be proceeded againſt, even till they *be deliver'd over into the hands of the Devil.*

*They are above the King, and all Sovereignty.*

This Aſſembly is above the King; to them he ought to give an account of his Faith; to their Confeſſion of Faith he muſt conform himſelf; to their Orders he muſt give Obedience: otherwiſe he is excommunicable, depoſable. I fear you ſcarce believe me; yet truly, *non verenda retego, ſed inverecunda confuto:* I diſcover not the Nakedneſs of Father, the Shame of Brother nor Friend. Would to God the Tenets and Practices were buried in Hell, and the Maintainers regain'd to God by true Repentance, and forſaking their ways. I diſcover only things that are paſt all Shame, and which our Church can never own. Sir, if you will hardly believe me in this, let me give you their Aſſertions in this caſe, and their conformable Practice.

*If they cannot reform by the King, they may by any other means.*

It is their conſtant Catholick Tenet, That if the King, Queen, Regent, or Protector, or whoſoever he or ſhe is, in whoſe Perſon Sovereignty is fix'd, or in whoſe Perſon it is repreſentatively fix'd, only by a fiduciary Truſt, during the Non-age of the Prince or Princeſs; will not ſubmit himſelf to this holy Scepter, will not, according to its Preſcript, reform Religion, preſerve it in its Integrity; any Man or Men are bound to do it, at their direction. I ſpare *Martin Junior*'s Faith in this, That there is no Authority above the Brotherhood. *No Magiſtrate* (ſaith he, Theſ. 17, 18, 22.) *may lawfully maim or deform the Body of Chriſt, which is the Church: No lawful Church-Government is changeable at the pleaſure of the Magiſtrate; of neceſſity all Chriſtian Magiſtrates* *are bound to receive this Government.* Nor will I inſiſt upon *Vigginton*'s Aſſertion, That *what the holy Brotherhood cannot obtain by Suit and Diſpute, the People muſt bring it to paſs.* You deſire the Tenets and Practices of the Church of *Scotland* only.

*Religion may be reform'd or preſerv'd by Violence.*

The *Scots* maintain, That if the King or Queen will not reform Religion, they may take upon them by Violence and Power to reform it. This they have learned of their Grandfather *Knox*, as you may read in an Epiſtle of his, written from *Diep, Anno* 1557. and in *Knox*'s *Hiſt. p.* 213. What is lawful for Reformation, is lawful for Preſervation of Religion.

*If the King will not, the Nobles may.*

Firſt, and here they begin with the Nobles, and determine right down, *Noblemen ought to reform Religion, if the King will not,* Knox, Ap. 25. Again, *That God hath appointed the Nobility to bridle the inordinate Appetites of Princes; and in ſo doing, they cannot be accus'd as Reſiſters of Authority,* Knox's Hiſt. p. 343. And, *That it is their Duty to repreſs the Rage and Inſolency of Princes,* Knox Ap. 33.

*If neither King nor Nobles, the People may.*

Secondly, If the Nobles will not do, *the People and Commonalty may reform Religion, at the Order and Direction of the Brotherhood,* Knox to the Commonalty, fol. 49, 50. *The Commonalty, by their Power, may bridle the cruel Beaſts* (they mean Prieſts and Prelates) Knox to the Commonalty, fol. 55. *The Commonalty may lawfully require of their Sovereign to have true Preachers; and if he be negligent, they may themſelves provide them, maintain them, defend them againſt all that do perſecute them, and may detain the Profits of the Church-Livings from the other ſort,* (that is to ſay, Prieſts, Papiſts, Prelates and Malignants) Knox to the Commonalty, fol. 55.

*If Nobles and Commons join, there is hope of ſome greater Succeſs.*

Thirdly, If they come to the Happineſs to have Nobles and Commons obedient to their Commandments, for Reformation, or Preſervation of true Religion (which muſt be ſo as they fancy) I am deceiv'd, if they allow not more Violence, and eſteem it more Piety, Zeal and Juſtice. Their Tenets are: *The Commonalty concurring with the Nobles, may compel the Biſhops to ceaſe from their Tyranny,* Knox to the Commonalty, fol. 47. Again, *The Nobility and Commonalty ought to reform Religion, and in that caſe may remove from Honours, and may puniſh ſuch as God hath condemn'd,* Deut. 13. *of what Eſtate, Condition, or Honour ſoever,* Knox Ap. fol. 28, 30.

Fourthly, If the Nobles will not join with the People or Commonalty in the Reformation, or Preſervation of true Religion, at the direction of the Miniſtry, the inferiour Magiſtrates may and ſhould do it. *Knox*'s *Hiſt. pag.* 217.

*Inferiour Magiſtrates and People may join.*

Fifthly, Before ſo good a Work be not done, if Nobles, or the whole, or greateſt part of the Commonalty will not be obedient, aſſiſting and aiding to ſo good a Work, every individual Man and Perſon is bound to advance this good Work, to kill Papiſt, Prieſt, Prelate, Malignant, nay a King, if he ſtand out an Enemy to God and Chriſt, and cannot otherwiſe be reclaim'd or remov'd, nor by Suit or Diſpute gain'd to the right way (I dare ſay their Doctrine leads to this.) See *Knox, Ap. fol.* 30. where roundly he ſaith, *The Puniſhment of ſuch Crimes as touch the Majeſty of God, doth not appertain to Kings and chief Rulers only, but alſo to the whole Body of the People, and to every Member of the ſame, to revenge the Injury done againſt God.* Again, ſee him, fol. 35. *The People are bound, by Oath to God, to revenge, to the utmoſt of their Power, the Injury done againſt God's Majeſty.* To this purpoſe they alledg the Examples of *Phineas*, who in his Zeal kill'd the Adulterers; of *Ehud*, who in the ſame Zeal kill'd *Eglon* in his private Chamber (remember he was a King;) of *Jael*, who kill'd *Siſera*; of *Mattathias*, who in Zeal kill'd a *Jew* for committing of Idolatry; and who, in the ſame Zeal, at the ſame time, kill'd the King's Commiſſioner. Sir, put theſe things together, and ſee where this ſovereign ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical Judicatory hath ſuch Dominion and Power over Mens Conſciences, that being directed by their Miniſtry, they are bound to do to the utmoſt of their Power, for Reformation and Preſervation of Religion. What ſacred Perſon of any King can be ſecur'd? What Man, offending againſt the Majeſty of God (which is as they fancy many times) may not be taken away by one like to a *Ravilliac*? What Commiſſioner or Counſellor of the King, but in doing his beſt Service to his Maſter, may be ſton'd like to *Adoram*? And all this go, in popular eſteem, current for good Service, and extraordinary Zeal to God and his Cauſe.

*Every Individual in this good Work may and ought, to the utmoſt of his Power, intend and endeavour Reformation.*

Sixthly, Upon thoſe grounds, Covenants and Confederacys come in to ſtrengthen all, to join Purſes, Perſons, Wit and Strength, *contra omnes mortales, Regia Majeſtate non excepta*, againſt King and Biſhop, Prince and Prelate,

*All, or as many as are well-affected, may covenant and com*

to

*combine for doing this Work.* to the defence of the good Cauſe; with a Combination, every one to be aiding, aſſiſting and maintaining one another in ſo good a Cauſe.

*The Confederates may by themſelves give Orders.* In the laſt place cometh their Orders for Reformation or Preſervation, and that by themſelves and the collective Body, or any Aſſociates whatſoever, without reſpect, reverence or obedience to the ſovereign Authority of the Prince.

*Practice upon the Tenets.* The Practice is clearly ſeen in Mr. *Knox*'s Proceedings: for after that by his Letter, which we mention'd before, written to *Scotland*, *Anno* 1557. from *Diep* and otherwiſe, he had infus'd the above-nam'd Principles into many, an Oath of Confederacy was taken amongſt them, and Subſcription under their hands to ſome Agreement. This gave life to that tumultuary Reformation, much ſtrength being added to it by the concurrence of the Sacrilegious, hoping thus to ſwallow up the Church-Revenues; which is more than certain was againſt *Knox*'s Mind, and the firſt Reformers. As we deplore great Loſſes the Church had by this Reformation, and do thank God heartily for his admirable Bounty and Mercy in the good of Truth we got by it, yet we will never wrong Reform'd Religion ſo much, as to account of that as an orderly Reformation; we deny not but it was attended with much Sedition, Faction and Rebellion.

*Orders of Reformation preſcrib'd without the Authority of Sovereignty.* *Anno* 1558. without the authority of Sovereignty, nay, without the knowledg of it, theſe Confederates, at the direction of their Miniſtry, preſcribe Orders for Reformation of Religion, to be obſerv'd and practis'd throughout the whole Kingdom. See *Knox*'s *Hiſt. pag.* 217, 218.

*They charge their adverſe Party to obey their Orders.* They go farther; they write an imperious Letter to the religious Houſes, in the name of the Congregation, commanding all of them to remove from thence againſt ſuch a day, or then they would eject them by force, *Knox ib.*

*They proteſt againſt King and Parliament.* Within a very ſhort time after, a Parliament being holden by the Queen Regent, (Queen *Mary*'s Mother, and Great Grandmother to our gracious Sovereign) they make a Proteſtation, That except they had their Deſires, they would go on in their intended courſe of Reformation; that neither they, nor any that join'd with them, ſhould incur therefore any danger in Life, or Lands, or other Civil Penaltys; and that if any Violence happen'd in purſuit of thoſe matters, they ſhould thank themſelves. It is very obſervable, they were all bound in that Confederacy to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen each other in that courſe. See *Knox*'s *Hiſt. p.* 56. 1. Here you have the direction of the Miniſtry. 2. You have a Confederacy, and Bond of mutual Defence. 3. You have Orders and Decrees agreed upon in common. 4. You have Warrants iſſu'd out, to make or force all to be put in execution. 5. You have a Proteſtation, and that a threatning one too, againſt the Queen Regent and whole Parliament. Are thoſe things conſiſtent with Monarchy? What Scripture, what Father, what Practice of the Church doth warrant ſuch a Reformation?

*They contemn Sovereign Authority.*

Come on, and you ſhall have them anon in open contemning Sovereign Authority. The Queen Regent, to ſuppreſs theſe Beginnings, and to nip them in the bud, cites them to appear at *Sterling*. They appear not, they are outlaw'd: all Men, under pain of Treaſon, are inhibited to aſſiſt them. There is no Obedience, but all in the Confederacy adhere to them. I cannot, for my part, juſtify this Divinity.

*They uſurp Royal Power.*

From Diſobedience and Contempt, they are guilty of uſurping the Royal Power; for very ſhortly after, *Anno* 1559. immediately after a Sermon preach'd by *Knox* in *St. John*'s Town, at his Exhortation and Direction, they fall to the pulling down of the religious Houſes, and within two or three days equal three of them to the ground. Can it appear that by holy Writ or Reaſon ſuch popular tumultuary Reformations are warrantable? Is it not intrinſecally inherent in the Crown, or whereſoever Sovereignty is fix'd? And ſo they proceeded in *Fife*, *Angus*, *Mornis*, *Sterling*, *Lowthian*, &c. and thro the whole Kingdom. See *Knox*'s *Hiſt. p.* 263. Here were many goodly and rich Churches ſpoil'd, rob'd and caſt down.

*They renounce their lawful Sovereign.*

After this they diſclaim Sovereign Authority, except it be as they pleaſe, and have their Deſires. The Queen Regent threatned *St. John*'s Town, where this Diſorder firſt was acted: They of the Confederacy writ to her in plain Terms, *That except ſhe ſtay'd from that Cruelty, they ſhould be compel'd to take the Sword of juſt Defence, and proteſted, That without the Reformation, which they deſir'd, they would never be ſubject to any mortal Man.* See *Knox*, *p.* 265.

More

*They command all the Brotherhood to be Aſſiſtants.*

More follow'd: By a Letter they cite all their Brethren to repair unto them; and that you may know that their Letters were authoritative Commands, and that all the Authority is from the independent Sovereignty of the Church, conſider how they write to the Nobility, upon pain of Excommunication to join with them. *Knox, ib. p.* 268, 269, 272.

*They are obey'd, the Queen's Herald is abus'd.*

How much this Eccleſiaſtical Sovereignty did exalt it ſelf above the Civil, is more than apparent in this, That when an Herald, in his Coat of Arms, commanded all Men under pain of Treaſon to return to their Houſes, by publick Sound of Trumpet, in *Glaſgow* no Man obey'd that Charge, but went forward to their Aſſociates: *Habes confitentem reum.* Knox, pag. 274.

*They denounce War againſt their Adverſarys.*

They denounce War too, which was ever judg'd to be the peculiar ſpecifick Prerogative of Sovereignty; for they writ to the Biſhops and Clergy, *That except they deſiſted from dealing againſt them, they would with all Force and Power execute juſt Vengeance and Puniſhment upon them; and that they would begin the ſame War which God commanded* Iſrael *to execute againſt the* Canaanites: which manner of proceeding they term'd a reſiſting of the Enemy. *Knox*'s *Hiſt. pag.* 275, 276.

*They will hear of no Peace, but enter into a Combination for mutual Defence.*

The poor Queen Regent was brought to an Accommodation, and the Aſſembly at *St. John*'s Town was diſmiſs'd: But at their parting, they entred into a League by Oath, *That if any one Member of their Congregation* (this in the *Scotiſh* is equivalent to *Eccleſia*) *ſhould be troubled, they ſhould all concur, aſſiſt and convene again together, for the defence of the ſame.* Knox, pag. 283.

The Queen Regent finding this Sovereignty overbear hers, and the Peace of the Kingdom ſhaken, by a Declaration publiſh'd and proclaim'd, teſtify'd her deſire of Peace, and deſcended ſo much, that really it was only a Requeſt. They ſcorn'd it, would none of it, confuted it by another, did exhort thoſe of their Faction to *encourage themſelves in the Lord*, to ſtand upon their Guard, like to the Rebuilders of *Jeruſalem* and the *Temple*, with the Sword in one hand, and the Bible in another; wherein they gave the Queen many times the Lie, and abus'd her with reproachful and contumelious Speeches. The Subjects, who continue their Obedience, are honour'd with no better Term, than to be call'd the *Queen's Faction.*

You may read this at leiſure and pleaſure in *Knox*'s *Hiſtory*, *pag.* 330, 333, 362, 364. Nay, they renounc'd their Obedience unto her, proteſting, That *whoſoever ſhould take her part, ſhould be puniſh'd as Traitors, whenſoever God ſhould put the Sword of Juſtice into their Hands*, Knox's Hiſt. p. 364.

At laſt they riſe to the higheſt pitch of Rebellion, and *Anno* 1560. they depoſe the Queen Regent; the predetermination being given, that it was lawful for them to do ſo, by Mr. *Knox*, and Mr. *Wilcocks.* This is upon Record yet in that Kingdom, and is ſet down by Mr. *Knox* himſelf, *Hiſt. p.* 372, 378. And it is obſervable, that the Queen, if I remember right, liv'd but a Month, or little more, after this pious Act.

*They depoſe the Queen Regent.*

Some will now ſay, that I ſpeak too hardly of our firſt Reformers and Reformation, and would know what is my Opinion of them and it. To deal clearly, God is my Witneſs, I am no Papiſt, but do abhor Popery as much as any; and that I am no Puritan, the other Party will witneſs for me. I am bound to ſpeak the Truth in my Heart, and to give ſome Satisfaction. I ſay, Firſt, as I am able, I bleſs and praiſe God moſt heartily, that we were deliver'd from the Pope's Tyranny, and that groſs *Egyptian* Darkneſs we were under, which I aſcribe to the admirable Wiſdom and infinitely tranſcendent Goodneſs of God. Secondly, I leave the Men to God's Mercy; but for the manner of proceeding, the way they took, I dare not, I will not approve it, but will ſay with *Jacob*, *In concilium eorum ne veniat anima mea.* Thirdly, I daily heartily bewail, that that too much idoliz'd Reformation, in an exceſſive Hatred againſt Popery, did run too much to the other extreme; that the goodly Order and Government of the Church was ſhoulder'd out, the publick Service and Worſhip of God, with its Decency, Reverence and Comelineſs, was much defac'd and diſgrac'd; that goodly, ſtately and rich Churches were abus'd, rob'd and equal'd to the Ground, and that the Church-Patrimony was dilapidated: and yet this was not ſo much done by the firſt call'd Reformers, as by their Diſciples, *Ætas parentum pejor avis.*

*The Author's modeſt Opinion of that which is call'd the firſt Reformation of* Scotland.

It feareth me beſides, that God is puniſhing our preſent Sins, that by this Scourge, which is gilded with the ſpecious, but ſpurious Compellation of a glorious thorow ſecond Reformation, he is in the ſame Juſtice puniſhing the Sins of that firſt Reformation. For my part I judg verily, that Church had never an orderly and warrantable Reformation, till it was happily begun and advanc'd by King *James*, when he took the Government in his own hands, and was like to come to a great perfection under the Government of our moſt gracious Sovereign King *Charles*. Altho I deny not, but the Seeds of Truth, ſown by *Hamilton*, *Wiſeheart*, *Mylne*, and others, who before *Knox*'s time did preach Truth, caſt down the Errors of *Rome* in the Peoples Hearts, were far from ſtirring up the Subjects againſt lawful Authority; and like the antient Martyrs, did ſuffer patiently, and ſeal the Truth of the Goſpel with their Blood. If *Knox* and his Complices had kept in this way, I am certain that Church had been more happy, nor had we ſeen ſuch Robbery and Deformity in the Church. Sure I am, a great many, and more than ordinary Sins in them and us, and our Forefathers, have brought us to be plung'd in thoſe almoſt inextricable Miſerys; and till we proportionably repent, we cannot look to ſee better days, what is diſjointed in State ſet aright, and the Beauty of God's Houſe reſtor'd; which God of his Mercy grant to us, for his only Son Jeſus Chriſt.

By what is ſaid, it appears ſufficiently, that this Spiritual Sovereignty is far above the King's Crown; and what we undertook, to make their Practices prove their Tenets, is more than evident: only one thing reſts to be prov'd, That this Sovereignty may authorize any and every private Man to do to the utmoſt of their power for the Reformation of Religion, to plunder, kill, *&c.*

*Practice of Miſchief done by private Men, and commended by them.*

Sir, I refer you to Mr. *Knox*'s Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland*, *pag.* 143, 144, 145. where relating how Cardinal *Beaton*, ArchBp of *St. Andrews* (a Man whom I juſtify not, neither commend much) was kill'd by *Norman Leſley*, *John Leſley*, *Peter Carmichael*, and *James Melvil*, in his own Houſe, the Caſtle of *St. Andrews*, who were all only private Gentlemen; and if you will truſt *Buchanan*, the Cauſe was, a Jar betwixt *Norman Leſley* and the Cardinal, upon *Knox*'s Faith: the Quarrel was the killing of Mr. *George Wiſeheart* (a good Man undoubtedly.) The Cardinal could have no Mercy, altho he cry'd pitifully for it, ſaying, *I am a Prieſt, ye will not ſlay me.* *Knox*, I ſay, relating this Hiſtory, commends the Fact of *James Melvil*, killing him with grave and pious Words in his Mouth, as a godly Fact. The Sum of the Story is: When they entred the Cardinal's Chamber, with ſome ſixteen or ſeventeen more, *John Leſley* and *Peter Carmichael* fell violently and paſſionately on him; but *James Melvil*, with Gravity and Piety, withdrew them, and ſaid: *This Work and Judgment of God (altho it be ſecret) ought to be done with great Gravity. And preſenting unto him* *the point of the Sword, ſaid, Repent thee of thy former wicked Life, but eſpecially of thy ſhedding of the Blood of that notable Inſtrument of God, Mr.* George Wiſeheart, *which albeit the Flame of Fire conſum'd before Men, yet crys it a Vengeance upon thee, and we from God are ſent to revenge it. For here before my God I proteſt, that neither the Hatred of thy Perſon, the Love of thy Riches, nor the Fear of any Trouble thou couldſt have done to me in particular, mov'd, or moveth me to ſtrike thee; but only becauſe thou haſt been and remaineſt an obſtinate Enemy againſt Chriſt Jeſus and his holy Goſpel.* And the meek Man of God, as he is there term'd, ſtruck him twice or thrice thorow with a Stog-Sword, and he fell. I give all this, that *James Melvil* did this in revenge of Mr. *George Wiſeheart*'s being ſlain by the Cardinal. What Divinity will warrant this Fact of *James Melvil*'s to be a good and godly Fact (for ſo it is noted in the Margent) to a private Man, to murder or kill thus a Prieſt, an Archbiſhop of ſo high Dignity? The reſult of all is, he did it gravely, in cold Blood, told him ſo much, that he was ſent from God, he had no private end, the motive which ſtir'd him up to this godly Fact was, That he had been, and remain'd at that time an Enemy to Jeſus Chriſt, and his Holy Goſpel: he exhorted him to Repentance, and for all his great Sins, as *Knox* writes the Story; he allow'd him no more time, but ſo much as was ſpent in his godly Counſel, for immediately after he was twice thruſt thro. But thoſe Seraphical Doctors know, *Neſcit tarda molimina Spiritus Sanctus*; and the Spirit can work ſuddenly, *Inter Os & Offam, inter Pontem & Fontem*, eſpecially where and when they are ſent of God to do ſuch great good Works; but this is *Proteſtatio contra factum.* Whatever Mr. *Melvil* ſaid in his Proteſtation, *Knox* doth witneſs, that the Cardinal being murder'd, they ſeiz'd upon *the Artillery and Ammunition, wherewith that Fortreſs was plentifully furniſh'd, and likewiſe upon the rich Hangings, Houſhold-ſtuff of all ſorts, Apparel, Copes, Jewels, Ornaments of Churches, great ſtore of Gold and Silver Plate, beſides no ſmall quantity of Treaſure in ready Coin.*

I could inſtance ſome Practices about the time of the Parliament, in *Anno* 1621. commonly call'd the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*'s Parliament; but becauſe that will only reflect upon ſome particular Perſons, I paſs it willingly and wittingly.

It is moſt certain, when the pious and learned Doctors of *Aberdeen* did demand of the Patriarchs of this late Covenant, why they did not by Preaching, Printing, Cenſuring, or ſome real Deed, expreſs their Deteſtation of that horrid Fact done by the raſcally Rout of *Edinburgh* the 23*d* of *July*, 1637. where at the firſt reading of the Service there, a great many Biſhops being in the Cathedral Church, the Serving-women roſe barbarouſly within the Church, did throw their Stools at the Biſhop of the Place; and the Dean, who was officiating, did cry out moſt horribly, that the Mayor, Aldermen and others within could hardly compoſe it for a long time; and the worſt and baſeſt of the People, who were without, did throw in great Stones at the Glaſs Windows, the Doors being ſhut. After the ariſing of the Commotion, to prevent more Tumult and Danger, and when Service and Sermon were done, the Biſhops, Mayor and Aldermen going home with the Lord Chancellor, and ſome Biſhops attending his Grace, the Biſhop, and Dean of *Edinburgh*, with others, were well nigh ſton'd in the Streets. When, I ſay, it was demanded of theſe Apoſtles, why they did not condemn this unchriſtian barbarous Outrage, void of Piety and Reaſon, and without any Example in the Chriſtian Church; the ſum of their Anſwer was, and to this day is, That ſuch a zealous People were to be left to their own Warrand, they knew not by what Spirit they were govern'd, God worketh great Works many times by baſeſt means; and yet thoſe Nobles they ſpeak of, thoſe zealous, thoſe intelligent and knowing Chriſtians (whereof many of them in *Edinburgh* were known Coal-ſtealers and Whores) were the firſt active Inſtruments in this glorious Reformation. I confeſs, this Divinity is ſo tranſcendent and metaphyſical, that it exceeds my Capacity, and is ſo fruitful upon any occaſion to work all or the greateſt of Miſchiefs, that I do not ſee how it can conſiſt with the Peace or Safety of King, Kingdom, Church, or of any entruſted with greateſt Truſt in Church or State. I believe any rational Man may ſee by this, how ſuperlatively this ſpiritual Seignory is above King and Royal Sovereignty; and that this Government Eccleſiaſtical is inconſiſtent with Monarchy, with the Peace of a Kingdom, and is or may be in time a Mother and Nurſe of as much Rebellion and Treaſon, as any Jeſuitiſm of the higheſt Die, if not more. Certainly *Rome*, altho a Whore, and hath a Cup of Abomination in her Hand, is not ſo bad, nor ſo abominable. I pray God to keep all good Chriſtians clean of both.

Let us go on: In Faith, Worſhip, and all ſpiritual things, they vindicate to themſelves ſuch a Sovereignty, that King, Council, Parliament, nay all together, muſt not touch the Scepter of Chriſt; they are to determine, define, take cognizance, accuſe, ſentence and puniſh. Neither King, nor King and Council, nor King and Parliament muſt aſſume Power here; for otherwiſe it is to intrude upon Chriſt and his Right.

This Sovereignty is of ſo high a ſtrain, ſo large an extent, that when they have decreed any thing in this ſupreme infallible Judicatory, that they may have the better Obedience they demand the King and Parliament's Approbation. This is not demanded as a thing arbitrary, which the King and Parliament may do, or not do; or leaving it to his Royal Judgment, with the Advice of his Parliament, to qualify or rectify their Decrees and Orders. No, no truly, that is to betray the Truſt Chriſt hath given them: they need not ſupplicate or petition for it, it is in them but an Act of Courteſy, to ſhew dutiful Obedience. And if the King and Parliament will not grant it, they are arm'd with as much power from Heaven as to force them to do it, by Excommunication, and making all good Chriſtians join with them in God's Cauſe.

*When they demand the Royal Confirmation of their Decrees, it is only an Act of Courteſy.*

Some may think I ſpeak liberally, God forbid I ſhould do it. If any deſire to know more in this particular, let him read the *Scotiſh* Pope's Sermon, preach'd at *Weſtminſter*, and printed by Order of the Houſe. I will not ſpend Time and Paper to cite his Words, which giveth to the King no more Authority than this, To approve by his Subſcription, what the Presbyters have decreed. But to make this appear, I give you ſome unanſwerable Reaſons: Firſt, It is certain, in *Scotland* Mr. *Knox* and his Complices ſet on their Reformation, without the Queen, or Queen Regent's Authority, or the Authority of Parliament: for *Anno* 1558. they made their Confederacy, gave out their Orders for Reformation throughout the whole Kingdom. *Anno* 1559. they acted their Reformation, by pulling down Churches, Abbys, *&c.* caſting out Prieſts, Friars, *&c.* and all this by their own radical and original Power. Queen *Mary*, their true and lawful Sovereign, did authorize them in nothing, ſhe was then in *France*. The Queen Dowager, Queen Regent, King *James* the Fifth's Widow, having the Sovereignty by fiduciary Truſt, in regard of the Abſence of the Queen her Daughter, did not authorize it, nay ſhe did by her Authority oppoſe it, contradict it, came in Arms againſt it. The Parliament was not till the Year 1560 (how holden for the preſent I cannot tell) but in that Parliament they ſet out a Confeſſion of Faith, reform'd Religion; but when they ſent to the King and Queen beyond Sea (Queen *Mary* was then marry'd to *Francis* the Second in *France*) to confirm or ratify the Acts thereof, they deny'd. When Intelligence was given to the Confederates, they profeſs'd, they little

*An Inſtance, Ann.* 1559.

tle regarded the Denial of King and Queen; for, ſay they, *Knox's Hiſt, p.* 500. *All we did, was rather to ſhew our dutiful Obedience, than to beg of them any ſtrength to our Religion.*

*Another Inſtance*, Anno 1571.

Another Inſtance of this kind you have in *Anno* 1571. King *James* then being King, and the Earl of *Marre* being Regent, an Aſſembly was holden at *Leith*; where, by the Order of the Aſſembly, and Ordinance of the Regent and Council, ſome Commiſſioners were appointed from the Regent and Council, and ſome from the General Aſſembly, to condeſcend upon a Platform of Diſcipline, which was agreed on both ſides. The Platform is, That the Government of the Church ſhall be by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, *&c.* the Order and Courſe of all their Nomination, Election, *&c.* is juſt conform to this in *England* at this day, and as it was in *Scotland* before this late pretended Reformation, being indeed but the Churches Deformation. That Platform was enrol'd in the Council-Books of that Kingdom, and ſtands there to this day. This I know certainly, and if I be not deceiv'd, and almoſt I dare ſay it, except they have wrong'd their moſt famous and their moſt antient Councils, the ſame is upon Record in the *General Aſſembly Books.*

Give me leave to tell you by the way one thing, that the negative Faith, which is *ſine ruga*, *ſine maſcula*, was fram'd *Anno* 1580. and it is believ'd, that in that negative Faith, Epiſcopacy is abjur'd as Antichriſtian: yet *Anno* 1581. this ſame Government is renew'd, ratify'd and ordain'd to continue conſtant, and not to be chang'd till his Majeſty come to perfect Age, and to be kept or chang'd then only in what he and his great Council, the Parliament, ſhall think fit, and not otherwiſe. Before this, the King, his Houſhold and Council had ſubſcrib'd the negative Faith. Can any Man, not void of Judgment and Diſcretion, think that the King, his Houſhold and Council, in ſubſcribing it, did judg Epiſcopacy Popiſh and Antichriſtian?

Next it is worth your notice-taking, that as I honour the good Parts which were in *Knox* and his Fellow-Labourers, I never accounted them as Apoſtles, Men ſecur'd from Error; yet I will ſay ſo much for their Juſtification, That they were greater Enemys to Sacrilege than their After-diſciples, and were not againſt the Order of Epiſcopacy, as Popiſh and Antichriſtian, as Mr. *Andrew Melvil* and his Diſciples afterward maintain'd. Nor were they ſo fooliſh to ſeclude all Churchmen from Voice in Parliament; only their Deſire was, That ſeeing the Popiſh Biſhops were allow'd to enjoy their Benefices and Rents during their Life-time (this was more than our charitable glorious Reformers allow'd to their Proteſtant Biſhops now) with all other Privileges, except Spiritual Juriſdiction, they ſhould not ſit in Parliament as the Repreſentative of the Church; but in their places, ſhould ſit the Superintendents and Commiſſioners of the Church: Which indeed were ſomewhat like to Biſhops, but reſembled more Arch-Presbyters than Biſhops.

*They ſet on their Diſcipline themſelves.*

To return again thither from whence we digreſs'd. After that this Platform of Diſcipline was ſo agreed and eſtabliſh'd, as we told before, Mr. *Andrew Melvil* comes to *Scotland* about the years 1574 or 1575. *ultra citra.* This Man, a good Hebrician and Linguiſt, and full of the *Geneva* Talmud, which was now more refin'd, beginneth to ſet Presbyterian Diſcipline higher, to make a ſecond Book of Policy or devout Imaginations, acknowledgeth no more Orders in the Church than the four abovenam'd. A Biſhop was no more in Scripture, but the ſame identically with Presbyter: and where Abbots and Priors to his time were nominated and admitted to the Abbys and Priorys as Churchmen, gave their Trials, and were collated (as they ſpeak) by the Superintendents; this great Doctor found out another Divinity, That there was no Biſhop but a Pariſh-Prieſt; Scripture for Abbots and Priors, there were none ſuch in God's Book. At this time, and from that, they call Reformation to this time, there was no Biſhoprick nor Abby annex'd to the Crown, and conſequently not impropriate to any Subject. It is true, Laymen held them *in commendam*, by the King's Gift, but as Men able to do the King and Church good Service; and before their Right could be compleated or perfected, they were to return to the King from the Superintendent a Collation or Certificate, That he was of that Ability to do good Service to the King and Church. Men ſacrilegiouſly diſpos'd, graſp'd greedily this Doctrine, and thank'd God that their Names, as Abbots and Priors, were not in the Book of God. And to have theſe Church-livings and Dignitys, with Biſhopricks annex'd to the Crown, and from thence to impropriate them to them and their Heirs, they deify'd Mr. *Melvil*, and contributed their beſt wits and utmoſt power to raiſe Presbyterial Government higher. And by the ſole Authority of that they call the Church, they began, without the King, Council or Parliament's Conſent or Authority, to diſtribute the whole Kingdom into ſo many Presbyterys, as they thought fit in their diſcretion, and by the direction of the holy Spirit, as they blaſphemouſly pretended; and did procure private Subſcriptions to their new Book of Policy, and put it in practice.

They will more readily believe this, who know that in *England* the Diſciplinarians in *London* Meetings debated and eſtabliſh'd their Orders in ſecret and not warrantable Conventicles, and much about the ſame time; and great Correſpondence was entertain'd betwixt the *Scots* and the *Engliſh* at that time. How that Book of Diſcipline was practis'd without any Authority in *Surry* and *Northamptonſhire*, and other places, is known well enough.

Now I appeal to my judicious Readers, to judg, when without Authority, by their own inherent radical Right, they make Orders, reform, eſtabliſh a Diſcipline; Whether theſe Men imagine, that the Concurrence of Chriſtian Authority Sovereign is abſolutely neceſſary, or that their Demand is any thing elſe but an Act of Courteſy, when by themſelves and Aſſiſtants they may eſtabliſh and practiſe it?

This ſecond Book of Policy, Mr. *Melvil's* Reformation, is the Epocha of our ſecond Reformation. The Fruits of which, I will tell you, were the Annexation of all Biſhopricks, Abbys, Priorys, *&c.* to the Crown, which was effectuated *Anno* 1587.

If you will caſt your Eyes upon the third glorious Reformation, that makes the Pope's Knees ſhake like *Belſhazzar's*, when he did ſee the Hand-writing on the Wall (that is, if we will ſpeak truly, this, as I ſaid before, Deformation, which is the Diſgrace of Reform'd Catholick Religion, and which threatneth Church and Religion, King and Kingdom with Ruin) you will find theſe Men have ſung a Note above *Ela*, have order'd and practis'd more than all that went before them: *Hanc movere nolo Camarinam.* I hope a better Wit, and more elegant and eloquent Pen, ſhall ſometime anatomize this Monſter, and ſo lay it open to the view of the World, that it ſhall appear to be no true brood of the Reform'd Catholick Proteſtant Religion.

*All muſt preach as they direct.*

Secondly, Another Argument to prove that this ſuperlative Sovereignty *in ſpiritualibus*, hath all its moſt natural Subjects at its Devotion and Obedience, is this, That what they command to be preach'd, muſt ſound alike in all their Synagogues; and whoſoever he be that is the Miniſter of the King's Family, he muſt preach the ſame: There is no coequal, corrival, or co ordinate Power, that can do ſo much as *intercedere*, make the leaſt ſort of croſſing, oppoſing or interpoſing. Is it not known, that the King's Miniſter in *Scotland*, at the direction of this Conclave, when his Council have been to meet frequently for Treaty with Ambaſſadors from foreign Kings; upon the Lord's Day, or Week-days Sermon before the Meeting, *μετὰ παῤῥησίας, in great Freedom of the Spirit*, hath told him all the Counſel of God from Heaven, with a denunciation of Judgments, if he ſwerve from it? And if the King had gone to the Church of *Edinburgh*, a beardleſs Boy had told him more ſound Wiſdom from Heaven, how to article and conclude in matters of higheſt Concernment betwixt him and *Spain*, or him and *France*, than all the wiſeſt Counſellors and greateſt Nobles in the Land; and this forſooth muſt be the King and Council's Rule.

*They appoint publick Faſts.*

Thirdly, Do they not challenge to themſelves the ſole Power to appoint publick Faſts, to give the Reaſons of it, which ordinarily are, That God's Judgments are incumbent and imminent upon Church and Kingdom, for the Sins of the Governor and Governors, and that the Government is amiſs? And the Conſequent or Effect of theſe Faſts, is too too frequently and ordinarily ſome Commotion, Sedition, Rebellion, or at leaſt ſome change of Court, Council or Seſſion.

*A ſtrange Affront offer'd to King* James.

I cannot here paſs by a Story as true as ſtrange. While King *James* was in *Scotland*, two *French* Ambaſſadors had remain'd ſome months there with him; being ready to depart, and take their leave of the King, the King for his own and the *French* King's greater Honour, ſent on a Saturday for the Mayor and Aldermen of *Edinburgh*, commanding them the very next Monday to feaſt the *French* Ambaſſadors. The Miniſters of *Edinburgh* to affront the King, and the King of *France* too, on Sunday intervening, indict a ſolemn Faſt to be kept to morrow, on Monday, the day appointted the Saturday before by his Majeſty for the Entertainment of the Ambaſſadors. The Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* proudly contemn the Command of the ſupreme ſpiritual Powers, and out of carnal Affection, feaſt the King and the *French* Ambaſſadors royally and nobly on Monday: when the Miniſters and the good Chriſtians of *Edinburgh* faſt, the King, the Ambaſſadors and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* feaſt; *O facinus horrendum!* But to avert God's Judgment from the Land, the Mayor and Aldermen were cited and convented (here was ſome favour, that the King and Ambaſſadors were not; but I will tell you, it was Partiality and Corruption, for ſome of the Miniſters were the King's Penſioners, and this kept the King free) to be cenſur'd for their high Scandal, in contemning ſo ſolemn a Faſt. There was much Work; but the King, who was the chief and almoſt ſole Tranſgreſſor, with interpos'd Delays, and much Sollicitation and Prudence, took off the edg of their Zeal, and the Purſuit ceas'd.

*None preaching Treaſon, is cenſurable by any but by them.*

Fourthly, That this Aſſembly is Sovereign in all Spirituals, admits no co-ordinate or coequal Power, far leſs a Superior, is clear in this, That if any Preacher be charg'd before King or Council for any Offence to be puniſh'd, if they in any caſe can clothe it with a ſpiritual Reſpect, or circumſtantiate it ſo, that it may be qualify'd for the ſpiritual high Sanhedrim, the Party cited and convented may and ought to appeal to the General Aſſembly, as to the Judg competent. Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, if I be not deceiv'd, was the firſt ſpiritual Counſellor of Law, that taught this way. It is certain, that what they preach in Pulpit is not cenſurable by King, Parliament, nor Council, or any Judg or Judicatory elſe. There be two reaſons for it; one is, that *Spiritus Prophetarum ſubjecti Prophetis*, the Spirit of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets only, 1 *Cor.* 14. The other is, whilſt Men are there in that infallible Pulpit, they are (as they boaſt it) rul'd by ſome ſuperior good Spirit, and they dare not blame or condemn them, leſt they ſhould offend and ſin againſt the Spirit; and ſo, altho a Man preach downright Treaſon, if it be in this place, he is privileg'd.

*This is the* Scotiſh *Doctrine, the Root of all Sedition and Rebellion.*

It is known, and I hope yet remembred, that after King *James*, of bleſſed Memory, *Anno* 1584. made many good Laws to curb the Inſolency of Miniſters, did by Statute and Act of Parliament declare his Supremacy over Eccleſiaſtical Perſons and Cauſes, condemn all Judicatorys in uſe which were not by his own Authority eſtabliſh'd (he mean'd the Presbyterial) that the Miniſters then did importune the King to repeal them: And when that would not do, did they not fall at laſt into open railing againſt him in Pulpit, as an Enemy to Chriſt and his Kingdom? They diſpers'd thro the Kingdom infamous Libels againſt his Perſon and Royal Honour; they branded him as an Apoſtate from the Truth, and revil'd him as an Off-ſpring of the cruel and bloody Houſe of *Guiſe*. This forc'd the King to put out a Declaration, *Anno* 1585. in Print, yet extant, to vindicate himſelf and his Honour from thoſe unchriſtian, and more than diſloyal Calumnys. At or about the very ſame time, ſome fugitive Miniſters out of *Scotland*, pretending they were perſecuted, did in the Pulpits of *London*, with their foul Mouths, rail againſt his Majeſty, the wiſeſt and learnedſt of Kings; ſo that the *Scotiſh* Ambaſſador was forc'd to complain to Queen *Elizabeth* of it: Her Majeſty gave preſent Orders to the Lord Biſhop of *London* then to ſilence all the *Scotiſh* Preachers there.

Now that this *Sanhedrim* is only competent Judg in *Spiritualibus*, and that one convented before King and Council, may decline his and the Council's Authority, altho he hath preach'd Treaſon, appeareth clearly: Firſt, If this had not been an ordinary Practice before this time, what needeth the making of that Act of Parliament, *Anno* 1584. declaring it Treaſon in all time to come, to decline the Power and Juriſdiction of the King and his Council? Secondly, Has not *James Gibſon*, Miniſter at *Pencaitland*, witneſs'd for, or againſt himſelf rather, in this caſe in print; who publickly in his Preachings compar'd his Majeſty unto *Jeroboam*, told him he ſhould be the laſt of his Race, reproach'd him as a Perſecutor; and much more of this zealous ſtuff? who being convented before the King and Council, and accus'd of thoſe pious Crimes, he with that boldneſs which becometh his Order, juſtify'd all, ſaying to his Majeſty: *As long as you maintain theſe curſed Acts of* 1584, *the Tyranny of Biſhops, you are a Perſecutor.* And adds, That as *Jeroboam* for the leading of the People of *Iſrael* from the Laws of the Houſe of *Judah*, and from the true Worſhip of God, was rooted out, he and all his Poſterity; ſo ſhould the King (if he continued in that wicked courſe, maintaining thoſe wicked Acts againſt God) be rooted out, and conclude the Race. Much more to the like purpoſe was ſaid; and if any look upon the Privy Council Books of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, he will find this a Truth. He was convented *December* 27. 1585. This Man was an Oracle conſulted, and gave his anſwer in *Coppinger*, *Arthington*, and *Hacket*'s extraordinary Motion, which Story you know better than I.

Mr. *Black*, Miniſter of *St. Andrews*, was convented too before the King and Council about the ſame time, who appeal'd from King and Council to the Presbytery or General Aſſembly. This laſt had ſpoken againſt both King and Queen. There was a great buſineſs for the two mens Appeals; their Brethren ſided ſo much with them, that the King had too much to do. At laſt, out of more than warrantable Indulgence, his Majeſty was content to inſiſt no farther againſt them before his Council, but remit their Cenſure to the General Aſſembly it ſelf; before which it was clearly prov'd, that in Pulpit they had ſpoken reproachful and treaſonable Speeches; yet could the King, by no power or intreaty, obtain of them to inflict any Puniſhment upon them, becauſe, ſaid they, *They knew not with what Spirit they were over-ruled.*

I will ſhut up this Point with one Inſtance more than ſufficient to make the truth of what I ſay to appear. Before King *James* came to the Crown of *England*, it was ordinary in *Scotland* to have a General Aſſembly once a year, and oftner *pro re natâ*, upon any great Exigent. The laſt which was kept during his Majeſty's abode there, was *Anno* 1602. In the cloſe of which, the next enſuing was appointed to be at *Aberdeen*, in 1603. In the interim the King ſucceeding Queen *Elizabeth*, and being in *England*, he was ſo much taken up with the Affairs of the Kingdom, that he was neceſſitated to lay aſide thoſe concern'd *Scotland*; and for this reaſon his Majeſty thought fit to adjourn the Aſſembly (unto which he had a ſpecial eye, knowing their turbulent Diſpoſition, and experienc'd in it whilſt he was preſent amongſt them) to the next Summer, in 1604. When the time appointed was come, his Majeſty's more weighty Affairs not ſuffering him to think upon the Aſſembly's Buſineſs, he gave order to prorogate it to another and longer day; which was accordingly done by publick Proclamation, authoriz'd by his Honourable Privy Council of that Kingdom. Notwithſtanding all which, ſome thirteen or fourteen godly zealous Brethren muſt needs meet at *Aberdeen*, at the Day appointed for the Aſſembly: They eſtabliſh'd and formaliz'd the Judicatory, by conſtituting a Moderator, a Clerk, and other eſſential Members of the Court. The Lords of the Council underſtanding this Contempt, ſent a Gentleman of good Quality and Place, with an Herald at Arms, to diſcharge and diſſolve their Meeting. The Commiſſioner and Herald were entertain'd with as much reſpect as before they had given reverence to the Proclamation, iſſued out by the Sovereign Authority of the King, with the Advice of his Honourable Privy Council. The Holy Fathers in the great *Sanhedrim* proteſted and profeſs'd, That in Conſcience and Duty to Almighty God, they were bound to preſerve the Church's Right, and could not, would not give way to that Power the King ſacrilegiouſly uſurp'd, which properly and natively belong'd to the Church virtual, the Aſſembly. They kept and continu'd the Aſſembly ſome days, and finding that no more of the holy Brotherhood came to join with them, they diſſolv'd; and to preſerve the holy Right of the Church, appointed the Time and Place of meeting for the next Aſſembly. The King hearing this, gave order to his Privy Council to cite and convent them before them, and to puniſh this high Contempt. The more zealous Champions of the Lord of Hoſts appear'd, and with an undaunted Courage gave in to the Lords of the Council a Proteſtation, a Declinator from the King's Council, and appeal'd to the next General Aſſembly, as the ſole and competent Judg in this Caſe and Cauſe. The King's Attorny or Advocate, by order from the Council-Table, was ordain'd to

*The ſame Spirit now reigns in our Anabaptiſtical* Engliſh.

purſue them criminally before the Lord Juſtice General, and that upon the Act of Parliament mention'd before, *Anno* 1584. Upon which Order, the one half confeſs'd their Fault, and eaſily made their Peace, and obtain'd pardon. The Zealots were convicted of Treaſon, *ad Terrorem & Exemplum*, more than for any other end or reſpect, and only baniſh'd the Kingdom: of whom the moſt part thereafter, upon confeſſion and ſubmiſſion, were pardon'd, came home, liv'd and enjoy'd their own, or at leaſt as good, if not better Benefices. Are theſe things conſiſtent with Monarchy, or the Obedience due to Sovereignty and its higheſt Courts?

*The Sovereignty Eccleſiaſtical tyrannizeth over Conſcience, Body and Eſtate.*

So abſolute and uncontrolable is this high Celeſtial Court, that it commandeth Conſcience and Soul, diſpoſeth of Body and Eſtate in the point of Religion, that if you conform not in all, neither Soul nor Body, nor Eſtate can be in Peace; nay, no Toleration can be allow'd where this Sovereignty domineereth. And to make this Power of the larger extent, it is certain, their Faith and Things neceſſary to Salvation, are of greater latitude than that of the Council of *Trent*.

If any doth not, after a little time granted for information, conform and ſubſcribe to their Confeſſion of Faith, (which is more in Negatives and Deſtructives, than Affirmatives and Poſitives) their Rule of Government, their Manner of Worſhip, and what elſe in their opinion is neceſſary to Salvation (and in this I am ſure they are more rigorous than ever God, or Catholick Church was; for if you diſſent but from them in a Theological Tenet, it is Hereſy) you are forthwith excommunicated, and given over to the Devil: After which, upon the remonſtrance of a Commiſſioner from the Presbytery to the Civil Judg, there is a Warrant from Supreme Authority given out, to command you to conform (this is different from the Writ *de excommunicato capiendo*) or then within few days to be put to the Horn (that is, out-lawed.) Upon diſobedience, the tender Conſcience not conforming, the Out-lawed's Eſtate movable (Chattels we call it) become proper to the King. God knoweth, little of this Benefit cometh to the King's Treaſurer, but a *Donater to the Eſcheat*, which ordinarily is the Convicted's mortal Enemy, and for a little Compoſition hath the Right made over, and hath the Benefit of the Eſcheat. If within a year and day he give not Obedience and Conformity, his whole Revenues and Rents of immovable Goods forfeit to the King during his life-time. Some Enemy of his, or Favorite of the Treaſurer's, obtaineth the King's Right, and the King hath little or nothing of it. Here you have him ſtript of all his Eſtate movable and immovable. Yet here is not an end; but ſtill upon remonſtrance of the Presbytery's or Church's Commiſſioner, another Writ goeth out, which they call Letters of Caption (that is, if I miſtake not, the tant' amount to the Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*) which is directed to all Sheriffs, Stewards, Provoſts, Bayliffs, *&c.* to ſeize and ſecure his Perſon whereſoever it may be apprehended, and to commit him to cloſe Priſon as a Rebel. If he skulk and hide himſelf, then upon the ſame Remonſtrance goeth out a Writ, which there they call *Letters of Intercommuning* (I know nothing in the Law like this) the Intent is, that none of the King's Subjects commune or confer with him *coram* or perſonally, or by Letter or interpos'd Perſon keep Intelligence or Correſpondence with him; otherwiſe, the Intercommuner is to be judg'd and reputed to be a Rebel of the ſame guiltineſs. You will be pleas'd to remember this, when the Church requireth all theſe of the Civil Magiſtrate (ſo they are pleas'd to term Sovereignty) he is bound to grant them. Now I pray conſider, if this is not in many reſpects worſe than the Inquiſition; when an Opinion in a Theological Tenet, different from the aſſured Faith of thoſe *Gamaliels*, may bring a man unto all thoſe Troubles. Only to make amends for this, and to palliate their Cruelty, they would fain perſuade us, that this authoritative way preſerveth a Church from Hereſy, Error, Superſtition and Schiſm.

*This Court is Judg of Treaſon in relation to Religion, and of fit and worthy Counſellors.*

There is another Practice of the Power of this Court; That for the Glory of God, forſooth, the Honour of the King, the Good and Preſervation of Church and Religion, it may aſſume to it ſelf to be Judg of what is Treaſon, what is not; who are fit Counſellors for a King, who not.

Practice is the moſt ſure, infallible, and clear Proof and Demonſtration of Power. I will give you one in the Caſe of Treaſon, that none dare to ſay it is a Lye, and which can be made good by the authentick and publick Records of Parliament and Council of *Scotland*, and their own noble Acts of General Aſſembly.

When King *James*, about the Age of *Joſias* (when in Holy Writ it is recorded of him, that he began to ſeek the Lord with all his heart) had taken the Government of the Kingdom in his own hand, and did reign and rule with ſuch Prudence incomparable, admirable, that none could juſtly except againſt him or his Government; yet ſuch was the reſtleſs Ambition of ſome, who could not with patience endure the Truſt of others, eſpecially of that noble worthy *Eſme* Duke of *Lenox*, his Majeſty's neareſt Kinſman and higheſt Favourite, and that juſtly for his moſt eminent and noble Endowments, theſe diſcontented Gentlemen put on a Reſolution to get the King into their hands and power, and to thruſt out that noble Prince. They watch'd an opportunity, when the King came to his Sport of hunting near to *Saint Johnſtown*, with an ordinary Attendance (the noble Peer ſtaying with others at *Edinburgh*, for the King and Kingdom's better Service) ſurpriz'd him fearing no ill, ſeiz'd his Perſon, carry'd him along to the Caſtle of *Ruthin*, kept him ſo that none could have acceſs to him, till he was forc'd to command the Duke of *Lenox* to depart the Kingdom (which out of Zeal and Love to the King he did in Winter, embarking at *Dunbritain*, came to *France*, and died ſhortly after) and to change all his Servants they diſlik'd, and to ſurround him with themſelves and their own. They kept their King in captivity the ſpace of nine months, ſuffering none to come at him, but ſuch as they pleas'd. The wiſe King put a good face upon a foul buſineſs, ſeem'd to like well of them and their courſes. Nevertheleſs, the beſt and moſt knowing Subjects grumbled exceedingly to ſee their Prince ſo abus'd. The Conſpirators underſtanding it, did adviſe upon the beſt courſe to ſatisfy the People, and to bring them to approve their way: They wrought with the chief Rulers of the Synagogue, and prevail'd. At the next General Aſſembly, they give in a Remonſtrance to them then ſitting at *Edinburgh*, declaring the extraordinary Reaſons that mov'd them to ſecure his Majeſty's Perſon in the Caſtle of *Ruthin*; their Zeal for the Reform'd Religion, which was in imminent and apparent danger by the Practices of the Duke, who was ſent from *France* to *Scotland*, on purpoſe to corrupt the young King; their Care to ſecure the King's Royal Perſon, whom the Duke intended to convey privately to *France*; their Deſire to free the Subjects from the bloody Tyranny and Oppreſſion both of their Lives and Goods, by the malicious Diſpoſition and inſatiable Avarice of thoſe who were about him, and over-ruled him; and a great many more ſpecious Pretences (which are not much different from theſe of this time.) Upon this Narrative, the humble Petition to this ſuperlative Sovereignty was, That the holy Brotherhood would be pleas'd to give an approbation to this their Heroick and Chriſtian Fact, and whatſoever was their Judgment, they would obey it with this Proviſo, That it ſhould be made known to all good Chriſtians within the Realm. The Demand was pious and juſt; the holy Aſſembly ſecur'd from Erring and Error, and not encroaching upon any thing merely civil, but in a caſe of ſo high concernment *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, as competent Judges do take the caſe into their conſideration, and after mature deliberation, being aſſiſted with a fancied infallible Direction, give out their Verdict, authorize and approve all in Subſtance or Circumſtance to be holily and juſtly, with much Zeal and Diſcretion done. In all this they exceeded not their Power, and that becauſe what was done was for the Advancement of God's Glory, the Honour and perſonal Safety of the King, and publick Good of the Kingdom. That all good People may reſt content, and be fully ſatisfy'd, it was further ordain'd, That all Miniſters ſhall, upon their return to their Pariſhes, intimate ſo much to all their Flocks; and withal, exhort all People to eſteem the Actors as good Chriſtians and Patriots, that for the cauſes above-mention'd were neceſſitated to take this courſe, to preſerve Religion, to rectify the Errors of the Court, which were brought and wrought to that height, that both Religion and Policy were in the greateſt imaginable danger. The Ordinance was accordingly perform'd, to no ſmall grief of honeſt Subjects and Chriſtians. Sir, if there were no more Inſtances, what do you think of this?

It is worth your notice taking, that this noble Duke dying in *France*, who, before his coming to *Scotland*, had been bred in Popery, became a Proteſtant when he came thither, and was King *James*'s Convert. While he was a dying, Romiſh Prieſts were moſt earneſt for acceſs, to reconcile him to that Church; but he adhering to Truth, and proteſting withal his Promiſe to his Couſin King *James*, would admit none, and died in the Communion of the Proteſtant Reformed Church.

*The Sovereignty of the Aſſembly is above all Laws, and may repeal them.*

This high Court, the General Aſſembly, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, challengeth and practiſeth a Sovereign Power above all civil Laws and Statutes, and Acts of Parliament; and that with that power, that of it ſelf it may repeal and condemn ſtanding Laws and Acts of Parliament, which are in practice, and obſerv'd within the Kingdom.

To give you a recent Example and Inſtance of this: Since this Aſſembly, of late in this diſtemper, hath recover'd its Place and Power, the General Aſſemblies of *Glaſgow* and *Edinburgh* have damn'd Biſhops as Antichriſtian, and againſt their Reformation. I wave this. Moreover, they have ſecluded Biſhops or any Churchman from having any Voice in Parliament, Conventions, or Council. Thus by their own moſt proper Eccleſiaſtical Authority, they have made void many Acts of Parliament there, which before were in force and practice; as that in 1584. *Declaring it Treaſon to call in queſtion the*

*the Power and Authority of any of the three Eſtates* (that is, Biſhops, Lords, and Commons) *or any one of them.* This Act was made only to preſerve the Privileges of the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate inviolable. This is evident by the King's Declaration put forth the Year following, 1585. Again, they have made void another Act of Parliament, in 1597. *Ordaining Miniſters, that ſhould be provided by his Majeſty to Prelacies, to have Vote in Parliament, as being the third Eſtate.* Another in 1606.

The ſame Aſſemblies did declare the Acts of the Aſſemblies of *Glaſgow*, *Perth*, &c. null, void, and unlawful; which notwithſtanding were enacted as Municipal Laws, Obedience commanded, and practis'd in the greateſt part of the Kingdom. How much King *James*'s happy Memory is blaſted by theſe ſupercilious new Orders of thoſe Aſſemblies, my Pen bluſheth to expreſs.

The ſame Aſſemblies have condemn'd the High Commiſſion Court, declar'd by Act of Parliament. And this is done upon this ground, which proveth their Sovereignty *in ſpiritualibus*, becauſe it was not conſented to by the Church, that is, the Virtual Church, the General Aſſembly.

When I conſider theſe things, I cannot ſufficiently wonder, how the High Court of Parliament of *England* hath ſwallow'd and ſworn their Covenant, which in its right ſenſe doth eſtabliſh a Court above King and Parliament. Judg now, if this Oath be *in Judicio, Veritate, & Juſtitia.*

*An Eccleſiaſtical Court.*

If King and Parliament be ſubordinate to this Court *in ſpiritualibus*, or *in temporalibus in ordine ad Eccleſiaſtica*; all the Reaſon in the World will plead, That it is moſt juſt, that all Judicatories whatſoever, even the ſupremeſt, from whom lieth no Appeal, ſubmit and ſubject themſelves to it.

*All Judicatories are ſubordinate to the* Sanhedrim.

The holy Fathers of this Court have ſhown their Right in this point too. To confirm this, I will bring but one Inſtance, and ſpare to trouble you with more.

This Story can be made good by Records, which I am to tell you: And firſt, give me leave to inform you, That the Lords of Seſſion (who by Act of Parliament are ſo) are in all civil Cauſes the Supreme Judicatory of the Kingdom under the King. No Judgment paſs'd there can be rectify'd or reduc'd by any Judicatory under the King and Parliament, but by themſelves, which is only by Suſpenſion of Execution of that is judg'd and decreed, or by Action of Reduction: This is nothing but *Provocatio à Philippo malè edocto ad Philippum rectiùs edoctum.* This thus premis'd, I come home.

Mr. *John Graham*, one of the Judges of that aſſociate Body, had commenc'd an ordinary and proper Suit before the Lords of Seſſion, obtain'd Decree and Judgment according to his Libel. After which, a rumour was nois'd abroad, that the Writs and Evidences, upon which his Suit and the Judgment upon it were founded, were forg'd and falſe. The General Aſſembly took notice of this unjuſt Decree, as they to whom the Inſpection of Religion and Juſtice belongeth, and who were bound not to ſuffer ſuch an unjuſt Judgment to take place and be executed. They ſend for Mr. *John Graham*, commanding him by their Authority to paſs from his Decree, to make no uſe of it againſt the Party againſt whom it was obtain'd, and that becauſe it was purchas'd upon falſe grounds, and it gave occaſion of great Scandal, that he being a Judg, ſhould make uſe of ſuch Writs. His anſwer was, If any would challenge his Decree or Judgment upon any juſt ground, he might have his recourſe to the ordinary Judg, and take it away by way of reduction; but ſo long as it was not reduc'd, it concern'd him to take the benefit of it. Then ſeeing that they could not prevail by Admonition, they threatned him with Excommunication, if he did not what they enjoin'd. He appeals from them to the Lords of Seſſion, as the only competent Judges in ſuch caſes: notwithſtanding they reſolve to proceed againſt him. The Lords of Seſſion finding themſelves intereſted, and the Aſſembly uſurping upon them and their Power, in this proceeding againſt one of their own number, who had appeal'd to them in a civil Cauſe already judg'd by them, directed ſome of their number to the Aſſembly, and deſir'd them not to meddle any more in that buſineſs, as being merely civil, and no ways belonging to their Juriſdiction. This produc'd no other Effect, but incens'd the holy Fathers to rail againſt the Judges as wicked and corrupt Men, who ſided one with another, whether it were right or wrong. The buſineſs at laſt came to this height, that the Lords of Seſſion (who would not ſuffer them to encroach upon their Privileges) by virtue of that delegate Power and Authority they were inveſted with from the King, threatned to out-law them, and to proclaim them Rebels to the King, if they proceeded any further, and would not admit of the Appeal. The Aſſembly finding themſelves too weak, and not able to make their part good by Power (in which caſe only they will be Martyrs) fell from the purſuit, and all was quieted.

Now I beſeech all Men ſeriouſly to conſider, in what condition they are, who live under ſuch a Government that is boundleſs and univerſal; will give Laws to King, Council, and Parliament; repeal theirs at pleaſure; reduce and make void Decrees and Judgments of higheſt Judicatories, *&c.* What Peace or Tranquillity can there be in ſuch a State or Kingdom? Give me leave to tell you a true Story. It is known and lamented by all good Men this day, how King *James*'s Soul was vex'd with them, that many times they have made him fall out in tears. A Nobleman, a moſt wiſe Man, then Chancellor, ſeeing the King extremely troubled at the miſcarriage of the Miniſtry, ſaid to him: 'Sir, no man is 'to be blam'd, that you are ſo much troubled with the Mi'niſters, as your ſelf; for when they do any thing amiſs, you 'never ceaſe till by your Royal Prudence and Authority you 'ſet it right again: but would you leave them to them'ſelves, the very Body of the People would riſe up againſt 'them, and ſtone them out of the Kingdom. His Majeſty return'd a moſt pious Anſwer, worthy to be written in Letters of Gold in Marble, that all Kings may learn it: 'My Lord, 'ſaith he, your Advice is ſhrewd Policy, but your Counſel is 'not good Piety: If I had no more to do, but to ſerve my 'ſelf of them for a politick end, your Advice is good, and I 'know it would prove ſo; but God hath appointed me a Nurſe 'or Father of his Church, it is my Charge from my Lord and 'Maſter to preſerve his Church, and not to ruinate it: which 'if I do, God will ruinate me and my Poſterity.

King *James*, in the Conference at *Hampton-Conrt*, hath well obſerv'd, That this Eccleſiaſtical Government prepareth way, and uſhereth in a Democratical Government: and he telleth alſo, That in his Mother Queen *Mary's* Abſence, and in his own Minority and Non-age, it was much thought upon and intended. Their Maxims of Divinity lead to it; for they ſay *Reſpublica eſt in Eccleſia:* The Church and her Polity are the Houſe, the Civil Government is but the Hangings, which neceſſarily, for decency and good order, muſt be made conformable to the Houſe: Monarchy is Enmity againſt the Church. *Catherwood*, in his Book intitled *Altare Damaſcenum*, gives you it in downright terms; *Naturâ inſitum eſt omnibus Regibus in Chriſtum odium.* And in his Preface or Epiſtle (I have not the Book by me) he calls King *James*, *Infenſiſſimum & infeſtiſſimum purioris Religionis hoſtem.* And that they may now exerciſe all their Power, and bring the Kingdom to a Popular State, which was not ſo feiſable before, it is more than probable, and much to be fear'd, and with great prudence to be prevented; becauſe the General Aſſembly hath in it now the prime Noblemen of the Kingdom, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Lords; the moſt active and knowing Knights of Counties and Eſquires; the wiſeſt Citizens in Corporations; and this in the Capacity of Ruling Elders: who diſcontented, are able here to make a Faction, call King, Seſſion, Council, or whom they pleaſe, before them, becauſe of their ſupreme, univerſal, and independent Juriſdiction. And this Judicatory cannot err in its Determinations; for it is undoubtedly ſecur'd from Error, and aſſiſted with Infallibility.

*This they wickedly affirm.*

*A holy Trick, which hatcheth all Sedition and Treaſon.*

This Divine Policy hath another ſacred Trick, to preſerve its Sovereignty, and to continue it, which is this: The General Aſſembly ordinarily meets but once a year, yet at the end and cloſe of every General Aſſembly, there is a choice made of ſome Commiſſioners (a Committee) who are to reſide, or at leaſt upon any neceſſary occaſion to be at *Edinburgh.* Theſe are the virtual Aſſembly, and their Power continueth till the next General Aſſembly. They are in the firſt place to intimate to the King the Deſire and Demands of the Aſſembly, and to ſee all due civil Sanction and Confirmation given to it: The King, his Council, his Parliament can change nothing of their ſacred Decrees, without their conſent. Whatever new Occurrence is in Church or State *pro re nata*, theſe Commiſſioners are to give order, and to ſee *ne quid detrimenti Eccleſia capiat.* It is true, their Orders bind only in the interim betwixt the two Aſſemblies, and the next plenary General Aſſembly may *derogare, abrogare, obrogare,* &c. Yet give me leave to tell you truth: Theſe great Delegates, with their Power, have ſo much influence upon the next General Aſſembly, that their Προϐȣλεύματα, Precognitions and Predeterminations are formally and legally enacted. Nor is this to be wonder'd at; for the *Achitophels* and *Joabs* of Church and Kingdom, the beſt Head-pieces of greateſt depth, Preaching and Ruling Elders, are in this *Junto.*

Here are all diſturbing Seditions, and treaſonable Courſes hatch'd and conceiv'd; whether it be Treaſon againſt the King, Sedition in State or Kingdom, the Change of Court, the removing of Courtiers from the King, the ſurrounding of him with others, *&c.* The next Aſſembly owns all their Courſes, decrees them under pretence of Piety, Reformation of Abuſes, removing of Malignants from the King and his Council, from being Judges in the ſupremeſt Judicatories of the Kingdom, *&c.* By this means at pleaſure, when and where they will, they procure Parliaments to work for their own and private ends. To facilitate the Work, Order is given to all Presbyteries, to command all the Miniſters to preach to their Flocks, to make and keep Faſts, for the Danger the Church is in; that the King is inclinable, nay, inclining to Popery; that there are none in Truſt or Power by him in Court, Council, Exchequer, or Seſſion, but ſuch as are Popiſh, or Popiſhly affected: and ſuch they muſt be, if they once determine it. And woful Experience hath confirm'd it, that worthy, innocent, and deſerving Men have ſuffer'd, and the King hath been forc'd to abandon his beſt Servants.

*This Trick was practis'd here of late in* England.

This cloſe Committee hath all theſe Prerogatives; Firſt, During the Interim betwixt two Aſſemblies, they had truſt to ſee that all Decrees and Orders of the grand Conſiſtory ſhould be put in execution. Next, Upon any Exigent intervening, they have the Power, by their influence upon all the Presbyteries in the Kingdom, to make them go which way they thought fit for their own ends, both to make the Miniſters preach their Senſe, and to work with all the People to believe the Poſture of Affairs in Church and State was as they inform'd and repreſented them. Thirdly, Here were all things prepar'd for the next great Meeting of the General Aſſembly.

By theſe means things projected were effected. This way the Queen Regent was put from her Regency: This way Q. *Mary* was expulſed *Scotland:* This way K. *James*'s Captivity at *Ruthen* was found to be good Service: This way that Noble Duke of *Lenox*, *Eſme*, was made a Papiſt, and the King forc'd to abandon him, and he to depart the Kingdom in Winter being ſick, and ſhortly after dy'd in *France*. By this means, if I be not deceiv'd, was that infamous Day the 17th of *December*, 1596. *atro ſignanda lapillo*, renown'd for a moſt horrid Inſurrection in *Edinburgh* againſt K. *James* and his prime Counſellors. I ſhall give you a ſhort and true Account of it.

*The Story of* 17 December, 1596.

K. *James*, whilſt he was King of *Scotland*, by all foreign Kings, Princes and States, was admir'd for his extraordinary Royal Endowments: Embaſſadors from many beyond Seas at the ſame time, and almoſt conſtantly, were with him. The Smalneſs of the Patrimony of that Crown, was not able to maintain that Royal Deportment he kept. Beſides, being too too royally liberal and magnificent, his Coffers were empty, and at this time ſcarce was his Majeſty able to maintain the neceſſary Charge of his Houſe, in that meaſure which was ſutable to ſo Royal a King. To rectify this, the King, with the Advice of his Council, entruſted with all his Rents, Revenues and Caſualties, eight prime Men of good Worth and Integrity, Officers of State, Counſellors, and Judges. This was done, that all might be rightly regulated; and above all, his Tables at Court kept like a King's, that foreign Embaſſadors might not eſpy any Want, which might derogate from the Honour of King and Kingdom. The ordinary Tables of the Court were regulated, the Courtiers daily Allowance was retrench'd; which they could not away with: They and other diſcontented Perſons did reproachfully call theſe Men, *The Octavians.* They who grumble at this, and would right themſelves, to gain their Intendment, hit upon the ordinary and ſafeſt way; that was, to begin with the Church. They inform, that the foreign Embaſſadors did work upon the King to turn Papiſt: That it was likely they would prevail, for theſe *Octavians* were all ſuch in their hearts, and diſſembled only, in profeſſing to keep a Communion with the Proteſtant Church: That if thoſe were not remov'd from the King, and good Men put about him, Religion, Kingdom, and all were undone. When this had been often inform'd and ſuggeſted, early in the morning, on the 17th day of *December*, three of the King's domeſtick Servants came to Mr. *Walter Balcanqual*'s Houſe: The Miniſtry of *Edinburgh*, and others Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly, with ſome of the beſt Chriſtians of *Edinburgh*, are ſent for; they meet there. The King's Servants inform, That all was undone, if they did not in time and ſpeedily prevent; for the Marquiſs of *Huntly* (this was the late Marquiſs, who came occaſionally the night before to Court, and it is true he was Popiſh, but God knows he was free of what he was charg'd with) ſay they, was with the King till twelve a clock at night in his Bed-chamber yeſternight; it is reſolv'd upon, to re-erect Popery, and ſo many of your beſt Citizens and Chriſtians are to be ſeiz'd upon; ſome to be ſent to *Blackneſs*, ſome to *Innerneſs*, ſome to *Dunbritton*, &c. The Caſe was apprehended in that Zeal which became the Cauſe. The Reſolution taken was, That Mr. *Walter Balcanqual* being to preach that very day in the Chancel of St. *Giles*'s Church, which they call the little Church, after Sermon and Prayer done, he ſhould deſire all good Brethren and Chriſtians to meet immediately forthwith there, for the Good of Church and Religion. Noblemen, Gentlemen, Preachers, Burgeſſes, all who affected the good Cauſe, did meet. Mr. *Robert Bruce* was appointed by common Conſent, Moderator. It is laid open in what caſe Church and Religion, State and Kingdom are; the urgent inſtant Neceſſity is made to appear. The Reſnlt of the Determination was, That preſently they go to Arms, and by holy Force to pull from the King's ſide thoſe *Popiſh Octavians:* That a Letter be written to *John*, Lord Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, to come to *Edinburgh*, to be Captain of the Congregation; and in regard the King had made defection from the true Religion, he being the neareſt of Blood, ſhould come and take the Government upon him. I know the juſt Copy of this Letter is extant to this day. They run to Arms; the Word is, *The Sword of the Lord, and* Gideon. The good King was in the place of Juſtice, the prime of the *Octavians* with him; hearing ſomething of the Uproar and Tumult by a ſecret Paſſage, he and ſome other go up to the Exchequer-houſe over head. A great Lord was Head of the Congregation; he and ſome others, who came Commiſſioners to the King, were admitted, demanded thoſe *Octavians* to Juſtice. The King asks this Lord, how durſt he, againſt his Authority, his Laws, his Proclamation, keep unlawful Meetings at *Edinburgh?* (for the King before had diſcharg'd the Meeting of thoſe Commiſſioners of Aſſembly, or any other Meeting whatſoever, without his Royal Warrant.) The Lord, with Courage and Zeal to a good Cauſe, told the King, That he ſhould ſee e'er long they durſt to do more. The Lord, or ſome other, taketh hold of one of the *Octavians* Gown, who was Preſident of the Seſſion; but he pulleth his Gown out of his hand, and conveyeth himſelf down to the Houſe where the Lords did ſit in Judgment. In fine, the King and Lords were forc'd to ſhun the Danger of this tumultuary Inſurrection, to cloſe up the doors, and ſome to ſtand with their Swords drawn, if any ſhould offer violence to break up the Doors. Some good Subjects, eſpecially *Alexander Home* of *Northborvick*, for the time Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, and *Roger Mackmath* (whom King *James* ordinarily call'd his Bailiff) with others well-diſpos'd and loyally-affected Subjects, and namely the *Hammer-men*, riſe up in Arms for the King; who partly by ſmooth Words, and partly by Threats, huſh'd and hous'd the Factious and Seditious. The King came out of the Place of Judicatory; and on foot, attended with many Nobles, Gentlemen, and other good Subjects, came to his Palace at *Holyrood-Houſe* in Peace; where, immediately in the afternoon, he convened his Privy Council, and by his Wiſdom and Authority ſo repreſs'd and puniſh'd that Inſolency, that all the time of his Reign the like barbarous treacherous Courſe was never attempted. I hope you are the more apt to believe this, when you remember what a Petition or Declaration was preſented to Q. *Elizabeth* at *Greenwich, Anno* 1582. to remove from her Service and Truſt ſuch as they knew were not well-affected to the Religion and Church.

I could make it appear how all Seditions almoſt, and Rebellions in that Kingdom, have been ſet on foot or fomented by this Presbyterian Government (which hath no Warrant from the Word of God) How neighbourly Feuds have been increas'd and entertain'd: How Monies collected for the Relief and Support of *Geneva*, were by the chief *Gamaliels* and Presbyters interverted, employ'd to raiſe and pay Soldiers, to aid and aſſiſt the Earl of *Bothwel* and his Complices in Rebellion againſt the King. I fear I have wearied my Reader already, the Subject is everlaſting, and I am weary of it.

If I ſhould give account of the late Practices and Tenets of this late Covenant, it were poſſible to let you ſee that it hath far exceeded all the Miſchief ever their Forefathers did, altho they tread in the ſame Footſteps. The reaſon why I have ſpar'd it, is not I fear'd it; I hope to diſcover it ſometime to the World, by anatomizing it fully. I hope all knowing Chriſtians and loyal Subjects have eſpy'd the ungodly Paſſages in it, and are ſufficiently confirm'd that nothing can be more deſtructive of Monarchy, and the Peace of any Government. To ſhut up all, give me leave in the cloſe to give the Articles of their Apoſtatical Creed inconſiſtent with Monarchy, which they hold as the twelve Articles of the Apoſtolical Symbol. I will touch only the prime of thoſe; for, as to their other Articles, they are ſo many, and of ſo vaſt an extent, abounding in Negatives, that, as King *James* ſaith well, he that would keep them, is not able to keep them in his Brain, but muſt keep them in a Table-Book.

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## *The Articles of the Dogmatical Presbyterian Faith inconſiſtent with Monarchy.*

*Their Dogmatical Creed.*

I. AS I have ſaid before, they preach and maintain, That the Church is the Houſe of God, the Civil Policy and Government are only the Hangings.

II. Next, they believe, all Miniſters are *pari conſortio Honoris & Poteſtatis præditi*; that there muſt be a Parity in the Church: Join theſe two together, and you have a fair way for Democracy.

III. They vindicate to themſelves and their Conſiſtory a ſovereign, compleat, univerſal, independent Power in all things ſpiritual that concern Salvation; they have not only the directive Power, but the legiſlative alſo: and all temporal things, in order to Salvation and Religion, come within the Verge of their Scepter. All Sovereign Power (whereſoever

ſoever you fix it) whether in one, as in a Monarchy; or in a few, as in an Ariſtocracy; or in many, or all, by viciſſitudinary turns, have only the executive Power to do as they command; and is bound to preſerve by its Power, Laws and Arms, their ſacred and celeſtial Privileges and Sovereignty.

IV. Whatſoever Laws, civilly enacted by King or Parliament, they conceive to be againſt the Laws of the Kingdom of Chriſt; by their native proper intrinſecal Right, immediately deriv'd from Chriſt, they may repeal and make void, and diſcharge the Subject to obey them. They may decree not only different Laws of their own, from the ſtanding Laws of the Kingdom, but contrary, contradictory, and deſtructive of them. And have withal ſo much co-active Power, that if Obedience be deny'd to the Laws of this Sovereignty, they can deſtroy the Souls of the Subjects, by delivering them over to Satan.

V. No Miniſter preaching in Pulpit Sedition or Treaſon, or railing at King, Council, the prime Judges, is accountable or puniſhable by King, Parliament, Council, or any Judicatory whatſoever: But from all, he may appeal to the *Sanhedrim* and Conſiſtory, as the ſole and proper competent Judg.

VI. What Corroboration, or civil Confirmation, or Sanction they demand of the King, which he is able to do civilly (for they will give him no formal Intereſt in any ſacred or religious thing) he is bound to grant it, and to obey them as Chriſt's immediate Vicegerents: otherwiſe they may excommunicate him.

VII. Reformation and Preſervation of Religion, eſpecially to preſcribe the way and Orders for Reformation, is ſolely theirs.

VIII. The King is bound to put their Orders in execution; but if neither he, nor his Council, nor his Parliament will do it, the inferior Judges, the Nobles, the Commons, nay every individual Man, to his utmoſt power, at their direction, are bound to do it.

IX. That they may, without Warrant of Supreme Authority, aſſemble where and when they will, for God and Chriſt's Cauſe, and for the Liberty and Peace of Subject and Kingdom, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*; and there they may covenant together, ſwear, and ſubſcribe, for the Glory of God, the Advancement of Religion, and conſpire and combine in a mutual Defence one of another, in this holy Cauſe and League.

X. They teach and maintain, That all Sovereignty and Majeſty in a King is originally, immediately, and properly

*This Poſition is contrary to the Word*, By me Kings reign, *Prov.* 8. 15. So their Power is from God, *Rom.* 13. 1.

deriv'd from the Community, and that only by way of a fiduciary Truſt; ſo that it is habitually and radically ſtill in the People, and the King hath no greater Portion or Proportion than he hath by the firſt popular fundamental Conſtitution: And in caſe of Deficiency, the collective Body may ſupply in Church or State the Defects of his Government. For want of good Adminiſtration, the King is cenſurable; for enormous Errors he is depoſable, and they may diſinherit his Poſterity.

XI. That a defenſive War is lawful againſt a bad King, or a weak King ſeduced by malignant Counſel.

XII. They may oppoſe and reſiſt all his Officers and Commiſſioners by force and violence, if they come to execute his illegal Commands. And if he will be ſo obſtinate, that he will come in Arms againſt theſe * good Chriſtians, they reſiſt not his Authority, but his Will; not his Office, but his Perſon.

* *As good as Rebels and Traitors.*

Beſides, their Practice upon theſe grounds, is to bring all Caſes, all Cauſes under their Cognition and Judgment, *ſub formalitate ſcandali*; by which the King is rob'd of his Sacred Prerogative, the Judges of their Authority, and all Subjects of their Right and Quiet. The reſt of their extravagant Maxims, moſt repugnant to Monarchy, and the Peace of Government, are reduceable to thoſe Heads, which are full of Poiſon, and contain in them the Spawn of Treaſon and Rebellion. God preſerve all good Men from ſwallowing this Poiſon, and ſave his Church from this Presbyterian Scourge; which Government is ſo inconſiſtent with Monarchy, that it is not only deſtructive of the Regal, but of all Governments whatſoever. If once it ſhould be eſtabliſh'd here (which the God of Might and Mercy forbid) then I would ſend a Farewel to Religion, to Peace, and the Subject's Liberty, which cannot ſtand with the factious Diſcords of a Tyrannical Independent Presbytery.

*Da pacem, Domine, in diebus noſtris.*

# POSTSCRIPT.

WHEREAS the Proctors and Factors for a Presbyterian Government, gull and delude the People with loud Clamours and Aſſertions, That their Model is agreeable to the moſt and beſt Reformed Churches; it is evident, by the moſt approv'd Coſmographers, and others, who follow Truth, not Parties, that the major part of the Reformed Churches in Chriſtendom do ſtill retain Biſhops, to bridle the Inſolencies of their inferior Presbyters, and to direct them in the Diſcharge of their ſeveral Functions: Who, without the Guidance and Command of wiſe and grave Overſeers, would fall (as they do now) into foul and horrid Schiſms; which would grow into Hereſies, and ſuch groſs Opinions, as now begin to ſpread in *London*, and other adjacent Countries.

The Reformed Churches that ſtill retain Biſhops, are, beſides the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches,

1. All in the Dutchies of *Saxony*, *Brunſwick*, and *Lunenburg*.
2. All in the Dutchies of *Megaloburg* and *Wirtemburg*.
3. All of the Churches within the Countries of the Marquiſates of *Brandenburg* and *Baden*.
4. The Churches in the Earldoms of *Hemeberg*, *Lemings*, *Mansfield*, *Stalberg*, *Rheniſterne*, *Swartzenberg*, *Hanau*, *Oetingh*, *Clich*, and *Leonſtine*.
5. All in the Baronies of *Leniferg*, *Schenburg*, and *Wildenfield*.

Whereunto may be added, all the Churches in at leaſt thirty free Cities more, many of whoſe Territories are as ample as *Geneva*; none of theſe have receiv'd the Presbyterian Diſcipline.

To all theſe we might likewiſe add the Remainder of the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* in *Piedmont*, and the Parts adjoining; or of the *Taborites* in *Bohemia*: All which, with the forenam'd, together with the Lutheran Churches in *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, are a ſufficient Evidence to evince this Truth againſt the *Smectymnians*; that they, who having taken the late Covenant (a great Snare to tender Conſciences) think themſelves oblig'd to deſtroy Epiſcopacy, endeavour a Reformation neither agreeable to the Word of God, nor according to the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches. I do appeal to *Calvin* himſelf, and *Beza*, to be Judges in this caſe. You may read at large the Opinion of the former, in his Book *de Neceſſitate Reformandæ Eccleſiæ*; and of the latter, in his Book *de Grad. Miniſter. Evangel.* C. 18. Sect. 3. In both which, the Presbyterians may clearly ſee, that their Champions, on whom they ſo much rely for their Authority, were no Enemies to *Moderated Epiſcopacy*, but only to the *Romiſh Hierarchy*.

I pray God open the Peoples Hearts, and ſo enlighten their Underſtandings, that they may ſee their Errors, and abhor their Seducers.

# Phenix XXII.

## Brevis Diſquiſitio: *Or, a brief Inquiry touching a better way than is commonly made uſe of, to refute Papiſts, and reduce Proteſtants to Certainty and Unity in Religion.*

*Suppos'd to be written by Mr.* John Hales *of* Eaton.

Printed in the Year 1653.

### To the Chriſtian Reader.

*THOU haſt here preſented to thee, Chriſtian Reader, a notable ſmart piece, little in Bulk, but not in Virtue, which if thou ſhalt thorowly peruſe and digeſt, and upon occaſion reduce to practice the grounds laid down therein, thou wilt find them to ſtand thee in more ſtead for refuting Papiſts, than all that is ſaid in divers huge and tedious Volumes written againſt them. For proof whereof I might alledg a certain Countryman of our own, who arming* *himſelf with theſe Principles, did, in a Conflict of his with a moſt acute Adverſary, give Popery a mortal Wound, the Cure whereof hath ſince been earneſtly attempted, but in vain. Nevertheleſs there will not be wanting ſome, and they ſuch as profeſs themſelves great Zealots in the Proteſtant Cauſe, who in likelihood will ſtomach at the Publication of this little Treatiſe, becauſe Reaſon is therein (and that not without evident neceſſity) much cry'd up. My Deſire therefore is, that ſuch Perſons would but conſider what the holy Scripture it ſelf ſaith on this behalf, namely, how* Paul, Rom. 12. 1. *calleth the Service which Chriſtians are to exhibit unto God, a* Rational, *or* Reaſonable Service. *And* Peter, 1 Ep. 2. 2. *ſtileth the Word of the Goſpel which he preach'd,* ſincere rational Milk *(for ſo the Original hath it, as any one who is skill'd in that Tongue, and looketh into the Greek Context, may perceive.) And,* Chap. 3. 15. *he ſaith,* Be ready always to make an Apology unto every one that asketh you a Reaſon concerning the Hope that is in you, with Meekneſs and Fear. *Which Paſſage clearly intimateth, that as there is no Incongruity for others to require a Reaſon of our Hope in Chriſt; ſo we Chriſtians are, above all other Profeſſors whatſoever, oblig'd to be very Rational: For to make an Apology or Defence in the behalf of ſo abſtruſe and ſublime a Doctrine as ours is, requireth a more than ordinary Improvement of Reaſon. This being ſo, it may ſeem ſtrange why ſo great a number even of Proteſtant Miniſters ſhould make Reaſon a common Theme to diſclaim againſt, giving to it, without warrant of Scripture, the name of* Corrupt Reaſon, *and* Carnal Reaſon, *and other the like Elogys. But the Truth is, they themſelves hold many abſurd, ridiculous and unreaſonable Opinions, and ſo know right well, that if Men once begin to make uſe of their Reaſon, and bring the Doctrines that are commonly taught to the Touchſtone of the Scripture, explain'd and manag'd in a rational way, their Tenets and Reputation with the People will ſoon be laid in the Duſt. For the prevention whereof they in their Pulpits perpetually cry out againſt* Reaſon, *and I would they did not againſt moral Honeſty too; of which two precious and profitable things there is ſo great a ſcarcity, that we may juſtly impute the Miſerys, under which the Chriſtian World hath a long time groan'd, to the want of them. Wherefore let ſuch Miniſters henceforward either leave off clamouring againſt* Reaſon, *or no more open their Mouths againſt Papiſts and their Opinion about Tranſubſtantiation. For whoſoever ſhall ſift the Controverſy between Papiſts and Proteſtants concerning it, ſhall find that the principal, if not only ground why we reject it, is becauſe it is repugnant to* Reaſon. *But if Tranſubſtantiation is to be diſclaim'd becauſe contrary to* Reaſon, *why ſhall not all other* unreaſonable *Doctrines upon the ſame account be exploded, eſpecially ſeeing there is ſcarce any one of them can plead ſo plauſible a colour of Scripture for it ſelf as that can? As for me, my earneſt requeſt unto all Chriſtians of what ſort ſoever is, and ſhall* *be, that they would at length ſhake of all Drowſineſs and Prejudice, and ſet upon a diligent and impartial Trial of all religious Doctrines by Scripture and Reaſon, that ſo we may at length come unto the Unity of the Faith, and Acknowledgment of the Son of God. For the accompliſhment of which moſt excellent end is this little Treatiſe expos'd to the publick View.*

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## *A brief Inquiry touching a better way than is commonly made uſe of to refute Papiſts, &c.*

### CHAP. I.

*He that will refute an Error, muſt neither be entangled in the ſame, nor reject the true grounds of Refutation.*

AMONGST the things that are argu'd againſt Papiſts, there are two principal Points; the force and efficacy whereof extend themſelves to all other matters. The one is touching the Judg, the other is touching the Rule of the Controverſys of Faith. For if they once obtain that their Church, or the Pope of *Rome* is ſuch a Judg, whoſe Sentence every one, under pain of eternal Damnation, is bound to follow without Contradiction or Tergiverſation; and that unwritten Traditions do neceſſarily belong to the Rule, the whole Buſineſs is at an upſhot. For whatſoever in particular Controverſys ſhall be alledg'd againſt them out of the Scripture, they will ſay that by the judgment of the Pope it is to be taken in another ſenſe: whatſoever you ſhall ſay is taught by them beſides the Scripture, they will reply, that it is agreeable to the Rule of unwritten Traditions. And therefore if any one do not rightly conſtitute the Judg, or Rule of the Controverſys of Faith, he will never be able ſolidly to refute the Papiſts. And this is evident concerning them, who either wholly or in part hold the ſame Judg, and the ſame Rule with the Papiſts. But the ſame is to be thought alſo of them who are therein oppoſite to the Papiſts, yet do themſelves ſtray from the Truth in conſtituting the Judg and Rule; ſo that they do not only reject the true Opinion, but together with it, all the grounds of refuting Falſity. For tho it doth not ſimply follow, if your Opinion be falſe, that mine is preſently true (becauſe both may be falſe, and ſome other beſides them true;) yet if it be granted and concluded, either that mine or yours, and none elſe is true, certainly from the removal of your Opinion, I will ſo collect mine own, that you ſhall have nothing to anſwer for your ſelf, unleſs when you have granted the Premiſes you will abſurdly deny the Concluſion. And therefore, whilſt you thus exclude the true Opinion, as withal to reject the grounds of refuting Falſity, how is it poſſible that you ſhould ever ſolidly refute my Opinion, tho it be falſe? All which is clearly ſeen in thoſe whom they call *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts.* For they cheriſh ſuch notorious Errors, touching both the Judg and the Rule of the Controverſys of Faith, that they are altogether hindred from rightly anſwering the Papiſts. Which thing I will endeavour briefly to demonſtrate, but more eſpecially (to ſatisfy the requeſt of an honourable Perſonage) we will view it in the judgment of *Valerianus Magnus,* touching their Rule of believing, who are not Catholicks, printed at *Prague, Anno* 1628. and withal we will ſhew, by the aſſiſtance of God, the true grounds of Refutation.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of Fathers and Doctors.*

IN the firſt place they rightly deny againſt the Papiſts, that the Church, and her Doctors or Councils, are ſuch Judges of the Controverſys of Faith, whoſe Sentence all under pain of eternal Damnation are bound to follow. But I cannot tell whether they be able in very deed to maintain what they ſay. They bewray ſuch things concerning the Fathers, and Councils of the firſt Ages, as cannot poſſibly conſiſt, unleſs they be made Judges; for they expound the Scriptures according to their meaning: From them they fetch the Heads of their Doctrine, by their Authority they confirm them, and not only in their Diſputes againſt the Papiſts, but alſo againſt thoſe who profeſs that they diſſent from the Fathers, they continually crake the perpetual Conſent of the Fathers and Councils, thinking them who have heretofore contradicted thoſe Fathers and Councils, to be juſtly condemn'd for Hereticks. Nor do they receive the Fathers, becauſe they agree with Scripture; but judg the Scripture ſo to be underſtood, becauſe the Fathers have ſo expounded it: And therefore they are ſooner ſolicitous of the unanimous Conſent of the Fathers and Councils, than of the true ſenſe of the Scripture; yea, there are ſome who ſtick not to affirm, that tho the Scriptures ſhould ſeem clearly to thwart their Opinion, yet if the Fathers and Councils have otherwiſe underſtood them, they had rather adhere to thoſe Fathers and Councils, than follow their own private judgment (as they term it) touching the Scriptures. Neither are they of the vulgar ſort, but ſuch as have aſcended to the higheſt degree in Divinity. Immortal God! why have they departed from ſo many Doctrines of the Papiſts, confirm'd by the Suffrages of ſo many Fathers and Councils? Have they not herein follow'd their own private Judgments touching the Scriptures? And why dare they not do the ſame in the reſt? If the Authority of the Fathers and Councils be ſo great, why do they not follow it in all things? And what will they at length deviſe, wherewith they may conſtantly anſwer the Papiſts?

I omit now to ſpeak of that, which yet is juſtly to be deplor'd, how they ſo highly eſteem the Fathers and Doctors of their Party, ſuch as were *Luther*, *Brentius*, *Chemnitius*, or *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Zuinglius*, and others, as that they count it a great Impiety to depart a finger's breadth from their Tenets. And therefore they make no bones to rage againſt ſuch as diſſent, with Fire and Sword, Priſon and Baniſhment; the thing is too notoriouſly known, ſo that it needeth no proof. Now is not this to aſcribe to the Church and her Doctors, a power of judging Controverſys, with an Obligation of others to follow their Sentence?

## CHAP. III.

### *Of the Holy Spirit.*

BUT there is yet another Error touching the Judg, fitter to deceive the unwary, in that it hath a greater ſhew of Holineſs and Religion; namely, that they may make the Holy Spirit judg, at leaſt without him allow none to judg of holy things, whereby the Judgment of right Reaſon, before the Illuſtration of the Holy Spirit, is quite taken away. Tho otherwiſe they purpoſely diſpute againſt right Reaſon, and in an egregious manner beſtrew her with I know not what Flowers, and object it to others as an Abſurdity, that they affirm all the Heads of Religion to be agreeable to Reaſon. Hence that Monk *Valerianus Magnus* raiſeth ſuch a ſuppoſal from the Opinion of the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*: 'None certainly at-
'taineth

'taineth the true ſenſe of the Scripture, unleſs he be inward-'ly enlighten'd and taught by the Holy Spirit. He that admitteth this, muſt at length of neceſſity come to this Queſtion, Who they be that are taught the true ſenſe by the Holy Spirit? If it be anſwer'd, That they are all ſuch as devoutly pray; then it will be enquir'd, who they be that pray devoutly as they ought? They dare not ſay all, nor name ſome Perſons in particular. Yea, they affirm (as that Monk likewiſe noteth) that particular Chriſtians may err in the Faith. Therefore they muſt needs likewiſe confeſs, that particular Chriſtians may not pray devoutly enough, otherwiſe they could not err in the Faith; for they would obtain by Prayer this very thing, namely, that they ſhould not err in the Faith (unleſs there were ſome defect in their Prayers) if ſo be it were true that the Holy Spirit is given to every one that devoutly prayeth: Wherefore if they err then, ſhould they imagine that they have the Holy Spirit, they are deceiv'd. For the Monk rightly collecteth thus much at the end of the ſecond Chapter: 'Becauſe the *Bibliſts* (ſaith he) confeſs that a Man may not 'pray for the Holy Spirit as he ought, it may by that means 'conſequently come to paſs, that all and ſingular Perſons may 'be deſtitute of the Holy Spirit, and ſo diſagree from the 'Scripture, and err in the Faith. Neither is their Exception of any force, who confeſs that every one may err at preſent, but not for ever, or finally: In that they believe that thoſe who are predeſtinated, or by Name elected from all Eternity, either abſolutely, or with reſpect to their Faith and Works to come, cannot periſh, and conſequently not err finally. For firſt of all this is falſe, ſince there is no ſuch thing in the Scripture touching ſuch a Predeſtination as they fancy to themſelves: Yea, ſuch Abſurditys follow from it as are manifeſtly repugnant both to the Scripture, and to the very light of Nature. Again, tho all that they ſay were true, yet doth it not take away the difficulty: For I demand,

Whence know you that you are predeſtinated?

By the Holy Spirit.

But whence do you certainly know that you have the Holy Spirit, ſince it may happen that one may be miſtaken in that matter?

Becauſe I am predeſtinated, and thoſe that are predeſtinated cannot err finally.

Who doth not here perceive a ſhameful Circle? for the Preſence of the Holy Spirit is prov'd by Predeſtination, and Predeſtination again by the Preſence of the Holy Spirit. In like manner, Whence know you that you are elected?

Becauſe I am a Sheep of Chriſt. But,

Whence know you that?

Becauſe I hear the Voice of God expreſs'd in the Scripture. Hence I demand two things. Firſt,

Whence know you that the Voice of God is expreſs'd in the Scripture?

By the Holy Spirit. Next,

How know you that this is the ſenſe of the Scripture?

By the Holy Spirit. But,

How know you that you have the Holy Spirit?

Becauſe I have pray'd.

How know you that you have pray'd devoutly enough?

Becauſe I am elected.

You ſee how you return to the ſame place from whence you came; for this very thing, namely, that you are elected, was to be prov'd. Finally, tho it ſhould be granted that you are elected, yet ſince thoſe that are ſo elected may ſometimes err, how know you that you do not err?

He that ſhall weigh all theſe things, will manifeſtly diſcover, that they, who neceſſarily urge the things aforeſaid, touching the Holy Spirit to judg whatſoever is to be believ'd in point of Religion, cannot ſolidly refute the fourth Chapter of the Monk's Treatiſe aforeſaid: For upon theſe Suppoſals it altogether followeth as he concludeth;

'That Illumination of Mind, or divine or ſupernatural 'Notions, which the Holy Spirit raiſeth in the Minds of *Bib-* '*liſts*, adviſing with the Holy Spirit out of the Scripture af- 'ter they have pray'd, is an Argument whence they may 'certainly gather, that they are taught the true ſenſe of the 'Scripture by the Holy Spirit. For otherwiſe whence do they know either that the Bible containeth the Word of God, or that this is the meaning of the Words dictated by the Holy Spirit? ſince they have altogether exploded the judgment of Reaſon, not illuminated by the Holy Spirit. Hence alſo it is gather'd, 'That ſuch Motions of neceſſity ought to be moſt Di- 'vine, certain and undoubted, that every Woman may and ought, 'without any fear of Error, firmly to believe under pain of 'eternal Death, that ſhe is more certainly taught out of the 'Scripture by the Holy Spirit, than all the Paſtors of the 'whole Church of Chriſt aſſembled in ſuch a general Council 'as is approv'd by the Pope. From whence the Monk accordingly inferreth, 'That they are too preſumptous of the Holy 'Spirit.

Furthermore, that Opinion touching the Judg, at length introduces Atheiſm: For if we can judg nothing rightly concerning the things that are to be believ'd without the Holy Spirit; *Whence can it be known that there is a God? that there is any Religion? that the Word of God is contain'd in the Bible? that this is the true ſenſe of the Scripture?*

By the Information of the Holy Spirit. But,

*Whence know you that the Information of the Holy Spirit is true?*

Becauſe he is the Spirit of God, becauſe the Scripture teſtifies it.

But you ought to know that God is, and that his Spirit ſpeaketh Truth, that the Scripture is to be believ'd, that this is the meaning of the Scripture. That I may omit to enquire, how you know that you have the Holy Spirit; could a wiſe and conſidering Man be brought back from Atheiſm by ſuch Turnings and Windings? The ſame likewiſe follows thence, that the Judgment of Reaſon, without the Illumination of the Holy Spirit, is excluded from divine things. For he that believeth not as yet, that there is a God, that there is any Religion, that Credit is to be given to the Scripture, he certainly hath not the Holy Spirit, and conſequently cannot judg of his Aſſiſtance. Wherefore if Reaſon be not admitted without the Holy Spirit, he will judg of nothing, and conſtantly ſtill remain an Atheiſt. And why do they talk of divine things with thoſe that diſſent, or thoſe that are wicked? Is it not that they may underſtand and be converted? But if they have not the Holy Spirit, by their own Verdict they can underſtand nothing: Wherefore they diſcourſe in vain. If they have the Holy Spirit, they are neither impious, nor ill opinion'd. If that be true, the Monk borroweth from their Tenets, 'That none can diſſent from the Word of God, who 'is inwardly enlighten'd and taught by the Holy Spirit.

## CHAP. IV.

### *The true Opinion touching the Judg.*

IT is therefore to be deny'd, that none can certainly attain the true meaning of the Scripture, unleſs he be inwardly enlighten'd, and taught by the Holy Spirit: And it is to be held that right Reaſon is ſufficient for every one to judg with, both out of Hiſtorys and other certain Principles (concerning which we will afterwards ſpeak ſomething) I ſay to judg of the Authority of the Scripture, and by the Scripture, and the Collation thereof, both with it ſelf, and with the aforeſaid Principles, not only of all things that are neceſſary to Salvation,

tion, but alſo of many things that are only profitable, tho not ſimply neceſſary: For by the judgment of right Reaſon it is diſcover'd what every one meaneth, of what force his Teſtimony is, and how much it recedeth from Truth or Falſhood; whatſoever Doubts are diſcarded, whatſoever Controverſys are compos'd, are diſcarded and compos'd by the judgment of Reaſon. All lawful Diſputes are ſet on foot by the judgment of right Reaſon, and he that ſpeaketh to another, deſires that his Words may be examin'd by it. Nor dares any one produce any thing againſt Reaſon, which he would not have confirm'd by the judgment of right Reaſon. So that it is evident, that they cannot chuſe but contradict themſelves, whoſoever endeavours by any means to oppoſe the judgment of right Reaſon. And therefore it is altogether neceſſary, to aſcribe to it the faculty of underſtanding and judging the Scripture, for the Scripture is not every where ſo obſcure; nay, ſome things are ſo clear, that they are preſently underſtood by every one that reads or hears them. And the Explication of dark Places is not neceſſary for all Men; yet if any one ſeriouſly ſeek after it, by the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit he ſhall find it out.

Again, this very thing that he underſtands cannot be known but by the judgment of right Reaſon, whether it be from the Holy Spirit, or not: For the Gift of the Holy Spirit doth not take away Reaſon, but exalt and enlighten it; that what of it ſelf it could not do (as it is apparent in explaining ſome obſcure places of Scripture) or not do without difficulty, it might now either ſimply do, or do more eaſily by the help of the Holy Spirit; for the Spirit uſeth that means to perform Operations which he findeth in us ſutable to ſuch Operations. As he imployeth the Eye to ſee, the Ear to hear: ſo that he maketh uſe of the Reaſon to underſtand and judg, as being the only Inſtrument of Underſtanding and Judging.

Again, as every one can read holy things with his Eyes, and hear them with his Ears; ſo may he as well underſtand and judg the ſame holy things by the benefit of right Reaſon, altho the Illumination of the Holy Spirit be not added thereto, eſpecially in thoſe things that are ſimply neceſſary to Salvation.

This foundation therefore being laid, the Monk's fourth Chapter, whoſe Sum we ſaw a little before, falls to the ground. For it cannot be ſaid, as he hath in his third and fourth conſequence, that a Man preſumeth too much of himſelf, if he thinks that he, by the judgment of his Reaſon, doth underſtand the Scriptures better than ſo many Fathers aſſembled in a Council: For there is no Abſurdity in it, ſince thoſe Fathers (whether out of Religion or Superſtition I cannot tell) deny'd to Reaſon the Office of Judging, and would not hear its Sentence in thoſe ſuppos'd Myſterys; otherwiſe if they would have made uſe of Reaſon, ſo many learned Men had more eaſily underſtood the Scripture than a few *Plebeians*. Neither doth it follow, as the Monk in his firſt Chapter principally ſuppoſeth, That then there will be no Certainty, and no Church, in that every Man will be of a different Opinion, if he follow his own Judgment; for where right Reaſon judgeth, there ſuch a thing is not to be fear'd. Caſt your Eye upon Philoſophy, and all other Arts: In them, by the Confeſſion of all Men, Reaſon judgeth. And is there not any certainty? Are you not yet ſure whether twice two makes four? Whether a Triangle hath three Angles equal to two right ones? Whether the Cauſe be before the Effect? Whether the Whole be greater than the Part? Whether if you reject all the Species, the whole Genus be taken away? Whether the putting off the Genus involves the putting off ſome Species? Whether a Shoe be to be fitted to the Foot, a Hat to the Head? Deny theſe things if you can, which are grounded only on the judgment of Reaſon. By means whereof, many will be of the ſame Opinion, as appeareth manifeſtly by Examples taken from Philoſophy, and the Arts. Why then ſhall we not ſay the ſame of divine things? And conſequently grant that there will be a Church, that there will be a ſufficient Certainty, for it hath its degrees: neither is it neceſſary in every thing; yea rather doubting is oftentimes the Riſe and Cauſe of Study and Wiſdom. Theſe things therefore being admitted, the Monk's fifth Chapter falls to the Ground: for therein he endeavoureth by ſeven Conſequences, to gather ſuch an Uncertainty, Diverſity and Confuſion; which Conſequences, whether the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* can ſolidly refute, if they ſtick to their own Suppoſals, and reject our Opinion, let them look to it. We have already ſhewn that there is no rub in our way: It remaineth that we briefly teach how the Opinion of the Papiſts touching the Judg cannot ſubſiſt. Which thing is eaſily apparent from thence, that if any one obſerve the force thereof, and be not ſupported with other grounds, it neceſſarily leadeth him to Atheiſm; for it runs in a Circle, and ſlayeth it ſelf with a Sword of Contradiction:

For I demand,

*Whence know you that there is a God, that there is any Religion, that the Bible containeth the Word of God, and that this is the true ſenſe of the Word of God?*

By the Judgment of the Pope, or of the Church and Council approv'd by the Pope. But,

*Whence know you that Credit is to be given to the Church, to Councils, and to the Pope?*

Becauſe they are guided by the Spirit of Chriſt, that they may not err. But,

*Whence know you that there is a Chriſt? Who he is that Credit is to be given to his Spirit? That the Pope is indu'd with this Spirit?*

By the Teſtimonys of the Scripture. But,

*How know you that Credit is to be given to the Scripture?*

Becauſe it is the Word of God himſelf.

But I demanded before,

*Whence you knew that there was a God, and that his Word is contain'd in the Scripture?*

I have told you already, by the judgment of the Pope, and therefore trouble me no more.

Good Sir be not angry, do you not ſee how ſhamefully you wander up and down in a Circle, and contradict your ſelf, proving *idem per idem*; by which means the ſame thing in reſpect of it ſelf will be more known, and unknown than it ſelf? Go now, and in that manner either convert Atheiſts, or hold thoſe that are ſliding into Atheiſm. But if with us you give the Office of judging to right Reaſon, every thing will be plain and fitted to your hand. It will appear that there is a God, and that he is to be worſhip'd, and that the Scriptures are of divine Authority. It will likewiſe appear, whether the Popiſh Church be true, whether the Pope be infallible, whether he be the Vicar or Adverſary of Chriſt.

## CHAP. V.

## *Of TRADITIONS.*

BUT now let us ſee the other ſort of Errors, which is converſant about the Rule of the Controverſys of Faith, and it is again twofold. For firſt, in words they rightly reject unwritten Traditions, which the Papiſts add to the Rule, and affirm that the Word of God comprehended in the Scripture is of it ſelf ſufficient. But if you pry into the Heads of their Religion, which they think altogether neceſſary to Salvation, you cannot tell whether they be able conſtantly to maintain it; that is, whether they be able wholly by unwritten Traditions: For they, as well as the Papiſts, cheriſh ſuch Doctrines, as can neither be prov'd by the Scripture, nor by the Principles of Nature; yea ſuch as are repugnant to both. And indeed they themſelves for the moſt part confeſs as much touching the Principles of Philoſophy, and therefore they exclude them from the Rule of the Controverſys of Faith. As for the Scripture, that it alſo makes againſt them, will eaſily appear to him, that ſhall conſider with an unprejudic'd Mind, and compare it with their Doctrines; for he ſhall find that all thoſe Sayings of the Scripture, which they alledg to confirm theſe Tenets, are to be taken in another ſenſe than they would have it, and their Tenets require, at leaſt they may be underſtood in another manner. From whence it preſently follows, that their Expoſition is not neceſſary, and conſequently their Reaſoning weaker than it ought to be. And here I think it will not be amiſs, if I inſiſt a little more largely on that, which I perceive hinders very many, and thoſe very learned Men, from diſcerning the Truth in their Diſputations, or in the Examination of Controverſys; namely, that it is diligently to be obſerv'd, that the Opponent hath one way of concluding, and the Reſpondent another. He oppoſeth his Concluſion to the Poſition of the Reſpondent: This concludeth not his Poſition, as many think; nor, if he reaſon by ſhewing a cauſe of his Denial, doth by that reaſoning of his contradict the Concluſion of his Opponent, but only of the Premiſes: For it is ſufficiently known, that it is an abſurd thing, having paſs'd by the Form and Premiſes of a Syllogiſm, to deny the Concluſion. But the Reſpondent ſhould indeed deny it, if, as it is thought, he ſhould by his own Concluſion contradict not the Premiſes, but the Concluſion of the Opponent. He that ſhall obſerve this, will eaſily underſtand, that to ſuch an Argument as this, Chriſt is a Mediator, therefore he ſuffer'd Puniſhment in our ſtead, it is rightly anſwer'd, That one may be a Mediator, altho he do not ſuffer Puniſhment in the ſtead of another, as is apparent by the Example of *Moſes*: For then the Reſpondent doth not ſo conclude, as they are wont to make him conclude; namely, One may be a Mediator altho he doth not ſuffer Puniſhment, therefore he did not ſuffer Puniſhment; or *Moſes* did not ſuffer Puniſhment in the ſtead of others, and therefore neither Chriſt; for this were abſurdly to deny the Concluſion of the Opponent: Wherefore he concludeth thus; One may be a Mediator, who ſuffereth not Puniſhment in another's ſtead, as *Moſes*; therefore it is not neceſſary that every one that is our Mediator ſhould ſuffer the Puniſhment of our Sins: For by this means, the Opponent's major Propoſition is deny'd and contradicted. Whence it is apparent, that ſince one of the Premiſes is falſe, the Opponent can ſolidly conclude nothing.

Again, this alſo is to be noted, that that manner of anſwering is unjuſtly tax'd, whereby it is ſaid, that the words may otherwiſe be underſtood than the Opponent expoundeth them: For the Reſpondent doth not ſo conclude, they may be otherwiſe underſtood, therefore they ought, which is abſurd: And they declare their Ignorance who give ſuch a Reſolution. But he concludeth thus, They may be otherwiſe underſtood, and that commodiouſly, without wreſting and abſurdity; therefore it is not neceſſary that they ſhould be ſo taken, as the Opponent would have them. And ſuch a Collection for the Reſpondent is legitimate, for it is his Duty to deny one part of the oppoſite Syllogiſm. But he that denieth, contradicteth; and again, he that contradicteth, denieth. Hence an univerſal Propoſition is deny'd, by producing a ſingle Inſtance: For there is made a Contradiction between all, and not all; wherefore when the Opponent alledgeth the words of the Scripture for his Opinion, he holdeth that it neceſſarily containeth his Opinion, at leaſt he ought to hold ſo, otherwiſe he ſhall conclude nothing. Now I call that Neceſſary, not which is oppos'd to Contingency, but to Falſity, or ſlight Probation; and therefore Neceſſarily is here the ſame with Altogether, and moſt Truly, ſo that the contradictory is altogether falſe. This Neceſſary therefore is contradicted by that which is Not neceſſary, but that is neceſſary which cannot be otherwiſe; therefore that which may be otherwiſe, is not neceſſary. Wherefore if the Reſpondent ſay, that the Words may be taken otherwiſe, he rightly contradicteth the Opponent's Propoſition that was put down as neceſſary, and by this means he hath ſatisfy'd his Duty. For if this Contradictory be true, that Propoſition of the Opponent which is contradicted will be falſe; and conſequently, if it be falſe, nothing can lawfully be concluded from it. Theſe things were ſomething more largely to be inſiſted on, becauſe the Ignorance or Neglect hereof doth hinder very many from underſtanding that the Opinion, which they cheriſh touching many heads of the Chriſtian Religion, cannot be prov'd out of the Scripture, which they will eaſily underſtand, as ſoon as they obſerve that there may be another commodious ſenſe of the Words of the Scripture. Nor will it be alſo difficult to know, that many of thoſe things, which they think to be neceſſary Heads of Religion, are repugnant to Scripture it ſelf: For let but theſe Doctrines be examin'd, namely, touching three Perſons in one divine Eſſence, touching the eternal and perpetually laſting Generation of the Son of God out of the Eſſence of the Father, touching the Incarnation, touching the perſonal Union, touching the meritorious Satisfaction of Chriſt perform'd to the Father in our ſtead, touching original Sin, touching the Baptiſm of Infants, and many others like to theſe. Now if theſe can neither be defended out of the Scripture, nor out of the Principles of Philoſophy; and yet are, as they would have them, neceſſary to Salvation; how can they at length reject unwritten Traditions? How can they refute Papiſts? Let them ſay that the Scripture alone is ſufficient without being piec'd up by Traditions; we will preſently reply, that the Trinity, the Baptiſm of Infants, and the like, cannot be prov'd and defended out of the Scripture alone; therefore the Scripture alone is not ſufficient, aud conſequently ſomething is to be believ'd which cannot be prov'd, but by unwritten Traditions. But if we admit Traditions in one or two things, there will be nothing ſo abſurd, which may not be prov'd by their Authority. For there is no cauſe why they ſhould be of force in ſome things, and not in others, eſpecially if the one ſeem as abſurd to Reaſon as the other, and neither be agreeable to the Scripture or Philoſophy. Of which ſort, thoſe things that we have rehears'd are, as it will appear to any Man that readeth their Books who have oppos'd them. Neither is it material, that the Papiſts are wont to prove thoſe things out of the Scripture: for they do not therefore do it, as if they thought they could be defended out of the Scripture alone without unwritten Traditions; but becauſe they ſuppoſe that both the Authority of the Scripture it ſelf, and ſuch a ſenſe of the Scripture, are ratify'd and put out of doubt by nothing but the Authority of Traditions and the Church. Hence ſome have not been aſham'd openly to confeſs, that they cannot be defended but by Traditions; as we may ſee in *Hoſius*, *Wiekus*, *Vega*, *Poſſevine*, and *Gretſer* and *Tanner*, who were preſent at the Conference at *Ratisbon*. It is clear therefore, that the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, as long as they hold that ſuch a Trinity, the Baptiſm of Infants, the perſonal Union, the Incarnation, and other like things, are neceſſary to be believ'd for the attainment of Salvation, cannot deny that there is need of unwritten Traditions, nor affirm that the Scripture is ſufficient without them. And if it be ſo, then it is apparent to every one, that they cannot ſolidly refute the Papiſts.

## CHAP. VI.

### *Of Philoſophical Principles.*

FUrthermore they greatly err herein, that they ſo put the Scripture alone for the Rule of Faith, that they thence exclude the Principles of Truth, either known by Nature, or drawn from the Conſideration of other things. For they are wont ſharply to reprehend others, for examining Divinity by the Principles of Philoſophy: and call their Divinity in great ſcorn a Philoſophical, Metaphorical, Phyſical, Mathematical, Rational, and Human Divinity. Hence ariſeth that ſuppoſal of the Monk, from the Mind of the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*: namely, ‘ That there is no other way ſurely to know ‘ the Truth in Matter of Faith, than to pray and adviſe ‘ with the Holy Spirit out of the Scripture. Which being ſuppos'd, what will they find conſtantly to anſwer the third Chapter of the Monk's Treatiſe, but eſpecially the firſt ſeven Conſequences? For he collecteth from that ſuppoſal, ‘ That ‘ none believeth any thing in point of Religion, unleſs he ‘ draw it himſelf out of the Scripture (for what if by believing others he ſhould be deceiv'd?) ‘ Next, that they ‘ who by reaſon of their Age, or for want of a Book, are ‘ ignorant, or elſe were not at leiſure to read the Bible, can‑ ‘ not have true Faith. Again, That no Chriſtian can cer‑ ‘ tainly know that the Books contain'd in the Bible were dic‑ ‘ tated by the Holy Spirit; unleſs having firſt us'd Prayer, he ‘ adviſe with the Holy Spirit about this Queſtion: and that ‘ out of the ſame Books which are contain'd in the Bible, ‘ and call'd into queſtion, whether they be from the Holy Spi‑ ‘ rit or not. For he will not dare to believe Councils and Fathers; and the Principles of Philoſophy are exploded: What therefore remains? ‘ Hence he concludes, all the ‘ Chriſtians are bound, under pain of eternal Death, hav‑ ‘ ing firſt uſed Prayer, and adviſed with the Holy Spirit, to ‘ determine this moſt important Queſtion: And accordingly ‘ to read over all and ſingular Books of either Teſtament, ‘ and the different Editions of the Bible, and Tranſlations ‘ out of the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, into the *Latin*, *German*, and *Bo‑* ‘ *hemian* Tongues; and diligently to compare them together, ‘ and at length to determine concerning the Canon of Scrip‑ ‘ ture, and the pureſt Tranſlation and Edition, That all the ‘ Bibliſts may thence draw all the Articles of Faith. And 'that not only Men, but Women and Children, learned and 'unlearned, of whatſoever Condition, are bound to do ſo, 'under pain of eternal Damnation. Who doth not ſee that theſe things are impoſſible and abſurd? and yet they are all gather'd from the Opinion of the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, whereby the Scripture alone is ſo made the Rule of Controverſies, that Philoſophical Principles, as they call them, are excluded. Moreover, Gentiliſm doth not obſcurely follow thence: For I demand,

*Whence the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion is known?*

By the Scripture only. But,

*Whence know you that Credit is to be given to the Scriptures?*

Becauſe it is the Word of God. But,

*Whence know you that?*

Becauſe the Scripture ſaith ſo.

'But I before demanded, whence the Scripture is of ſo great 'Authority, that we ſhould give credit to it. How can a conſidering Man, unleſs he have firmer grounds, chuſe but abominate the Chriſtian Religion? or if he hath embrac'd it, how can he chuſe but caſt it away again?

## CHAP. VII.

### *The true Opinion touching the Rule.*

IT is therefore to be deny'd, that there is no other means certainly to know the Truth in matter of Faith, than having firſt uſed Prayer, to adviſe with the Holy Spirit out of the Scripture. And it is to be held, that the Scripture is altogether the Rule of the Controverſies of Faith; and ſo far forth the only Rule, as that unwritten Traditions, under what name ſoever they come, are quite excluded. But to know the Authority and true Meaning of the Scripture, thoſe Principles alſo, which they call Philoſophical, are to be uſed. Not that we would have every Man to be a Philoſopher, but in that learned Men frame and build Philoſophical Arts upon thoſe things, which are known to the Vulgar either by Nature or Obſervation: at leaſt in the particulars, altho they know how to raiſe general Axioms thence; or in general, altho they be ignorant what difference there is in the ſeveral Species of them. The Learned ſay that other things are founded in the very nature of all things; ſuch are thoſe Metaphyſical Principles: The Whole is bigger than the Part: Every thing either is, or is not: The Effect is after the Cauſe: and the like. So likewiſe thoſe Principles in Logick; From an Univerſal to a Particular the Conſequence is good. Others are call'd Phyſical: as, The Eye is the Inſtrument of Seeing, the Ear of Hearing, the Reaſon of Underſtanding. Others are Mathematical; as, that One is not Three. Others belong to the Reaſon of Honeſty and Diſhoneſty, ſuch as are the Principles of Ethicks, Politicks, and Oeconomicks. Finally, others are grounded upon Teſtimonies, as the credit given both to Hiſtory, and alſo to honeſt and grave Perſons. Theſe and the like, which are unknown to no man that hath the Uſe of Reaſon, we muſt hold to be the grounds of our Knowledg, as to the Authority of Scripture, and the true Meaning thereof. Wherefore he that is but indifferently furniſh'd with them, either by the natural Goodneſs of his Wit, or by Experience, will by theſe Principles both know the Scripture to be Sacred, and will eaſily diſcern by the Scripture, what things are neceſſary to Salvation; ſo that he uſe diligence, and ſuffer not himſelf to be cozen'd with Paſſion and prejudicate Opinions, eſpecially if he ask of God the Gift of the Holy Spirit.

Moreover, by the help of theſe Principles, even he that cannot read the Scriptures, or ever ſaw them, or knoweth not whether they be extant (ſo that he hear from ſome body the Sum of the Chriſtian Religion) may learn ſo much as is neceſſary for his Salvation. For that is not to be admitted which the Monk ſuppoſeth, according to the mind of his Adverſaries, ‘ That all and ſingular Perſons ought, in the Buſineſs of ‘ Religion, to believe undoubtedly that they diſſent not ‘ from the Word of God. For firſt ſome things are neceſſary, other things only profitable. Again, ſome things more, others leſs: likewiſe ſome things ſimply neceſſary, or profitable to the Salvation of all Men; others *ſecundum quid*, and only neceſſary or profitable to ſome, that they may be enabled to teach others.

And hence the Conſequences of the third Chapter in the aforeſaid Monk's Treatiſe, I mean the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th Conſequences fall to the ground. For in them it is ſuppos'd that every thing is neceſſary for every man; which we affirm to be falſe. Again, the Certainty of Faith hath its degrees. As the other Scale of a Ballance is out of even weight, not only if it be perpendicularly depreſs'd to the Horizon; but alſo if it ſtand in the middle Spaces within the Line that is parallel to the Horizon, and perpendicular to it. And as the Earth is enlighten'd by the Sun, ſo that you may clearly ſee any thing, not only when he is in his height at noon, but alſo when he is but newly riſen, and conſequently as long as he is ſeen a little above the point of his Riſing and Setting. And hence it appeareth what is to be thought of the Monk's Poſtulate in the fifth Propoſition of the ſecond Chapter: 'The Chriſtian Faith excludes all doubting, 'and is certain and infallible.

And hereunto may be refer'd what we have before ſpoken of Certainty. It alſo appeareth in what account the firſt Conſequence of the Monk's third Chapter is to be had: 'No Chriſtian, ſaith he, in matter of Faith ought to believe 'any Man, or any Councils. And at length the Monk's whole third Chapter will eaſily be refuted. For the Canon of Scripture is not warranted by the Authority of Fathers, Councils, or unwritten Traditions, as he ſuppoſeth; but by the Principles which we briefly touch'd before. Neither doth any Abſurdity follow thence; whereas on the contrary, the Opinion of Papiſts touching the Rule, draweth with it, as other Abſurdities, ſo alſo Atheiſm. For if, as the Monk ſuppoſeth of himſelf, not far from the end of his Pamphlet, 'That he 'hitherto hath not believ'd that the Scripture is ſacred, but 'only on the Authority of the Church;

*I pray you, whence know you the Authority of the Church?*

From the Scripture.

But the Queſtion was concerning it a little before: Suppoſe one that neither believes the Scripture, nor admits the Authority of the Church, what will you do to him? Unleſs you fly to our means, you will labour in vain, and never be able to withdraw any man from Atheiſm.

Before we leave this point, two Suppoſals are to be overthrown, whereon the Monk hath built certain Conſequences of his. The firſt is, 'That he cannot be a Chriſtian, nor a 'Member of the true Church, who is entangled in any Er-'rors, altho it be not out of any Pravity, but out of Igno-'rance, or Infirmity; nor in ſuch a thing as concerneth the 'very Foundation of Salvation. For that this is falſe, is evident by many other places, and eſpecially by *Acts* 11. and *Rom.* 14. For there were ſome that could not endure that the Goſpel ſhould be preach'd to the Gentiles; here we are commanded by the Apoſtle to bear with the Weak. That Suppoſal therefore being overthrown, whatſoever the Monk diſputes in the firſt Conſequence of the fifth Chapter, and in the third and fourth Conſequence of the ſixth Chapter, falleth to the ground. His other Suppoſal is, 'That it is now abſurd 'to enquire, whether that be true or falſe that was hereto-'fore condemn'd by Councils. But this very thing ought not to be counted abſurd, ſince we read, that what was good and right, hath ſometimes been condemn'd by Councils; as the

Papiſts themſelves pronounce of all thoſe that were not approv'd by the Pope of *Rome*. But there is no reaſon why we may not hold, that the ſame may poſſibly come to paſs in the reſt; unleſs we take that for errant which is in queſtion, to wit, Whether the Pope be the infallible Judg of Controverſies; and deny Reaſon freely to judg, according to the undoubted Principles of Truth. And therefore the firſt and ſecond Conſequences of the ſixth Chapter come to nothing. Nevertheleſs, it is not neceſſary for every one to enquire into all things: for the ſimpler ſort the things that are neceſſary are ſufficient, which are both few and eaſy to be known. Neither is it any matter for the Names or Tenets of Hereticks: It is enough if you know the thing it ſelf to be either true or falſe.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Whether the Dead do properly live.*

WE have hitherto ſeen in general, that thoſe who follow *Luther* and *Calvin* for their Guides in Religion, cannot ſolidly refute the Papiſts. Now if we ſhould deſcend to particulars, a large Field would offer it ſelf to us, wherein we might expatiate. But that we may not paſs the ſet bounds of Brevity, we will briefly touch a point or two.

And firſt we will ſhew, that they either afford, or retain the grounds of the greateſt Errors that are amongſt the Papiſts.

Again, that they teach ſuch things as are injuriouſly defended, not only againſt the Papiſts, but alſo againſt the very Life of the Chriſtian Religion; I mean true Piety. Of the former ſort is that Opinion wherein they hold that the Dead live. It will ſeem abſurd, and indeed the thing it ſelf is very abſurd, yet they believe it. For they ſuppoſe that the Souls of Men, in that very moment wherein they are parted from their Bodies by Death, are carry'd either to Heaven, and do there feel heavenly Joy, and poſſeſs all kinds of Happineſs, which God hath promis'd to his People; or to Hell, and are there tormented, and excruciated with unquenchable Fire. And this, as was ſaid before, they attribute to the mere Souls ſeparated from the Bodies, even before the Reſurrection of the Men themſelves, that is to ſay, while they are yet dead. But thoſe things cannot happen to any thing which is not alive; for that which doth not live doth not feel, and conſequently neither enjoyeth Pleaſure, nor endureth Pain. Wherefore they believe in effect, that the Dead live: namely, in the ſame manner that they affirm *Peter*, *Paul*, and other dead Men to live in Heaven. Now this is the Foundation not only of Purgatory, but alſo of that horrible Idolatry practis'd amongſt the Papiſts, whilſt they invocate the Saints that are dead. Take this away, and there will be no place left for the others. To what purpoſe is the Fire of Purgatory, if Souls ſeparated from the Bodies feel nothing? To what purpoſe are Prayers to the Virgin *Mary*, to *Peter*, and *Paul*, and other dead Men, if they can neither hear Prayers, nor intercede for you? On the contrary, if you admit this, you cannot eaſily overthrow the Invocation of Saints. Now tho the thing be ſuch of it ſelf as deſerves to ſeem abſurd to every one, yet will we ſee whether the contrary thereof be not ſet down in Scripture. Nor need we go far for an example, ſince we have a pregnant one in the Argument of Chriſt, wherein he proveth the future Reſurrection of the Dead from thence, That God is the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, but is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living: whence he concludeth, that they live to God, that is, ſhall be recall'd to Life by God, that he may manifeſt himſelf to be their God, or Benefactor. This Argument would be altogether fallacious, if before the Reſurrection they felt heavenly Joy. For then God would be their God, or Benefactor, namely, according to their Souls, altho their Bodies ſhould never riſe again. In like manner, the Reaſoning of the Apoſtle would be fallacious, 1 *Cor.* 15. 30, 31, 32. wherein he proveth the Reſurrection by that Argument: Becauſe otherwiſe thoſe that believe in Chriſt would in vain run hazards every hour; in vain ſuffer ſo many Calamities for Chriſt; which he teacheth by his own Example. Again, becauſe otherwiſe it would be better to ſing the Song of the Epicureans, *Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we ſhall die.* In ſhort, of all men Chriſtians would be moſt miſerable. Certainly this would be falſe, if the Godly preſently after death did in their Souls enjoy celeſtial Happineſs, and the Wicked feel Torment. For they would not in vain ſuffer Calamities, nor theſe follow the Pleaſures of the Fleſh ſcot-free; and the Godly would be far happier than the Wicked. Since therefore it is the abſurdeſt thing in the world, to ſay that Chriſt and the Apoſtle *Paul* did not argue rightly; is it not clear that the Doctrine is falſe, which being granted, ſo great an Abſurdity would be charg'd on Chriſt and the Apoſtle *Paul*? Furthermore, why ſhould *Peter* defer the Salvation of Souls to the laſt day? 1 Pet. 1. 5. *Who are kept by the Power of God thro Faith unto Salvation, ready to be reveal'd in the laſt time:* And *Paul* the Crown of Righteouſneſs to the Day of Judgment;

*2 Tim.* 4. 8. *Henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteouſneſs, which the Lord the righteous Judg ſhall give to me at that day, &c.* To what purpoſe ſhould the Judgment be appointed? How could it be ſaid of the Godly under the old Covenant, that they receiv'd not the Promiſe, God providing ſome better things for us, that they might not without us be made perfect, *Heb.* 11. 40. if the Soul of every one preſently after death, even without the Body, felt celeſtial Happineſs?

But the very Nature of the thing it ſelf refuteth it. Is not Living, Dying, Feeling, Hearing, Acting, proper to the whole Man, or the Compound of Soul and Body? Is not the Body the Inſtrument of the Soul, without which it cannot perform her Functions? as an Artiſt knoweth indeed the Art of working, but unleſs he have Inſtruments at hand, he cannot produce any Effect. Let the Eye be ſhut, the Soul will not ſee, tho the Power of Seeing be not taken away from it. For as ſoon as you ſhall reſtore the Inſtrument, a man will preſently ſee. Wherefore Souls ſeparated from Bodies are neither dead nor live, and conſequently enjoy no Pleaſure, and feel no Pain; for thoſe things are proper to the whole Compound.

But the Scripture ſaith, that the Dead are not, that the Spirit returneth to him that gave it; and of the Spirits of the Godly, that they are in the hand of God, but at the Reſurrection they ſhall be join'd with the Bodies. And then having gotten Inſtruments, they will put forth their Operations.

## CHAP. IX.

### *Whether Chriſt in Heaven hath yet Fleſh and Blood.*

FUrthermore, who is there that doth not exceedingly abhor that Dotage of Tranſubſtantiation? whereby they believe that the Bread is turn'd into the very Fleſh of Chriſt. Who is there that doth not abhor that grievous Superſtition of the Maſs? wherein the Bread is worſhip'd, wherein the Prieſt is ſaid to create the Creator. But the mouthly Eating and Conſubſtantiation of the *Lutherans* (whereby they hold that in, with, and under the Bread and Wine, the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt is really preſent) do not a little make for them. The *Calviniſts* eating of the very Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, tho it make leſs, yet it maketh ſomething for them. For tho they call it ſpiritual, and ſay it is done by Faith, yet it is but a vain Refuge; ſince by their own Confeſſion it cannot

not by any means be explain'd, how Faith can receive the Subſtance of Fleſh and Blood, and apply it to herſelf. Indeed I am able to believe that there is a Subſtance. But this is another thing, than to receive by Faith the very Subſtance it ſelf; that is eaſy to be explain'd, but this by their own confeſſion is impoſſible.

Wherefore if in very deed they eat the Subſtance of the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, they are not far from the mouthly eating of the *Lutherans*, tho perhaps they receive it not in, with, and under, but either by, or above, or beneath, or about, or ſome ways out of the Bread and Wine. But that is of the greateſt moment, wherein they all agree together, namely, that they believe Chriſt at this very preſent to have Fleſh and Blood in Heaven. Which if any one deny, the whole Building of the Maſs and Tranſubſtantiation falls to the ground, together with the mouthly and real Eating of the Subſtance of the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt. Now that it is falſe, and juſtly to be deny'd, that Chriſt at this very preſent hath Fleſh and Blood in Heaven, is even thence manifeſt, in that the Apoſtle ſaith expreſly, That *Fleſh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God*, 1 Cor. 15. 50. Now ſince Chriſt hath inherited the Kingdom of Heaven, is it not clear, that he now hath not Fleſh and Blood? Neither let any man here object, That by the Expreſſion of Fleſh and Blood is not underſtood the very Subſtance of Fleſh, but fleſhly Manners.

For firſt it cannot be ſhewn by any Inſtance of the Scripture, that theſe words jointly put do ſignify fleſhly Manners. For they are found only in four places (beſides that which is now controverted) in all the New Teſtament, *viz.* Mat. 16. 17. *For Fleſh and Blood hath not reveal'd it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven.* Gal. 1. 16. *To reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Heathen, immediately I confer'd not with Fleſh and Blood.* Eph. 6. 12. *For we wreſtle not againſt Fleſh and Blood*, &c. Heb. 2. 14. *Foraſmuch then as the Children are Partakers of Fleſh and Blood*, &c. And in every place of them it ſignifies either human Infirmity, or the like, ariſing from the Subſtance of Fleſh and Blood, or naturally adhering to it. Beſides, that the very Subſtance of Fleſh and Blood is here underſtood, is evident both from the words that are preſently added, and the whole Diſputation of the Apoſtle, whereof theſe words are a part. The Apoſtle ſtrait ſubjoins, *Neither doth Corruption inherit Incorruption*; rendring a reaſon why he had ſpoken of Fleſh and Blood in that manner, namely, becauſe it is corruptible, and nothing but that which is incorruptible can inherit Heaven. Now ſince it agreeth not to

Manners, but to the Subſtance of Fleſh and Blood to be corruptible; it is clear that it is here ſpoken of the Subſtance it ſelf. The ſame is apparent by the whole Diſputation, whoſe Scope is to teach, that Men ſhall have other Bodies at the Reſurrection than they now have. For the Apoſtle had prov'd by many Arguments that there ſhall be a Reſurrection of the Dead; and that to the end of the 34th Verſe. After that he begins to remove this Objection, namely, Becauſe the Bodies of dead Men periſh and are corrupted, therefore they ſhall not riſe again. To which he anſwers, that that hinders not, ſince they ſhall have Bodies different from them that are corrupted. And this he declares by certain Similitudes. And accordingly from the 24th Verſe ſhews wherein that diverſity of Bodies conſiſteth, to wit, not in the Manners, but in the very Subſtance of them; or in thoſe Qualities that infer a Diverſity of the Subſtance it ſelf: That whereas theſe are corruptible, thoſe ſhall be incorruptible; theſe uncomely, thoſe glorious; theſe weak, thoſe ſtrong; theſe animal, thoſe ſpiritual. And afterwards Chriſt is ſaid to be made a quickning Spirit. But a Spirit hath not Fleſh and Blood. Hence alſo he is ſaid to be not of the Earth earthly, but to be from Heaven. Again, the ſame Apoſtle writeth of our Belly, that it ſhall be aboliſh'd, 1 Cor. 6. 13. *Meats for the Belly, and the Belly for Meats; but God ſhall deſtroy both it and them,* &c. And of this whole Body of ours; *We know that if this earthly Houſe of our Tabernacle be diſſolv'd, we have a Building from God, a Houſe not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens. For in this we groan, deſiring to be clothed upon with our Houſe which is from Heaven,* 2 Cor. 5. 1, 2. *Alſo our Bodies ſhall be made like to the glorious Body of Chriſt,* Phil. 3. 21. Whence it likewiſe follows, that the Belly and all the Subſtance of Fleſh and Blood in Chriſt is aboliſh'd and deſtroy'd: And that he on the contrary hath got a ſpiritual and heavenly Body.

## CHAP. X.

### *Whether it be poſſible to obey the Precepts of Chriſt.*

BUT it is now time that we ſee in what manner they unjuſtly take up Arms not only againſt the Papiſts, but againſt Piety it ſelf; which they do two ways. For they teach both that it is impoſſible to live according to the Precepts of Chriſt, and unneceſſary. The firſt they are not aſham'd to affirm in expreſs terms, tho they be not therein conſtant to themſelves. For whatſoever they teach, write, and ſpeak againſt others, they defend as good; and yet in the mean time deny that they can do any good. Likewiſe it followeth from thence, in that they take away Free-will from Man in ſpiritual things, and make the Will ſervile, that is, ſuch as is not only altogether unfit to obey, but alſo in its own nature very repugnant to the Precepts of Chriſt. For tho there be ſome that make the Will of Man not ſervile, but free to Evil or Sin; yet can they not conſtantly defend it, unleſs they ſay the Will is free to Good alſo: for that is free that can either turn, or not turn it ſelf to this ſide; but if it cannot chuſe but turn it ſelf that way, it is not free. As Fire doth not burn freely, but out of a natural neceſſity, for it cannot chuſe but burn. Wherefore if the Will turn it ſelf to Evil, not out of neceſſity, but freely, it may alſo not turn it ſelf to it, that is, it may abſtain from Evil. But to abſtain from Evil or Sin, is to obey the Precepts of Chriſt. For to tranſgreſs them is Sin. Not to tranſgreſs them, is to obey them. Therefore if a Man can freely abſtain from Tranſgreſſion, he can freely obey: which if they will not admit, then neither can they ſay that the Will of Man is free to Evil, but they muſt needs hold that they do evil out of neceſſity. This Point they endeavour to ſupport with a double Error; one is, touching original Sin, whereby they hold, contrary to all Scripture and Nature, that for *Adam*'s Fall all Power to obey God was quite taken away from Man. The other is touching Predeſtination, which they do not make ſuch a Decree of God, whereby he in general before the Foundation of the World determin'd to ſave all thoſe that would obey him, and to reject all thoſe that would be refractory. For no Abſurdity followeth from thence; and the Will of Man is, as it ought to be, left free to him. For it is in the power of Man, whilſt he now liveth, and heareth the Word of God, to obey it, or refuſe it; upon which account he is afterwards either choſen or rejected. But they would have ſuch a Decree, whereby God hath already paſs'd Sentence upon every Man by name, before the World was made, whether he ſhould be ſaved or damned. Now tho ſome ſay this was not abſolutely done, but ſuppoſe a Reſpect to Faith foreſeen; yet foraſmuch as they leave Faith it ſelf not to the Power or Will of Man, but aſcribe it wholly to God, and withal affirm that God knew from all Eternity who would believe or not, they cannot but hang the whole Buſineſs on the abſolute Will of God.

For the upſhot is, that Men and Satan may be wholly excus'd, and all the Blame of Sin and Damnation be laid upon

God. For how is a Man to be blamed, if he doth not thoſe things which he was no ways able to do? How can Satan be ſaid to ſeduce Men, if they cannot either enter into the right way, or forſake it? Beſides, what great Imprudence is by this means attributed to the moſt wiſe God? What great Injuſtice to the moſt juſt God? What great Hypocriſy to the moſt faithful God? What great Malice to the moſt good God? For what greater Imprudence can there be, than for any one to be ſollicitous of thoſe things, which he knows to be impoſſible? namely, that Men ſhould ſtudy after Piety, who he well knows cannot ſo much as will. What greater Injuſtice can there be, than to puniſh any one for not doing thoſe things, which by your Appointment he was not able to do? Is it not Hypocriſy and Deceit to promiſe a Reward to all, which nevertheleſs you have decreed to give but unto few? Finally, Is it not deteſtable Pravity to deſtine to Puniſhment any one by name, and leſt he ſhould ſeem to be puniſh'd without cauſe, to be the Author of Sin in him, or at leaſt of the want of that thing, by which alone he was able to eſcape Puniſhment, that you may have ſome colour to puniſh him? Truly they make God like to *Tiberius*; who, as *Tacitus* reports in the fifth of his Annals, comamnded the Hangman to execute *Sejanus*'s Daughter, tho innocent, and a Virgin, when notwithſtanding it was unheard of, that ſuch a one ſhould ſuffer Tyrannical Puniſhment. Wherefore that he might have ſome pretence, he commanded the Hangman firſt to deflower the Virgin, and then to kill her. In the ſame manner they blaſphemouſly fain God dealing with Men. But beſides, what place is there for Religion, for Piety, for Wickedneſs, for Reward, for Puniſhment, if no man can ſo much as will that which is good, much leſs do it? To what purpoſe are Exhortations and Dehortations, whereof the Scripture is full, if a Man cannot ſo much as will to obey? What ſhall we ſay to this, that the Scripture expreſly denies the Commandments of God to be heavy? 1 John 5. 3. *For this is the Love of God, that we keep his Commandments, and his Commandments are not grievous:* And pronounces them to be light and ſweet, Mat. 11. 30. *For my Yoke is eaſy, and my Burden is light.* How then dare they ſay they are impoſſible? Wherefore ſince that is moſt abſurd, how can they ſolidly refute the Papiſts diſputing againſt them? Do they not rather cauſe all ſuch as are of an honeſter and better temper to begin to favour the Papiſts on that very ground, becauſe they reject ſuch horrid Abſurdities? Do they not make the whole Religion of the Goſpel ſuſpected? For many think, being not better taught, yea being ſo taught by their Maſters, that theſe are the true and genuine Doctrines of the Religion of the Goſpel, which nevertheleſs have nothing at all common with the ſincere Goſpel of Chriſt. The thing will be clear by an Inſtance: ‘This Doctrine of the Hereticks (ſaith *Efferen.* 3. *de Ratione ſtatus Puncto* 2.) touching the Impoſſibility of the Continency of the Fleſh it ſelf, is falſe, becauſe it taxeth the God of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt with Injuſtice, who ſtrictly commandeth that Fornication and Uncleanneſs be not ſo much as named amongſt Chriſtians: whereas they teach that Continency is impoſſible. The Apoſtle *Paul* condemneth the Works of the Fleſh, ſaying, *That they that do ſuch things ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God.* The ſame, to omit other Doctors of the Church, perſuades and prefers Virginity before Marriage: You know this, you Slaves of the Fleſh, ye Hereticks. Either therefore your Doctrine is falſe, or elſe our Lord Chriſt injuſtly requires Impoſſibilities, and the Apoſtle fooliſhly commends and perſuades Virginity, which is impoſſible. Theſe things are hard, and I leave them to be judg'd by the Church. I, becauſe ye defile the Chriſtian Commonwealth with unclean Doctrine, will deal like a Politician with you. And firſt, I ingenuouſly demand, If Continency of the Fleſh be impoſſible, how when one of the Perſons which are married, is for a long time ſick, doth the other abſtain from Adultery? How ſhall the Husband, when he is buſied abroad by Employments, Embaſſies, or Warfare, be ſecure of the Honeſty of his Wife, whom he believeth to be incontinent out of Religion? How do you beſtow your Daughters as Virgins, when they are marriageable, if Continency be impoſſible? What do you make penal Laws againſt Adulteries, ſince to you Adulteries are neceſſary? How are your Eſtates and Goods juſtly bequeath'd to the Heirs, when either Delay or Abſence accounteth inordinate Luſt neceſſary? If ye teach your Wives and Daughters to be incontinent, let them, that may not offend againſt Religion, in a baſe manner proſtitute their Bodies. How can a noble or honeſt Matron or Daughter be named amongſt you?

‘Secondly, I demand, Since the Continency of the Fleſh is impoſſible, whether ye be all Adulterers, Fornicators, Unclean? If not, tell me what you do in long Sickneſs, or Abſence of a Wife? If you ſay, you are continent, why teach ye the Impoſſibility of Continency? If ye violate the conjugal Bed, why account you the Fame of Adultery injurious? Obſerve how grievouſly ye offend by this impure Doctrine, againſt God, againſt the Commonwealth, againſt your ſelves, againſt your Wives and Children, and againſt Honeſty of Manners, and Purity of Chriſtian Converſa-

‘ tion; and tho ye do obey the Commands of the Fleſh, yet
‘ at leaſt abſtain from ſuch perverſe Doctrines.

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## CHAP. XI.

### *Whether it be neceſſary to obey the Precepts of Chriſt.*

IT remaineth that we inquire into the other Point, wherein they oppoſe true Piety; namely, in that they think it not neceſſary to obey the Precepts of Chriſt. Which thing, tho it were heretofore aſſerted by ſome, yet is now, by reaſon of the Abſurdity thereof, rejected by others. Nevertheleſs, if they will be conſtant to themſelves, they cannot affirm it to be falſe. For if it be not poſſible, as we found them ſaying before, how can it be neceſſary? Again, they with great earneſtneſs urge, that Faith juſtifies without good Works. But the Obedience of the Precepts of Chriſt conſiſts in good Works. For tho Juſtification and Salvation be ſometimes aſcrib'd to Faith alone, yet it is not done to that end, that Works ſhould thence be excluded. Otherwiſe on the contrary ſide divers places may be alledg'd, wherein the ſame is attributed to the Knowledg of God and Chriſt only, to Charity only, to other Works only: And conſequently Faith ſhould by that means be excluded. The reaſon thereof is this, becauſe the Scripture under one word oftentimes comprehends ſundry things, as the Effect with its Cauſe. Thus whilſt it attributes Salvation to Faith only, it underſtandeth ſuch a Faith as brings its Effects along with it, namely, good Works, by a certain way of Connexion. Wherefore whoſoever will obey the Precepts of Chriſt, muſt of neceſſity do good Works. But if good Works be not neceſſary, it is not likewiſe neceſſary to perform the Precepts of Chriſt: And certainly the Life of many doth ſufficiently ſhew it; ſo as if they be not worſe than the Papiſts, certainly you ſhall ſee them never a whit better. The whole Diſcipline of Manners is neglected. Whatſoever the Civil Magiſtrate doth not puniſh, that may be done notwithſtanding their Churches, or Church-Cenſures: Only to diſſent is counted a capital Crime. Neither is any one, ſo he be of the ſame Opinion with them, caſt out of the Body of their Church, till he be cut off from the civil Body by the Hangman for his heinous Crimes. So that you may ſay, that Honeſty is more requir'd by Politicians to civil, than by Divines to celeſtial Happineſs; and that it is eaſier to be a Chriſtian among them, than a good Citizen.

For they retain, even in their Aſſemblies, thoſe whom Politicians baniſh out of civil Societies: And hereunto pertaineth the Uſe of Confeſſions, Abſolutions, and the Sacraments (as they call them) that the Remiſſion of Sins may either be given or deny'd them. For who would not more willingly uſe theſe things, than amend his Life? For this is more difficult than that. Wherefore if Remiſſion of Sins, which is nothing but Juſtification, and which by the Decree of God is accompany'd with eternal Salvation, may be attain'd by that means; certainly true Piety, and Obedience to the Precepts of Chriſt will not be neceſſary. They cannot, unleſs they will call God unjuſt, affirm, that Piety is neceſſary for us: For they teach, that Chriſt kept the Precepts of God in our ſtead, which is his active, and endur'd the Penalty of our Sins, which is his paſſive Righteouſneſs; and that both are imputed to us. Now if Chriſt fully endur'd all the Puniſhment in our ſtead, there is no need that we ſhould eſchew Sin, and ſtudy Piety; unleſs you will call God unjuſt, who twice puniſheth the ſame Sin, to wit, both in Chriſt and us. Whereby it could not be ſaid that Chriſt did fully endure Puniſhment in our ſtead.

Again, Is it juſt to require the Debt of him, in whoſe ſtead another hath fully ſatisfy'd? Wherefore, if Chriſt in our ſtead hath kept the Commandments of God, upon what ground can God require the ſame of us?

Neither can you ſay, that Obedience is requir'd of us to expreſs our Thankfulneſs, and to teſtify our Faith, unleſs you hold that Chriſt hath not perform'd all that we ought to do: as that he hath not been thankful in our ſtead, nor believ'd, nor repented, and the like. Why then do they ſay that Chriſt hath perform'd all things in our ſtead? By what right are they again requir'd of us under pain of Damnation? There are far more Abſurdities in that Tenet, which are largely reckon'd up, and refuted by others. But we are here content with this, namely, that it follows from thence that Obedience to the Precepts of Chriſt is not neceſſary to a Man that will attain Salvation. And every one eaſily perceiveth that this follows from it. Neither is it to the purpoſe, that they ſay that Faith is notwithſtanding neceſſary to apply the active Righteouſneſs of Chriſt unto our ſelves; and that Faith brings good Works along with it. This, I ſay, is nothing to the purpoſe: For neither can Faith with coherence to their Opinion be call'd neceſſary; nor tho it be neceſſary, doth it bring good Works along with it, but rather the firmer it is, the leſs it works. I ſay that Faith is not neceſſary; for what need is there of it? Hath not Chriſt without it done what he hath done? Fy for ſhame! hath he not done it in my ſtead, unleſs I believe that he hath done it? Then I can never believe that Chriſt in my ſtead hath kept the Commandments of God, unleſs I will believe that which is falſe. For if I do not believe, it was not done: But before I believe, certainly I do not believe; therefore, before I believe Chriſt did not fulfil the Precepts of God in my ſtead, how then can I believe that that was done, which was not done? It is therefore to be ſaid, that Chriſt in my ſtead hath kept the Commandments, whether I believe it or no: How then is Faith neceſſary? But be it ſo; how doth that Faith beget in us the Obedience of the Commands of Chriſt? Nay rather, the more firmly every one believeth that the Debt is already paid in his ſtead, ſo much the leſs careful will he be how he himſelf may pay it.

Wherefore it is clear, that it followeth from their Tenets, that Piety, which is commanded in the Precepts of Chriſt, is not neceſſary. But who ſeeth not that this is moſt abſurd? For by this means the way of Salvation, which Chriſt ſaid was very narrow, is made very broad. And that which is ſo ſeriouſly inculcated in every Chapter and Page, yea I had almoſt ſaid Verſe of the New Covenant, is contrary to all reaſon rejected: For every where good Works or Piety is commanded, and evil Works forbidden, or the Reaſons leading to them and withdrewing from theſe, together with the Example of thoſe that do good or evil, whereof the one are rewarded, the other puniſh'd, or hereafter to be puniſh'd, are ſet down. And Chriſt himſelf, not only by his Doctrine, but alſo by his Life and Death would lead us to Piety: 2 Cor. 5. 15. *And he died for all, that they who live, ſhould not henceforth live unto themſelves, but unto him that died for them, and roſe again.* Eph. 5. 25. *Husbands, love your Wives, even as Chriſt lov'd the Church, and gave himſelf for it.* Tit. 2. 14. *Who gave himſelf for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity, and purge us to be a peculiar People unto himſelf, zealous of good Works.* Heb. 9. 14. *How much more ſhall the Blood of Chriſt, who thro the eternal Spirit offer'd himſelf without fault to God, purge your Conſciences from dead Works, to ſerve the living God?* 1 Pet. 2. 21, 24. *Who his own ſelf bare our Sins in his Body on the Tree, that we being deliver'd from Sin, ſhould live in Righteouſneſs, by whoſe Stripes ye were heal'd. For ye were as Sheep going aſtray, but are now return'd unto the Shepherd and Biſhop of your Souls.* 1 John 1. 6, 7. *If we ſay that we have Fellowſhip with him, and walk in Darkneſs, we lie, and do not truly. But if we walk in the Light as he is in the Light, we have Fellowſhip one with another, and the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son cleanſeth us from all Sin.* So that all ought to be moſt firmly perſuaded, that if any one will enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, he muſt of neceſſity obey the Commands of Chriſt. Now tho the Papiſts commit here a double Error, namely, that they feign certain good Works and Precepts, which are not ſuch as proceed from Chriſt, but from other Men, whom we are not bound to believe; next, in that they attribute Merit to thoſe things, which God by Chriſt and his Apoſtles hath commanded; which two things cannot only not be prov'd out of the Scripture, but are eaſily refuted by the ſame: Yet becauſe, as touching the very kind of things, they ſay that good Works are altogether neceſſary (which, as we have ſeen, is moſt true) who ſeeth not that the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* in this behalf, are not only unable ſolidly to refute them, but do alſo render very ſuſpected the whole Doctrine of the Goſpel, as far as it diſagreeth from the Papiſts?

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## CHAP. XII.

### *The CONCLUSION.*

AND theſe things, Brethren, we have diſcours'd of, not with an Intent to vex you, or bid you return back to the Papiſts, but by ſhewing the Danger and Weakneſs of your Cauſe, to make you more wary, more ſtudious of the ſolid grounds of Truth. To what end doth a Phyſician relate to his Patient the danger of his Diſeaſe, to increaſe the Pain, or force him to die? No, ſurely, but to ſtir him up to ſeek Remedys. Suppoſe a Caſtle that was ſtrongly aſſaulted by the Enemys: let a skilful Man come, and diſcover to you, how in this and in that place it is not ſufficiently fortify'd, and how eaſily it may be taken by the Enemy, what would you ſay? Will you accuſe him for troubling you in vain? Will you ſay that he perſuades you to yield your ſelf and the Caſtle to the Enemy? What tho he ſhould miſtake, yet might he do it out of a very good Intention, to excite you to Care and Diligence in making ſtronger Bulwarks. The ſame ought you to imagine in this Caſe. Go to now; What think you is the Cauſe why ſo many thouſand Men now-a-days either revolt to the Papiſts, or wallow in a beaſtly Life like Atheiſts? Certainly ignorance of the Truth, or neglect of Piety, either both, or at leaſt one of them, is the Cauſe thereof.

Hereunto may be alſo added the Suffering of the Croſs, or Perſecution for the Truth's ſake: For the ſimpler ſort, when they ſee themſelves preſs'd, follow that which ſeemeth better, and helpeth them to eſcape the Croſs.

But thoſe that are more acute do thus reaſon with themſelves: If there be not a better Religion, there is no God; if there were a God, there would be a better Religion. The conſequence of which Argument is manifeſt by thoſe things which we have before diſputed, concerning the Religion of the *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts* and *Papiſts*. Wherefore if you will prevent that Miſchief, as it is your Duty to do, take this Courſe: In the firſt place ſeek the Truth, and caſt away the falſe Opinions which you have hitherto believ'd, at leaſt forbear to hinder others from coming to the ſight of the Truth. You will ſay you practis'd that a long time ago: but it is too evident that the Caſe is otherwiſe, I appeal to your ſelves. Tell me, Do the Papiſts rightly enquire into the Truth, and hinder none from enquiring into it? I know you will deny it: For the Reaſons are in readineſs, in that they endure not Gainſayers, expel thoſe that diſſent, caſt them into Priſon, ſtrip them of all their Goods, kill them with Water, Rope, Sword, Fire, and a thouſand other Deaths; and (which is a late Invention) ſtarve and worry them with the Inſolency of Soldiers, burn the Books that contain an Opinion contrary to theirs, and under great Penaltys prohibit them to be ſold and read. You judg rightly. But I retort it upon your ſelves, for you your ſelves do the ſame. You imagine that you now have the Truth, and not the Papiſts; but others are of a contrary Mind, and the Papiſts are ſo perſuaded of themſelves. Now by what Right do you require of them, that they ſhould think it poſſible for them to err, if you hold it to be impoſſible for your ſelves? But if it be poſſible, why ſuffer you not thoſe that diſſent, why do you not hear them, why do you prohibit their Books to be read and ſold? It is a common Saying, Do not that to another which you would not have done to your ſelf. Let that of Chriſt move you, *Whatſoever you would have Men do to you, do ye the ſame to them*, Mat. 7. 12. And that of the Apoſtle, *Thou art inexcuſable, O Man, whoſoever thou art that judgeſt, for in what thou judgeſt another thou condemneſt thy ſelf: for thou that judgeſt doſt the ſame things. But we know the Judgment of God is according to Truth againſt them that do ſuch things. Wherefore doſt thou think, O Man, that judgeſt ſuch as do thoſe things, and doeſt them thy ſelf, that thou ſhalt eſcape the Judgment of God?* Rom. 2. 1, 2, 3. Let that of the Lawyers move you, Whoſoever obtaineth at the Magiſtrate's hands a new manner of proceeding at Law, ſhall afterwards upon the Motion of the Adverſary undergo the ſame Trial, that what he believeth to be juſt in the Perſon of another, he may undergo in his own Perſon. How can ye blame the Papiſts for that which you indulge to your ſelves? Belike you would have

Power given to you over another, and not to another over you. Where is Right? Where is Equity? You imagine it a great Argument of the Weakneſs of the Popiſh Religion, that it cannot be upheld but by Force and outward Torments; and you judg rightly. But inaſmuch as you do the ſame your ſelves, think ye not that others judg the ſame of your Religion? Truly ye render your Religion by that means very ſuſpected: For if it be Truth, what need is there of Violence? Truth, if it be clearly propos'd, is a moſt ſtrong Weapon, and doth moſt ſpeedily ſtrike, and overcome the Heart that is deſirous of it. Set Chriſt and his Apoſtles before your Eyes: They for their Tenets endur'd much Violence and Outrage from others, but did not offer Violence to others. If your Tenet be the ſame, why do ye not defend and propagate it by the ſame means, namely, by teaching and ſuffering? If you think there is need of other means, even ſuch as the Adverſarys of Chriſt and the Apoſtles us'd, then take heed leſt your Religion alſo be different from that of Chriſt and the Apoſtles: which if it be, tho you turn your ſelves into a thouſand Forms, ye ſhall not prevail. For now the Time is come, wherein oppreſs'd Truth ſhall without force ſtrongly overcome: Yea, this very thing, if ſhe is oppreſs'd, ſhall much enhance her Fame amongſt others. *Tacitus* ſpeaks of *Cremutius*'s Books condemn'd to the Fire, but yet preſerv'd and publiſh'd: 'I much wonder of their ſottiſhneſs, who think 'that the preſent Power is able to extinguiſh the memory of 'ſucceeding Ages; for on the contrary, to puniſh Wits, is to 'inhance their Authority. Neither have foreign Kings, or 'ſuch as have us'd the ſame Cruelty, procur'd any other than 'Diſgrace to themſelves, and Honour to them. But tho that ſhould not happen, tell me, I pray you, doth it agree to a true, or falſe Religion, rather to oppreſs by force ſuch as diſſent? If to a true, ye have no reaſon to be angry with the Papiſts, nor blame your Hearers for thinking that Religion true, which the Papiſts endeavour to propagate with ſo much Violence; for ſo your ſelves have taught by your own Example. But if to a falſe, why do you uſe it? do you not thereby make your own Tenet ſuſpected? But perhaps you are troubled with ſuch a Conceit, that if either ye your ſelves ſhould caſt away the receiv'd Opinion, or your Hearers know it was to be caſt away, ye ſhould have cauſe greatly to fear the taking away of your Honour, Dignity, Credit, Revenues and Eſtates; hence is your ſtirring. But ſeek thee nothing but what is true, and teach it, if others will not indure it, do ye ſuffer Affliction. And hereunto belongeth the other point which we affirm'd to be neceſſary, namely, a ſincere and ſerious Study of Piety. Fly thoſe carnal Luſts, be not conform'd to your former or worldly Deſires; avoid Revelling and Rioting, and other Practices more pleaſing to the Fleſh than wholeſom to the Spirit, and compoſe your Minds to endure the greateſt Perſecution for the Truth, and endeavour by all means that your Hearers may do the ſame: And that not only with vain Words, which are eaſily refuted by other Tenets of yours, as we have ſeen in the foregoing Chapters; but rejecting all Falſitys, uſe ſuch Arguments, as none, unleſs he be extremely wicked, can reſiſt. In ſhort, implant it deeply in the Minds of all Men, that Truth overcometh by Holineſs and Patience. And I beſeech God, the Author of Truth, and moſt bountiful Rewarder of true Piety, and moſt ſevere Revenger of Impiety, to diffuſe the ways of Truth into all the Corners of the World, and to repleniſh with his Holy Spirit your Hearts, and the Hearts of all thoſe that are deſirous of their own Salvation; that they may caſt away that which is falſe, avoid that which is wicked, ſeek that which is true, and find it being ſought, and receive it being found, and hug it being receiv'd, and compoſe their whole Life according to the Preſcript thereof; and with a courageous Heart endure whatſoever Calamitys happen to them, and ſo expect the glorious Coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and with joy receive at his hands an immarceſſible Crown of Glory. Let God grant it thro his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, to whom be Honour and Glory for ever. *Amen.*

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# Phenix XXIII.

## Diſſertatio de Pace, &c. *Or, a Diſcourſe touching the Peace and Concord of the Church.*

*Suppos'd to be written by Mr.* John Hales *of* Eaton.

### The Publiſher to the Reader.

*THE Author of this Diſcourſe, Chriſtian Reader, a Man, as it appeareth, both Pious and Learned, knowing that of all the Familys and Societys of Chriſtians, they are moſt hated, who by their Profeſſion and Writings maintain the Opinion of* Socinus *touching the Eſſence and Office of Chriſt, endeavour'd by this Diſcourſe to abate the Hatred of certain Zealots againſt the* Socinians; *not that he approv'd their Doctrine (for he once and again diſowns it) but becauſe he was perſuaded, that if the harſh Judgments of Men were once mitigated concerning the moſt odious Opinion of all, the Heat of that bitter Zeal wherewith Chriſtians are generally incited to perſecute Diſſenters in Religion, would by degrees evaporate. But if thou, Chriſtian Reader, doſt from thy Heart aſpire to the knowledg of God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, therein, as Chriſt himſelf teſtifieth, eternal Life doth conſiſt,* John 17. 3. *Fetch not the beginning thereof either from* Socinus *(a Man otherwiſe of great underſtanding in the*

*Myſtery of the Goſpel) nor from his Adverſarys, but being mindful of thoſe Words*, Luke 10. 22. None knowing who the Son is, but the Father ; and who the Father is, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him ; *lay aſide for a while Controverſal Writings, together with thoſe prejudicate Opinions that have been inſtil'd into thine unwary Underſtanding, and cloſely applying thy ſelf to the ſearch of the New Covenant, moſt ardently implore the Grace of Chriſt, that he would be pleas'd to manifeſt himſelf and the Father to thee, and make no doubt but the true Light will at length illuminate the Eyes of thy Mind, that thou mayſt walk in the way that leadeth unto Life.* Farewel.

# *A Diſcourſe touching the Peace and Concord of the Church.*

## CHAP. I.

### *The Lot of Truth and Innocency in this World. A Gueſs of the Author touching himſelf.*

TRUTH was never call'd into queſtion, but Innocency was fain to plead for her ſelf at the ſame Bar; nor hath the one been more hated than the other always envy'd. Indeed we Men are very prone to Evil, and therefore hate not only the open freedom of a true Judgment, but alſo the tacit Cenſure of another's Integrity. Nor is this a Crime peculiar to our Age. 'Twas heretofore the diſpoſition of Wickedneſs, no leſs to fear the mute Innocency of another, than the living Voice of a Reprover ; nor can it be otherwiſe hereafter, but that Vertue ſhould become a Goad to their Senſes, whoſe Minds have been ſeiz'd with Vices. But tho our Wickedneſs may ſeem to have a kind of Right to deteſt ſuch Truth as toucheth the Ulcers of our Sins, yet why ſhould we abominate her that caſts a harmleſs Eye towards Heaven ? Is it becauſe, as both theſe cure the two Diſeaſes of the Mind, our Errors namely, and our Vices, ſo we are delighted with both thoſe Diſtempers ? Undoubtedly here lies the pinch. We are more enamour'd of our Errors than of all our Darlings, either becauſe they wink at the ſcapes and dalliance of our Affections, or becauſe we are enrag'd rag'd againſt Diſſenters with obſtinate prejudice and frantick affectation of Partys. Howbeit, we never err with greater delight than about the ſenſe of divine Matters, and are ſo far from acknowledging thoſe ſlips (the Witneſſes of human Imbecillity) that we account them for Oracles. Nor is our Raſhneſs content to have pleas'd her ſelf herein, but obtrudeth her Notions upon others againſt their Wills; and the Licence of determining is wont to aſſume ſo much to it ſelf, that it excludeth a liberty of diſſenting in the ſmalleſt tittle. After the Judgments of Mankind had been oppreſs'd in this manner, the Church for many Ages was overſpread with thick Darkneſs, whilſt the greateſt part had neither liberty to utter what they underſtood, nor liſt to underſtand what they might not utter. And tho there have been ſo many Winds and Storms of Contention in the Chriſtian World, yet have they not to this very day been able to diſpel ſo great a Fog; ſo that amidſt the Clouds diſpers'd over all the Sky, there are ſome few who thro the Intervals behold the whole face of the Sun; whilſt others ſee afar off ſome gleams of the Light, but ſhall e'er long diſcover the very Sun it ſelf. The Truth being thus muffled with Errors, hath not yet ſhewn her ſelf to all with a full Countenance, altho ſhe hath aforehand darted out the Rays of her Light unto a great part of Men. But whatſoever is to come hereafter, divine things are at preſent envelop'd with groſs Darkneſs; yet is there nothing that more obſcureth the Myſtery of eternal Salvation, than the Ignorance of the way that leadeth us to the top of ſo great Happineſs: For as all things ſituated on high, are wont to have a hard and difficult acceſs; ſo alſo hath that towring height of the Life to come. Nor is it for every Man to get up thro ſteep Aſcents, eſpecially for them whoſe earthly Minds and dull Spirits preſs them down to low Deſires.

And therefore to the great deſtruction of Mankind, another way to Happineſs hath been invented, eaſy indeed and expedite, but ſuch as reacheth not to the end aim'd at: For the greateſt part of Men, thinking it very toilſom to aſcend thither by Holineſs of Life, ſought out a ſhorter cut, conſiſting in the mere Confeſſion of Faith. And this is the way by which the greateſt part as yet think to aſcend to Heaven, not caring what their Actions are, ſo their Opinions be right; and tho extremely curious to pry into other things, yet have no regard to their Life and Manners: So that it is no marvel, inaſmuch as Men every where take greater care of their Wit than of their Minds, that the very leaſt failing in the knowledg of divine things ſhould be eſteem'd of greater moment to eternal Deſtruction, than the Commiſſion of the fouleſt Crimes. But this ſeemeth ſomewhat monſtrous, how ſome men ſhould arrive at ſo much Confidence as that, tho in their Life and Manners they, even againſt their Wills, acknowledg'd the Failings of their Mortality, yet in their Judgments and Opinions they ſhould forget their Condition: and tho in the very Soul of Faith, I mean good Works, they do by reaſon of their Sins ſo often ſlip, ſhould yet imagine that in the Carcaſe only, I mean Faith, they cannot poſſibly offend. For whence proceedeth this blind and precipitant Humour of condemning others, but from raſhneſs of defining? Whence ſo great boldneſs of determining, but from the preſumption of an infallible Judgment? And, which is worſt of all, a Man now-a-days can no ſooner fail in his Underſtanding, but preſently his Honeſty is reproach'd, and oftentimes the reprehenſion of Opinions degenerateth into the accuſation of Manners. As for my ſelf, before I launch out of the Haven, I do already foreſee Storms; nor am I in ſo great fear for the Opinion which I propoſe in this Diſcourſe, as for my Credit and Security. For how few are there who will cenſure this Treatiſe, without doing Injury to the Author? Who is there that will ſet a Mark on ſome Miſtake thereof, and not withal brand me with ſome Reproach? If any thing here ſhall ſeem falſe to ſome Men, they will account me not only a Liar, but an impious Perſon. They will call me Deceiver, and Patron of damn'd Hereſy; and this Writing will be ſo fiſty-cuff'd by many, that I my ſelf perhaps, were I known, ſhould not eſcape Scot-free. But my Mind being pure and untainted, will from my Conſcience reap the Fruit of my Labour, which was due to it from the Judgments of Men: nor will I eſteem it a weak Argument of having defended the Truth, to have my Innocency ſo wickedly traduc'd; for the ſame Spirit is wont to oppoſe both of them. Nor ought it to ſeem ſtrange to any Man, that a moſt true Opinion ſhould be unjuſtly tax'd of Error, when he ſhall ſee his own Innocency circumvented with falſe Accuſations. Neverthele ſs I inſtantly beſeech them, who after they have read this Diſcourſe, ſhall vote concerning my Reputation, that they would not charge me with other Mens Faults, and that my harmleſs freedom may not be any prejudice to me. Let none impute to me the Patronage of Error, if I have perhaps been favourable unto ſuch as err; unleſs he ſuppoſe it to be the Duty of a Man, when he is diſpleas'd with the Vices, to be angry with the Perſons alſo.

## CHAP. II.

### *What things concerning God and Chriſt are neceſſary to be known unto Salvation, and what are the Parts of true Faith.*

THE whole Body of the Church hath now for a long time been infeſted with an evil Spirit, which ſets the ſeveral Members at odds amongſt themſelves. Certainly it is obſtinate Ambition that cheriſheth the Humour of raiſing Partys; much Oil is pour'd on this Flame by a vain Perſuaſion concerning the Points in Controverſy, that in each of them the ſum of our Religion lies at ſtake. How deeply this Opinion hath taken root in our Minds, is evident from the Civil Wars amongſt us, whereby our Hatred turneth to our mutual Ruin. But how frivolous and falſe it is, ſhall plainly appear from what we mean to ſpeak afterwards; wherein to examine all things that come into debate, would be a long and toilſom Buſineſs. It is ſufficient to cull out one of the chiefeſt points in Controverſy, which if we ſhall evince not to be neceſſarily requir'd to the attainment of Eternal Happineſs, much leſs will it be true in the other lighter ones: And this is an exact knowledg of the Divine Eſſence (as they term it) and a diſtinct Explication of the Holy Trinity. Undoubtedly no Man can comprehend the Nature of God; and the reſtleſs Diſpoſition of our Mind doth here in vain beſtir it ſelf, to reach ſo high a Myſtery in this Life. We may indeed by our Reaſon very eaſily ſeparate not only Defects, but alſo the very ſhadow of Imperfection from ſo great a Majeſty: but to form in our Minds an Image worthy of that moſt noble Eſſence, is beyond the Compaſs of our Mortality; and conſequently we may and ought to know what it is not. But to know what it is, tho we were ever ſo much bound to it, yet are we not able, unleſs perhaps that God is the King and Lord of the Univerſe, and other ſuch like things; which, if we ſpeak properly, belong not to his Eſſence. It cannot be denied that ſome of theſe things are diſcover'd to us by the ſacred Oracles, but they are few, and ſome of them only ſhadow'd out with obſcure Lineaments: and if there be any, wherein all Chriſtians are not agreed, they are at this day enwrap'd with ſo many twiſted Thorns of Sophiſters, and alſo heretofore diſcuſs'd with ſo much wrangling, that they are as yet doubted of by many. Add hereunto the probable Allegation of the Scriptures on both ſides; ſo that if one will hear both Partys without prejudice, he will not for the moſt part ſo eaſily rid himſelf out of ſo great Intricacys. It is not my purpoſe to ſtretch my own Wit, to ingage in diſpute on either ſide; it is ſufficient if I demonſtrate, *That thoſe Queſtions that concern the more ſpecial Explication of the Divine Eſſence, and the accurate diſtinction of Perſons, altho they be ever ſo profitable, yet are not neceſſary to Salvation:* or, which is all one, *That a Chriſtian may arrive at the promis'd Goal of Happineſs, altho he be either ignorant of thoſe things, or (ſuch is the Condition of our Weakneſs) in an Error or Miſtake about them.* If Error in theſe things take not away Salvation, much leſs Ignorance; and therefore that there may be no ſuperfluity in this Diſcourſe, we will at preſent inſiſt only on the former.

When I conſider the way that bringeth us to Heaven, methinks ſuch Contemplations as theſe are out of the Road of our Journy. For indeed, what maketh us ſufficiently, yea abundantly fitted for Eternal Life, but Faith working by Love, for which only we ſhall be pronounc'd Juſt? But if one may have this Faith, altho he have a wrong conceit touching the Myſtery of the Holy Trinity, what hinders but that he may together with this Error be receiv'd both into Heaven and into the Church? Now leſt any one ſhould be deceiv'd in the Notion of Error, I do not now give ſo mild a Name to their Wickedneſs, who whilſt the Truth was yet clear and open in the Church, and call'd into doubt by none, did firſt ſpread Darkneſs over this Article; but to their failing, who in our times

*Do fear the* Greeks *even when they offer Gifts.*

That is, who having been cozen'd with ſo many Lies and Cheats of Antichriſt, dare not believe him even when he ſeemeth to ſpeak Truth, as ſhall be farther made appear by the Sequel of this Diſcourſe. Moreover, that perfect Faith is not taken away by that Error, we ſhall eaſily perceive, if we enquire into any part thereof. Nor verily ſhall you find in the whole Compaſs of our Faith, that more Dutys are requir'd of Believers, than Aſſent to the Promiſes of Jeſus Chriſt, and Obedience to his Precepts. The firſt of which the Apoſtle *James, chap.* 2. very aptly intimateth to be the Body of Faith; and the ſecond the Soul thereof. To the Belief of the Promiſes, that plain Confeſſion is ſufficient, which paſſeth under the name of *The Apoſtles Creed:* and if there can be any thing elſe requiſite, I ſee not what can be added, beſides the Reverence due to the Holy Scriptures; to which, if

Credence be once deny'd, the certainty of our Salvation is brought into danger. Now whether both or one of theſe compleat the whole nature of that Faith, which is due to the Divine Promiſes, certainly Experience it ſelf teſtifyeth, that ſuch as err in the knowledg of the aforeſaid Myſtery, may excellently diſcharge this part of Faith. For they without any exception give Credence to the Holy Scripture, and to the Apoſtles Creed; and therefore what is wanting to beget in them a full Belief that God cannot chuſe but perform his Promiſe? For that the things aforeſaid are ſufficient to the Belief hereof, is even from hence manifeſt: God hath promis'd us Salvation by his Son. To rely on this Promiſe, it is enough if we be perſuaded, that God both can and will give unto us what he hath promis'd: For by this means all the Cauſes of diſtruſt being par'd away, there will be no ground left to doubt of ſo great a Promiſe. But whilſt they believe the Holy Scriptures, and (their Abridgment) the Apoſtles Creed, they cannot in the leaſt doubt concerning the Power or Will of God, when notwithſtanding they may miſtake in the knowledg of his Eſſence: Wherefore this firſt part of Faith is not taken away by that Error. As for Obedience to the Precepts of Chriſt, certainly this can much leſs be taken away by ſuch miſtakings: For neither was it the purpoſe of God, by giving his Commandments, to exerciſe the ſharpneſs of our Wit, but the goodneſs of our Will; and therefore how blind ſoever our knowledg is in abſtruſer things, yet may our Will be conform'd to the Obedience of the Divine Law, than which nothing is more manifeſt and open. Nor doth the Piety of ſundry erring Perſons here need an Advocate, in that it ſufficiently pleadeth for it ſelf, and oftentimes ſheweth its Faith even in ſilent Works, which very many vainly boaſting of, cannot find in their Life and Actions. Neither indeed hath any thing been enjoin'd us, wherein our Vertue and Obedience may not ſhew themſelves: For what need is there to invite us with Rewards to thoſe things, which we willingly perform of our own accord? But they buy Happineſs at a very cheap rate, who ſpend nothing but the Labour of their Wit upon it: For he that is ever ſo wicked and careleſs of his Salvation, may know ſome Truth concerning God. Nor can we boaſt of our Obedience in ſuch things, unleſs we admit the damn'd Spirits to a ſhare in our Praiſe. Beſides, the nature of all Precepts ought to be ſuch, as that it might evidently appear to all, who are to perform them, that they are preſcrib'd. But how manifeſt this Doctrine touching the Trinity is, the incredible height of the very thing it ſelf ſheweth; and how manifeſtly it is preſcrib'd, the Labours and Contentions of ſo many Fathers and Councils heretofore teſtify: Yea, tho ſomething in this point were ever ſo much enjoin'd to be known and believ'd, yet none refuſeth to believe thoſe things that are expreſly extant in the Holy Scriptures; nor is there any one ſo impious as to contradict them. All the Controverſy is about Meanings and Conſequences, wherein an Error and Failing doth no more infer Diſobedience, and conſequently Damnation, than the ſimplicity of an obſequious Servant, who not rightly underſtanding the Command of his Maſter, did yet obey as far as he was able. But if we may believe the Promiſes of Jeſus Chriſt, and obey his Precepts, altho we are miſtaken in ſuch a manner, what ſhall we want to the full poſſeſſion of a lively Faith? Is there yet any thing in the nature of Faith, uncomprehended in thoſe two Parts? But there is a wonderful ſilence in the Sacred Oracles concerning that third part: nor do I ſee how that Faith is not perfect, which is lively; or how that is not lively, which conſiſteth in a manner of its Body and Soul. But you will ſay, that we are neceſſarily to believe many things, which are neither the very Precepts nor Promiſes. To which I anſwer, that they ſo belong to one of theſe, that without them neither can be rightly perform'd; of which ſort is the Omnipotency of God, and the like Attributes, as alſo the Creation, Providence, *&c.* which tho they be neither the Precepts nor the Promiſes, yet cannot the Belief of the Promiſes conſiſt without them; ſo that an Error in them is not now dangerous, but altogether peſtilent and pernicious. But it hath been clearly prov'd that Errors about theſe Doctrines, touching which this whole Diſcourſe hath been ſet on foot, ſubvert neither Member of Faith, at leaſt in their own nature, and unavoidably.

## CHAP. III.

*That ſincere Love towards God and Chriſt is ſufficient to Salvation, and that the ſame may be in ſuch as err.*

LET us add an Appendix to this Argument, which may even be inſtead of a new reaſon. Who therefore dares to condemn him to the Puniſhment of Eternal Death, in whom liveth the ſincere Love of his Creator and Redeemer? Or what more certain pledg of Eternal Happineſs is there, than to love God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the whole Heart, and all the Powers of the Mind? This indeed is abundantly manifeſt, inaſmuch as the ſum of our Obedience lieth herein; which tho it be not the Cauſe of our Salvation, yet is at leaſt the Way, and an evident Argument and moſt certain Sign thereof. Now if it ſhall be made plainly to appear, that they, who are not able to extricate themſelves out of thoſe perplex'd and craggy Queſtions, whereof we have ſpoken, may notwithſtanding in the mean time love God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with all the Powers of their Mind; what cauſe will there be why we ſhould not think that the ſame Perſons may be ſav'd? Logicians ſay, that the next and immediate Cauſe (as they term it) cannot be hindred, but it will out of hand produce the Effect. Let us therefore in the firſt place conſider the next Cauſe of this Love, and then we ſhall ſee whether it may be in Men ſo erring.

The perfect Love of any one is bred in the Minds of the Lovers, chiefly for three Cauſes concurring together: 1. From the firm and conſtant memory of ſuch Benefits as are paſt, and from the ſenſe of ſuch as are preſent; for Gratitude alſo is a part of Love. 2. From a certain Hope and Confidence of ſupreme Happineſs to be obtain'd from the belov'd thing, if you come to enjoy it; for Love languiſheth without Deſire. 3. And finally from a perfect apprehenſion, as far as may be, of the Sovereign Beauty and Excellency of the Object; which is the true and principal Cauſe of the Love it ſelf. Now foraſmuch as neither the perfect Love of God, nor the perfect Perception of his Excellency, can fully happen to us in this Life; we mean not an abſolute Perfection of both, but ſuch as is the chiefeſt in its kind, namely, as great as can exiſt in this ſtate of Mortality. Nor do I underſtand what can be further requir'd unto perfect Love: For who ſeeth not, that our Will can no more abſtain from loving a perceiv'd Beauty, than Fire from burning Stubble put into it? Which Beauty, if it be perfectly ſeen, a perfect Love alſo will ariſe; but if no more than perfect in its kind, a Love alſo perfect in its kind will ariſe. Certainly, if any one denieth that Sovereign Love neceſſarily proceedeth from ſuch a Cauſe, he ſubverteth the Principles of Nature, which dictateth even to Children, that whatſoever ſeemeth good or beautiful, will alſo prove very pleaſing; and ſo Love will be increas'd according to the meaſure of the apprehended Beauty. It remaineth that we conſider, whether ſuch a perfect perception of the Excellency of God and his Chriſt, accompany'd with thoſe two helping Cauſes, may not be in them, who comprehend not thoſe hidden and abſtruſe Myſterys of the Divine

Eſſence. Which if it be in us who do not err, it may alſo be in them, or it will be neceſſary to ſhew a Reaſon of the Prerogative which we have above them in this behalf. And firſt, let us ſpeak of God the Father. As for the Remembrance of his Favours, they acknowledg themſelves together with us to be oblig'd unto him, perpetually making mention of his infinite Mercies; the chiefeſt whereof conſiſts in taking us for his Children. As for the certain Expectation of a very great Benefit, what vaſter Hope, what laviſher Wiſh can be feign'd, than that which they, together with us, deſire and expect from the moſt high God? There remaineth behind the Contemplation of his Beauty and Majeſty. I confeſs there is nothing in human Matters ſo exact, that can lend a ſhadow to the Image of ſo great a Majeſty. Nevertheleſs, as touching God the Father, they do in a manner agree with us. For we are able to conceive nothing ſo great and ſublime touching him, which they alſo do not conceive. Nor doth it follow, that becauſe they do not reach the curious Subtilty in the receiv'd Diſtinction of Perſons, therefore they cannot, according to their Capacity, conceive the Beauty of the Divine Countenance, not to be ſeen by profane Minds; and conſequently dedicate and worſhip the Image of that unſpeakable Majeſty within the Sanctuary of their Breaſt. As if it were a hard matter to have all manner of high Conceptions touching him, whom you certainly know, and continually think to be the Source and Original of all Goodneſs and Beauty, altho you do not comprehend Doctrines ſnarl'd and entangled with ſo many knots. Enough ſeems to be already ſpoken touching God the Father. But what if they have like, yea the ſame Cauſes with us, of Love towards the Son of God, will any thing hinder them from being as capable of this Love as we our ſelves are? Let us begin from Hope. Do they not expect the ſame bountiful Right Hand of the Lord Jeſus, which will hereafter reach out heavenly Reward to all the Faithful? Do they not luxuriate in this Wiſh? And who can chuſe but feel his Heart wounded with the Love of Chriſt, who ſets Chriſt before his eyes, as giving him the Pay of his Warfare? But you will ſay, that in making an eſtimate of his Favours they ſeem to be injurious to him, whilſt they affirm, that the Father's Anger towards us was appeas'd without the Enterpriſe of Chriſt, and that no Price, properly ſo call'd, was paid for our Sins. For I perceive that almoſt all, who in the Article of the Holy Trinity diſſent from us, are of that opinion. I defend not the Opinion of Men, nevertheleſs I perceive that they judg a Redemption, properly ſo call'd, to be both abſurd and impoſſible. What derogation therefore is it either to Gratitude toward the Lord Jeſus, or to the holy Memory of his Merits, if they imagine that he did not thoſe things for our ſakes, which could at no hand be done; when in the mean time he abundantly perform'd all other things which might proceed from him towards us? For no other thing is requir'd to the moſt ſtrict Obligation of a Benefit, than that the Benefactor do for one's ſake all that he is able. But they acknowledg that the Lord Jeſus did for our Salvation ſpare no pains, yea not his very Life. And tho they do not think that his Blood was ſpilt to appeaſe God, and therefore not ſo rigidly to make Satisfaction for our Sins, yet do they hold that it was ſpent and given for our ſakes; ſo that altho they aſſert another ſpecial Scope and Effect of his Death than we do, nevertheleſs they ſeem to acknowledg the ſame Merit in general. And who would not be imbued with a moſt tender Affection towards him, whom he ſuppoſes to have undergone a moſt bitter Death for his Life's ſake? Who would not moſt ardently love him, whom he thinks perpetually buſy'd in conferring Benefits upon him? To which, if you add an Expectation of ſupreme Happineſs from his hands, it cannot now happen otherwiſe, but that the Mind ſhould melt in the Reſentment of a moſt delicate Flame.

I come now to the Excellency of the Lord Jeſus, which being imperfectly conceiv'd by them, ſeems unable to excite a perfect Love of it ſelf. For how great a diminution is it of his Majeſty and Nobility, to have all that taken away from him, which he had from all Eternity? The Queſtion is not now, whether their Opinion be right, who think that all Power both in Heaven and Earth was at a certain time given to the Son of God; whereas he was formerly nothing but the Word and chief Prophet. But if true Love be converſant about the things that are preſent, and not about ſuch as are paſt (for neither doth this Affection look backwards, to embrace the things that have been heretofore) certainly it is more to the purpoſe to conſider, what they imagine touching his preſent, than what they conceive touching his paſt State and Condition. For as Beauty being quite extinct, excites no Love of it ſelf, becauſe it flouriſh'd heretofore; ſo if the ſame be at preſent very happy, it cauſes never the leſs Love and Admiration of it ſelf, becauſe it was not ſuch formerly. What therefore do they attribute to our Saviour at preſent? even *a Majeſty equal unto God the Father*, and ſuch Excellency as riſes up above the higheſt pitch that can be imagin'd. For they ſerve and worſhip him as the only Son of God, as a true God, and diſpoſing all things with his beck; who deſcribeth the Laws of the Univerſe according to his pleaſure; who layeth

Tasks and Commands upon the bleſſed Natives of Heaven; who with the Bridle of his invincible Power reſtraineth the Spirits baniſh'd out of Heaven; to whom the Stars and Elements willingly yield Obedience; and who finally hath the very nature of things tributary to him, from whence he levies the Tax of his Church, and the Aſſeſſment of his People. Now what derogation is it to his Honour, that he is beholden to his Father for the Fortune of ſo great a Dominion? Which thing even we our ſelves dare not wholly deny. Will the Opinion touching the Excellency of our Saviour flag in the Judgment of our Love, when we ſhall erect the Eyes of our Mind to his ſo ſublime Majeſty, who is fairer than the Stars and all Light, and more glorious than the World it ſelf? Why ſhould I now commemorate his immenſe Goodneſs and Wiſdom, and his other divine Splendors, at the ſight whereof the eyes of our Mind grow dim? Why ſhould I recount his other Praiſes, at which the Poverty of human Language waxes dumb? All which they without any tergiverſation aſcribe to Jeſus Chriſt their Saviour, altho they otherwiſe err in their Opinion of him. Now we muſt either hold that thoſe things are not ſufficient to excite Sovereign Love towards God the Father, and his Son; or that they cannot poſſibly be in thoſe Men of whom we treat, if we ſuppoſe them uncapable of being touch'd with that holy Ardour. Of which twain ſince neither ſeems probable, there is no queſtion to be made, but they alſo may be raviſh'd with that heavenly Love, and ſo deliver'd from eternal Deſtruction, and put in poſſeſſion of Heaven, if ſo be they perſevere therein unto the end.

## CHAP. IV.

### *That tho Faith and the Holy Spirit be the Gifts of God, yet erring Perſons have, and may have them.*

YET ſome body may juſtly make a doubt, If Faith be the Gift of God, and ſuch a perfect and intire Love ought to proced only from the Impulſion of the Holy Spirit, with what warrant we attribute that to the Power of the Receiver, which lieth in the mere Pleaſure of the Donor. For if we have Faith no other way than from the Liberality of God, and that happens not to every one, certainly the Benefit of ſo great a Gift conſiſts in the mere Good Pleaſure of the munificent Donor. Now, ſhall we little *Manikins* preſcribe a Law to his moſt free Arbitriment, according to the Form whereof he muſt of neceſſity make good this Bounty of his to a certain ſort of Men? Or ſhall we arrogate that to our Power, which the Sacred Oracles place in his hand? But is it credible that he will laviſh out ſo excellent Gifts (I ſpeak of Faith and the Holy Spirit) on Men deprav'd with ſo many Errors, and imbued with perverſe Opinions concerning him? Admit they are naturally capable of ſo great a Good, yet ought they not preſently to promiſe to themſelves this Grace of God, which no man, that was in his wits, did ever imagine to be due to the Deſerts of Men, much leſs to the Perverſeneſs of ſo many Errors. To which I anſwer, Had I to do with none but them, who exclude all Action of our free Reception from the Donation of Faith, or imagine that eternal Salvation is in good earneſt promis'd to fewer than it is outwardly offer'd, it would be ſutable to handle theſe matters in this place more largely. But now foraſmuch as not a few of the Reformed count thoſe Errors, it would croſs the Deſign of my Diſcourſe, to digreſs and expatiate very far. It ſhall ſuffice to have touch'd a few, and thoſe not of the beſt Arguments, for the truer Opinion, but ſuch as firſt occur at preſent. In the firſt place therefore we muſt chuſe one of theſe twain; either to imagine that eternal Salvation is upon condition of Faith really promis'd unto all, to whom it is preach'd and offer'd, or that God offers that to certain Men in Word and Tongue, which he hath decreed not to perform in Deed and Truth. Whoſoever ſhall make choice of the latter, I intreat them that they would invent a new Name for this thing, or confeſs it under the old Name, to be Hypocriſy; that is, guileful Diſſimulation and Deceit, what they imprudently aſcribe to the moſt High God. But I have little to do with ſuch as had rather God ſhould be tax'd and convinc'd of evil diſſembling, than themſelves of Error: and therefore I lay this firſt ground of my Anſwer; That God is faithful, and willing ſeriouſly to give eternal Happineſs to whomſoever he offereth the ſame by the Preaching of the Goſpel, unleſs Men themſelves be wanting to their Duty. But he hath excluded none of thoſe, to whoſe ears the Voice of ſo joyful a Meſſage cometh; deſiring to gather even thoſe that are unwilling, if ſo be they leave off their Unwillingneſs. Now if God in the Preaching of the Goſpel hath promis'd eternal Salvation promiſcuouſly to all who deſire to attain it, he hath alſo promis'd all Means tending to this End, which are on his part neceſſarily requir'd. For he would be ridiculous, who ſhould promiſe to a Begger that he would preſently give him an Alms, and in the mean time be careleſs, yea unwilling to put his hand to his Purſe, that he may reach out what he hath promis'd, eſpecially if the Begger can receive that Alms no other way than by his reaching of it out. Nor can he be ſaid truly to promiſe any thing, who reſerves to himſelf a free Power to beſtow ſomething, without which what he hath promis'd can by no means be receiv'd and acquir'd. Far be it from us to have ſo impious a Thought towards God, as that we ſhould ſuſpect any evil concerning the Reality of his Words: To whomſoever he hath promis'd any thing, he hath truly and ſincerely promis'd it; nor will he circumvent any one's Credulity with any Slights and Put-offs. Nothing drove him to the Indulgence of ſo great a Benefit, but his own Good Will towards Mankind. Wherefore he is favourable to his own Gifts, and leaveth no Impediment to them; ſo that now nothing can be wanting on his part to the Attainment of them, which he doth not willingly impart to all. Whereby it cometh to paſs that the Gift of Faith, and whatſoever God confers to the Office of Believers, altho it be, like the very Salvation it ſelf, free and voluntary, and no ways deſerv'd, yet it is deny'd to none, who having heard the Conditions of the New Covenant, doth willingly aſſent to them, and is not wanting to himſelf in ſo great Mercy of God: which I would alſo have underſtood concerning all ſpiritual Gifts, without which his Promiſe cannot be acquir'd. For I will not deny that there are ſome, to the promiſcuous beſtowing whereof he hath engag'd his Faith to none; which lying out of the direct Road that leads to the Kingdom of Heaven, are not pertinent to the thing in hand. But the Conditions which are on God's part requir'd to the Nature of the New Covenant, are already, or ſhall certainly be fulfill'd by God: All that remaineth is, that the other Party will be mindful of ſo holy a Stipulation, and both believe and obey this Covenant. Which latter, ſince it may agree to this ſort of Men whereof we ſpeak, as hath been made evident from the precedent Diſcourſe, what is there lacking unto them, being compris'd in this Tranſaction of God with Men, to the full Freedom and Property of all the Gifts and Promiſes? For the Errors of the Underſtanding, eſpecially in things not concerning the very Nature of the Covenant, cannot hinder them from reaping the Fruit thereof, in that (as we have already ſhewn) the Knowledg of thoſe things is out of the Conditions of the Covenant (that is, lively Faith and Obedience) and therefore may be abſent and deprav'd, whilſt in the mean time thoſe Conditions remain intire. But of theſe things we will more largely treat in the enſuing Chapter.

## CHAP. V.

### *That nothing but Diſobedience and Unbelief exclude a Man from Eternal Salvation; and that ſuch as err are free from theſe. Whether bare Errors of the Underſtanding damn a Man.*

WHAT it is lawful for Almighty God to do towards Mankind, is queſtion'd by none, that is not ignorant of his abſolute Dominion. What he is willing and wont to do, and how he orders and guides his Commands, and the whole Commonwealth of the World, with Rewards and Penalties, is a thing right worthy to be taken into conſideration. Certainly we are all born in a Kingdom, which is by the Goodneſs of the moſt high God made ſo mild and pleaſant to us, that all the Sweetneſs of Liberty is ſordid in compariſon thereof. But he ſheweth himſelf a Father inſtead of a Lord and Prince, unto a great part of Men, of which alone we will at preſent diſcourſe. For we who have heard the Voice of his Promiſes, are all call'd from the Meanneſs of our Rank to the Condition of the Divine Adoption: To enjoy ſo great Felicity, as it is happy, ſo to miſs it is very wretched and calamitous. It therefore very much concerns Men, to foreſee by what ſteps they may be tumbled down from ſo great a height. And they who have already got up ſo high, that they have a hope of eternal Salvation upon the Conditions of the New Covenant, cannot be pull'd down from their ſtation but by Unbelief and Diſobedience. For ſince in this laſt Covenant nothing is requir'd of us beſides a lively Faith, concerning which we have formerly ſpoken, certainly we can by no other means violate the holy Engagement of that Compact, than if we become deſtitute of that very Faith, which cannot be done without the Crime of manifeſt Diſobedience. For it is enjoin'd and commanded us, unleſs we had rather periſh. And what elſe is Faith than *Obedience to God under a certain Hope and Confidence of his Promiſes?* As *Abraham* being call'd, obey'd by Faith, *Heb.* 11. 8. Wherefore if this one Rock of Diſobedience be avoided, we have no cauſe to fear the Shipwreck of our Salvation. It now remains to be conſider'd, whether bare Errors of the Mind are Diſobedience. That they are not ſo, is even from hence apparent; becauſe they conſiſt in the miſtaking of the Underſtanding, but this in the Pravity of the Will. Again, ſince God regardeth not the Actions themſelves, but the Mind of the Agents, who ſeeth not, that they who deſiring from their hearts to obey, yet thro Error and Imprudence do not ſo, cannot be juſtly accus'd of Diſobedience? A Servant doth not refuſe his Service, if not rightly apprehending his Maſter's Will, he fulfilleth it according to his Underſtanding; much leſs may he be puniſh'd for Diſobedience, and that with eternal Puniſhment. Nor doth God ſo much regard the Effect, as the Decree of our Counſel. And if you look to the Event of the thing, neither did *Abraham* indeed obey God commanding to ſacrifice his Son *Iſaac*, yet did he obey in his Heart and Mind. For he was willing to obey God, and did all he could, being prohibited by the Angel to do the reſt, *Gen.* 22. Suppoſe it be commanded that we believe the true Explication of the holy Trinity. Such as ſimply err, do not indeed obey this Precept, for they diſſent from ſuch as are Orthodox; yet do they obey in their Mind and Heart, becauſe they are willing to believe, and do believe all that which they think to be true, altho they do not hit in all things the genuine Senſe of that which is true. And ſo they do what they are able, being hinder'd by Ignorance from doing more. But you will ſay, that Ignorance is groſs and affected. I excuſe not that which is affected, ſuch as was in them, who whilſt the Apoſtles were living, or their Succeſſors, did err willingly and of ſet purpoſe: for this was mere Malice. But they who after ſo great Darkneſs had beſpread the Church, do not diſcern the riſing Light from counterfeit Torches, cannot be ſaid to ſin out of Malice and thro their own fault, as ſhall alſo hereafter be more largely handled. But what if it hath been ſhewn that it is not commanded, nor pertaineth to the Nature of our Faith and Obedience? Shall they preſently be diſobedient, who do not fully underſtand a Myſtery, which is no where commanded to be fully underſtood? In ſhort, whether they, who are call'd *Socinians*, do ſin out of a bare Error of Mind, we ſhall ſee hereafter. It is ſufficient for me at preſent to evince, that bare Errors of Mind are not puniſh'd by God with eternal Puniſhment, under the New Covenant. Elegant is that of *Bernard*, *Nothing burns in Hell, but our own Will.* For it only is capable of receiving the Filthineſs of Sin: for which in the whole Univerſe there hath been no place, unleſs God had left to intelligent Creatures a free and intire Will. Unleſs, I ſay, God had diſcharg'd the Will from all Condition of Servitude, all Proof of Vertue had periſh'd together with the Licence of Sinning: Altho very many had rather acknowledg God the Author of Sin, than the bounteous Giver of this Liberty; of which Liberty notwithſtanding, it is an evident ſign, that we abuſe it alone to the Licence of ſinning: ſo that the failing of our Underſtanding deſervedly ſeems worthy of Commiſeration and Pardon, whereas the Pravity of our Will deſerves Hatred and Puniſhment. It is therefore no wonder if God puniſhes this rather than the other, with eternal Deſtruction; becauſe in this there is place for Guilt, in the other only for Imbecillity. But he never puniſh'd Imbecillity and Ignorance for Contumacy, eſpecially with extreme and everlaſting Puniſhment. Likewiſe in the Law of *Moſes*, whereof he was ſo ſevere an Exactor, as that he ratify'd the Reverence of one Ceremony with the Blood of a Man that went to gather ſticks, *Numb.* 15. yet did he leave Pardon for Error, and a Refuge for Ignorance, and that in the moſt grievous Crimes, which concern the Life and Safety of a Man. The Rigor of the *Moſaick* Law pardons his Offence who kill'd a Man unawares, and grants him a Repeal after the Death of the High Prieſt. And why ſhould not alſo the Lenity of the Chriſtian Covenant abſolve the Fault of ſuch as err, after the Death of Chriſt our High Prieſt, whoſe Yoke is ſweet and Burden light, and who refuſes not to disburden and eaſe us of the Load of our Sins? Who hath left on record in the latter end of his Teſtament, how worthy of Pardon he accounted Errors, while in the cruel nick of his Death he pray'd for thoſe that err'd, *Luke* 23. Indeed to pray for them who ſin unto Death, it is not lawful: nor would the Lord ever have done that amidſt the ſacrilegious Boldneſs of ſo great a Crime, had he not taken pity on their unhappy Ignorance. *Forgive them*, ſaith he. For what reaſon? Becauſe *they know not what they do*. Now if in the Ignorance of ſo great a Murder there remain'd, even in our Saviour's Judgment, ſome place for Pardon; ſhall we, with our Cenſures, damn to eternal Puniſhment the mere Clouds of the Mind, and harmleſs Ignorance? But you will ſay, ſhall we hold that Ignorance and Errors are never puniſh'd with everlaſting Deſtruction? What ſhall become of the Souls of ſo many thouſand Infidels? What of thoſe barbarous *Braſilians* and others of that ſort? the greateſt part whereof have not had ſo much as a Suſpicion touching God and Chriſt. Shall we ſay that theſe ſhall be puniſh'd for Contumacy, who know not any Law, from whoſe Obedience they may revolt? Shall not the Ignorance of God and Chriſt in them undergo everlaſting Puniſhment? In the firſt place, I deny that they are in any ſort puniſh'd, to whoſe ears the Sound of the ſaving Doctrine never came; and ſay, that they are only left in that wretched Condition, to which they were liable by their very

Birth. For inaſmuch as the Puniſhment of our firſt Parent deriv'd the moſt wretched State of eternal Death to his Poſterity, God might according to his Wiſdom and good Pleaſure exempt whom he would from this Miſery, leaving the reſt in the ſame. For who ſhall preſcribe a Law to his abſolute Power, or ſet bounds to his Clemency? Thoſe therefore, to whom he hath reveal'd his Law, he puniſhes as Rebels, unleſs they obey, not with any new kind of Puniſhment (eſpecially after Death) but only leaving them in their miſerable State together with the reſt. Others to whom he hath not vouchſafed ſo great a Benefit, he leaves indeed in the ſame ſtate, but doth not therefore puniſh. For the reaſon of eternal Death, as it is to be call'd a Puniſhment, conſiſts not in the Appointment of a new Puniſhment, but in a certain Ademption of the Divine Grace, which might free them out of the Servitude of the old Puniſhment; which certainly is not taken away from them, to whom it was never offer'd. But ſome one will reply, Why ſhould thoſe wretched Ignorants be in the ſame condition with the Impious and Diſobedient? As if God were unjuſt toward thoſe, becauſe he uſeth Clemency towards theſe. Doth the Lord of the Vineyard do wrong to the Labourers, when he recompenſes the unequal Merits of ſundry Perſons with one Reward, not by taking ſomewhat away from them that were more deſerving, but only by adding ſomewhat to them that were leſs deſerving? *Mat.* 20. But if ſomething may be added to their Reward, who are leſs deſerving, without wrong to thoſe who are more deſerving; ſomething alſo may be taken away from their Puniſhment, who are more deſerving, without wrong to them who are leſs deſerving. Suppoſe that one hath promis'd Liberty to *Titius*'s Captive upon a certain condition, without promiſing any thing to *Sejus*. *Titius* for his Contumacy loſes the Reward, receiving nothing from his Maſter, but remaining captive and miſerable together with *Sejus*. Can *Sejus* now complain, that he being innocent, endureth the ſame things with *Titius* who was diſobedient? *Titius* may rather acknowledg the Clemency of his Maſter, who would content himſelf with the mere Ademption of the Reward. As therefore innocent *Sejus* is not puniſh'd by his Maſter, altho he be left in the ſame miſery with guilty *Titius*: So neither ſhall the ignorant *Braſilians* be hereafter puniſh'd by not receiving that which was never promis'd to them. Theſe may rather ponder on the grievous Puniſhment of their Contumacy, who ſee their Salvation, and pine away for having forſaken it. We have, I ſuppoſe, ſhewn ſufficiently, that ſuch Ignorants, whereof we ſpeak, are not puniſh'd. But if we grant that they alſo are puniſh'd, ſhall they be preſently puniſh'd for their Ignorance? As if that Ignorance were that which ought to be puniſh'd, and is not it ſelf rather a certain Puniſhment. Who knows not that God oftentimes avengeth Wickedneſs and Crimes with Errors? Who would not reckon ſuch Ignorance amongſt the horrid Puniſhments of God? This therefore will remain to be enquir'd further, for what cauſes he hath puniſh'd them with ſo great Blindneſs. But who hath known the Thoughts of the Lord, or who hath been his Counſellor? There is no cauſe why any one ſhould fiſh this Secret out of me, but that I certainly know that God proceeds ſlowly and unwillingly to Puniſhment, and that every one is undoubtedly the Author of his own Deſtruction. Of all thoſe that were wicked, and included under Sin, the moſt High God might take pity on ſome, and puniſh others. So that the Cauſe of this Puniſhment ſhould, as it ſeems, be ſought for, not in the Ignorance, but the Wickedneſs of Men, and in the ſpecial Good Pleaſure of the wiſe God. Let us proceed further. Suppoſe thoſe barbarous *Braſilians* to be puniſh'd: What is this to our Errors? Their Ignorance takes away all Faith, Religion, and Piety. We ſpeak of bare Errors of the Mind, which are ſo far from weakening Faith or Religion, that they ought, under the penalty of everlaſting Deſtruction, to be free from all Contagion of Wickedneſs. Finally, admit that the *Braſilians* are puniſh'd for the bare Ignorance of their Mind (which notwithſtanding we do not grant) ſhall we therefore ſay that the ſame Ignorance is puniſh'd by God with ſo grievous and bitter a Puniſhment in our erroneous ones? The Puniſhment of thoſe doth infinitely differ from the Puniſhment of theſe. It is an eaſy matter to loſe ſuch things, as the Mind with a flattering hope never promis'd to it ſelf. The Reward of eternal Life is not promis'd to them, no hope of Immortality given them, no Taſte of everlaſting Joy offer'd to them: They never endeavour'd to enter in thro the ſtrait Gate; to deny themſelves; they have not attempted to bear their Croſs, to follow their Saviour thro the Afflictions of this World. But the greateſt part of them who err thro the bare Imbecillity of their Wit, have omitted nothing to the moſt certain Hope of Salvation, and to all the toil of a pious Life, and to the tolerance of Chriſt's Croſs. Shall we imagine that theſe ſhall for their mere Ignorance, and the Miſtakes of their Underſtanding, be diſcarded from the Forethought and foretaſted Expectation of eternal Joy? Shall we think that their Labours ſhall be in vain, and their Hope and Faith vaniſh into Smoke? Certainly this would be a moſt wretched Condition, and not to be compar'd with that Puniſhment of thoſe

Barbarians. So that it can at no hand ſeem probable to any man, who ſets before his eyes the infinite Grace and Mercy of God, eſpecially under the New Covenant, that ſuch Ignorance ſhould have ſo ſevere a Puniſhment inflicted on it.

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## CHAP. VI.

*That the things neceſſary to be known unto Salvation, are few, and very ſimple, and eaſy to be underſtood by the ſimpleſt. Such is not the common Doctrine touching the Trinity.*

THERE are not wanting ſome, amongſt ſo many Families of Chriſtians, who imagine certain particular Men, whom they call Reprobates, to be by Name excluded from the Heavenly Inheritance; yet do the Opinions of almoſt all diſſenting Parties herein agree, that the way to Salvation is before-hand ſhut up and obſtructed to no ſort of Men. And indeed, not without good reaſon. For ſince they are all equal in the ſight of the moſt High God, and no man's Dignity exempts him out of the Condition of the reſt, there is no reſpect of Perſons with God, no regard of Eminency. He views not the Minds of Men thro thoſe Coverings of the Body, or thro the Dreſs and Ornament of the outward Fortune, but naked and ſequeſter'd from all Diſguiſes; and therefore the Condition, which is for the moſt part without the Verge of the Man himſelf, ought to difference none before him. As for the Counſel therefore of the great God, all are alike deſtinated to eternal Happineſs, whether they be Men or Women, Young or Old, clad in Scarlet, or coarſer Wool; having ſo much Land, that they cannot count it, or having no Land to count; in ſhort, whether they be born to Rule or Servitude; exerciſe liberal or manual Arts, all are promiſcuouſly and in the ſame degree call'd to that heavenly Inheritance. How few of all theſe can penetrate into thoſe abſtruſer Secrets of ſublime Doctrines? And therefore by the moſt wiſe Counſel of God, the Heads neceſſary to Salvation are ſo order'd, that they may, without any pains, be underſtood and comprehended by all. Howbeit that Doctrine, touching which the preſent Diſcourſe is intended, is ſo intricate and hard, and doth ſo far ſurpaſs the Apprehenſion of the ſimpler ſort, that very few of them can promiſe Salvation to themſelves, if it be prejudicial to any one to have a Miſunderſtanding

underſtanding of theſe things. For the Queſtion is not concerning the Holy Trinity, which all confeſs and adore, even they who are nicknam'd *Samoſatenians*; but touching the Differences of Eſſences and Perſons, touching the Communication of Properties, touching thoſe Myſteries which no Man ever ſaw, nor ſufficiently underſtood. Theſe things riſe up ſo high above our Imbecillity, and ſo great a Crop of Thorns and Briars ſprings up when they begin once to be diſcuſs'd, that Nature ſeldom produces ſo happy a Wit, as can in good earneſt rid himſelf out of that Brake. If any one of the duller ſort (and who ſeems acute enough for ſo ſubtle things) ſtick in thoſe Briars, why ſhould we impute that to his Wickedneſs, which is due to the Weakneſs of his Wit? The very Sublimity of the things argues their difficulty, as alſo the Excellency of the Object, which never was, never will be comprehended by the Mind of Man. And therefore not long after the Apoſtles time, a great bickering about theſe things diſturb'd the whole World, and did ſo exerciſe the Wits of the Fathers, that after ſo many Toils and Councils neither did all agree with one another, nor every one with himſelf. By ſo much eaſier a task is it to ſearch the Majeſty of God, than comprehend it. Which Curioſity, how fatal it prov'd to the World, let us believe the Complaint of *Hilary*, who pronounces the Biſhops of *France* happy, in that they had neither forg'd nor receiv'd, nor known any other Confeſſion than that old and moſt ſimple one, which had from the Age of the Apoſtles been receiv'd in all Churches. O that we had rather be happy with thoſe *French* Biſhops, than by being overwiſe, diſturb the Quiet of the Church, or baniſh out of Heaven ſuch Souls as are incapable of ſo great Myſteries! How many Men truly pious and ſimple ſhall you find, who are not able to maintain and defend their own Opinion, tho ſometimes true? If theſe happen to doubt of the Truth, or thro Imprudency to ſlip in ſuch matters, ſhall they preſently be excluded from the Entrance both of Heaven and the Church, as Enemies of God and Chriſt? What ſhall the Wretches do, whilſt oftentimes they hang in ſuſpence between a great ſhew of Probability on both ſides? And why ſhould not the Knowledg of ſuch things, as are altogether requiſite unto Salvation, be as obvious to the Simple as to learned Wits? Hath God paved an eaſier way to Salvation for the Learned and Ingenious, than for others? Nor is it very material, that the ruder ſort may apprehend by the teaching of the more Learned, what they perhaps of themſelves cannot attain unto. For ſince among the Learned themſelves there are ſo many Controverſies, either the ruder ſort ſhall judg of them by their own Underſtanding, which is all one (for 'tis as hard to determine between the Arguments on both ſides, as between true and falſe Opinions) or ſhall hand-over-head follow the Authority of others. But if the Choice of the true Opinion exceeds their Ability, ſo that they are altogether enforc'd to follow others without any premis'd Deliberation; what fault of theirs will it be, when they are miſtaken? Therefore they ſhall either be puniſh'd guiltleſs for the fault of others; or if they periſh guilty, their only Offence will be this, namely, that they are ſomewhat dull, which is ridiculous. For let us ſuppoſe, what often comes to paſs, that there are certain ſimple Men of an innocent Life, and who according to the Power of their Mortality, live piouſly and devoutly; let us alſo ſuppoſe what often falls out, that there are learned and ingenious Men, but overwhelm'd with Sins and Treſpaſſes: In both perhaps God may find juſt cauſe of Puniſhment; but he ſets not ſo high an eſtimate on Wits, as to deal more ſeverely with better Men, only for their Rudeneſs, than with the worſt of Men, and ſuch as by their very Ingratitude for his Gifts provoke his Vengeance. But he ſhould deal more ſeverely with better Men, were a certain and infallible way to Salvation quite ſhut up to them for the dulneſs of their Wit; and only an uncertain and ſlippery one, depending on another's Wit or Piety, left them: and if, on the contrary, wicked Men, ſo they be ingenious, have always (if they pleaſe) a privilege to go thro the right and ſaving Path. But you will ſay, God is bound to none; and when he finds in both a cauſe of juſt Severity, tho not equal, he may, according to his own good pleaſure, proſecute his Right in thoſe, and pardon theſe their greater Sins. I anſwer, what God may do is not here ſo much queſtion'd, as what he will, and is wont to do. And therefore tho we ſhould grant, that he may do this, yet would it not as yet appear, that he will, and is wont to do ſo. For God may do many things towards Men, without Impeachment to his Juſtice, which otherwiſe his wonted Mercy ſeems not to permit. But would not a Reſpect of Perſons be by this means apparently aſcrib'd unto God, if before him learned Men ſhould be in a better condition than ſimple ones? And yet notwithſtanding he is wont to reveal his Myſteries, not to the Wiſe of the world, but to the Simple and Ignorant, as the Face of the Primitive Church witneſſes, which had very few learned Men: which very thing evinces the Condition of ſimple Men in point of Religion, to be, if not better, yet at leaſt equal to that of the Learned. I am ſorry to dwell longer on a thing ſo evident. For theſe things cannot be obſcure to any one but him, who being pufft up with a vain Confidence of himſelf and his Knowledg, hath quite evaporated and breath'd out all Charity and Mildneſs of Chriſtian Forbearance. And therefore ſuch as err are oftentimes by us accus'd of Wickedneſs, not that they themſelves err grievouſly, but becauſe they think us to err grievouſly. Our Pride may ſeek what Pretences ſhe pleaſes, yet doth ſhe for the moſt part plead her own Cauſe; and a great part of thoſe that err are condemn'd and anathematiz'd, not ſo much for their own Ignorance, as for their Diſſent from us.

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## CHAP. VII.

### *That there is not in this Life a perfect Knowledg of God, and of Divine Myſteries, but in the other Life; and that* Faith, Hope, *and* Charity *are ſufficient to Salvation.*

IF in the Buſineſs of our Salvation a difference were made between the very Work of our Felicity and ſuch Means as tend thereunto, we ſhould eſteem fewer things as neceſſary to be known, and a far eaſier courſe might be taken to repair Concord in the Church. Whereas now, whilſt we confound the Means with the End, it comes to paſs, that in a prepoſterous Order we will have that which was firſt in the Intention, to be alſo firſt in the Execution, when notwithſtanding the Means do in their nature ſo follow the End, as to go before it in time. What is it to which the Deſire of the nobleſt Minds aſpire? Even the Pleaſure of eternal Joy, which Man's Mind cannot ſo much as conceive, without the exact Knowledg of God. But that Contemplation, happy even to Envy, awaits us in the Heavens: nor can the Narrowneſs of our earthly Temper in this Frailty comprehend it. As therefore he would be ridiculous, who ſhould hope for the Fruit of Sovereign Happineſs in this Life; ſo are we alſo ſeiz'd with a very fooliſh humour, whilſt in this Inn of our Mortality we require of all the Suiters for Heaven, a perfect Knowledg of God's Nature; which is not a Taſte or Handſel of our Felicity, but the very Top and Complement thereof. If the Capacity of our Underſtanding doth (as hath been ſaid) in vain attempt to comprehend this fully on the Earth, it is fit that we, together with the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 13. knowing and propheſying in part, expect the Perfection that is to come. But with what Spaces ſhall we circumſcribe that wandring and imperfect Knowledg? It is the ſafeſt way to ſet thoſe Limits thereunto, which the very nature of the New Covenant hath appointed; namely, that we chiefly and neceſſarily inculcate on all, only that Knowledg of God and Chriſt, without which thoſe things cannot conſiſt, which are requir'd of us by virtue of the New Covenant. Of which ſort are a firm Confidence plac'd in God and his Chriſt, together with a Hope of his Promiſes, and perfect Charity. All theſe things are eaſily conſiſtent with thoſe Miſtakes about the ſubtle Search into the Nature of God and Chriſt. Moreover, the greateſt difficulty in ſuch Diſſenſions, is for the moſt part wont to ariſe about the State of our Saviour, before he repair'd the lapſed Condition of Men. Howbeit, if we make a true Eſtimate of the matter, altho this Myſtery of his Eternity be true and altogether Divine, yet doth it not properly belong to us, to whom he hath preſented and reveal'd himſelf a Mediator in a human Nature and Condition only. So that they are altogether worthy of Excuſe, who ſee and look upon him only in that part, wherein he ſhew'd himſelf to Mankind. For as they loſe not the Rewards of a Covenant, who do not exactly know and comprehend his Nature, with whom, and by the Entermiſe of whom they enter into league; ſo that they know both ſo far forth, as the Reaſon of the Covenant and common Utility requires. So neither ſeem they excluſible from Heaven, who in the Knowledg of God and Chriſt the Mediator, want nothing to the Reaſon and Obſervance of the New Covenant, altho they riſe not up to the ſublimer Contemplation of both. Eſpecially ſince the greateſt part of them, who at this day recede from the common Senſe of the Church in ſo great a matter, are not out of any raſhneſs ſo perſuaded touching the Son of God, but rather out of a pious Fear, leſt they ſhould detract from the Father ſomewhat of his Honour. Wherein, if they unwittingly offend the Son, out of love to the Father (ſo that Improbity mingle not it ſelf with their Error) it ſeems very credible, that the Son will, for the very Love of the Father, forgive them this Error. For he gave a notable proof of his Meekneſs, when he pray'd for his ignorant Murderers, as we alſo did before hint. What, think we, will he not do for the Love of the Father, who for the Love of Men forgave ſo great an Injury to his Enemies? Now if he, out of love to Mankind, doubted not to aſſume the Form of a Servant, and really to endure extreme Diſgraces, certainly he will bear with the Errors of Men, who do not conceive worthily enough of his Majeſty and Dignity, eſpecially that which is paſt. Will he, who for the ſakes of Men did of his own accord debaſe

baſe himſelf to the loweſt Condition, puniſh them for this very thing, namely, becauſe they out of Ignorancc think more meanly of his Condition than is fit? Eſpecially, when he himſelf, by his Debaſement, did in a manner give occaſion of ſuch Ignorance. Certainly it is incredible, that he who of his own accord underwent for the Sins of Men a reproachful kind of Death, will not pardon to human Weakneſs a ſimple Opinion, that derogates ſomething from his antient Excellency, if ſo be the Error be harmleſs, and remov'd from all Sin of Malice. More might be ſaid on this occaſion; but neither is it my Intention to ſay all things, and what hath been ſpoken will ſuffice courteous Judgments. As for moody Diſpoſitions, we may ſooner wiſh than hope to bring them from their inbred Prejudices. Now let us deſcend to ſuch things as are more ſpecial.

## CHAP. VIII.

*A General Apology for the* Socinians, *that they are not of ſuch a Perſuaſion out of Ambition, Avarice, Pleaſure, or Superſtition, nor offend out of any Malice, but only out of the Care of their Salvation.*

AY me! what Contumacy is this, and Scorning to obey, that we Men depart from our heavenly Allegiance in nothing ſooner, than that which hath moſt accurately been enjoin'd and preſcrib'd? Doth that unhappy Exile of Heaven, ſolliciting the Earth to a Society of Rebellion, tempt us in that part chiefly, where he may make us moſt guilty of Treaſon? Or rather, did the Divine Providence more ſtrictly command that, wherein he moſt ſuſpected our Obedience? Whatſoever it be, certainly the more frequently mutual Love and Good Will is enjoin'd us in the Sacred Oracles, the more obſtinately do we refuſe it. And (which is the more to be lamented) we follow them as Guides herein, who ought at no hand thus to go before us; I mean ſuch Teachers of Religion, who being cozen'd with the Zeal of inhuman Piety, make it a part of our Duty to hate Diſſenters. A great part of them begin to hate the Perſons before the Vices, and (which is a thing very unjuſt) under a pretence of the publick Cauſe, they exerciſe private Hatred. Yea farther, to an inexpiable and moſt hateful War, the bare Name of Parties is ſufficient: and in a prepoſterous Order, the Judgment here follows Hatred and Enmity, as elſewhere it doth Love. Beſides, it is prejudicial to the Truth to have been utter'd or defended by ſuch as err; nor is Vertue valued at her worth in them, who have been once blaſted with the Suſpicion and Prejudice of Errors. No Honeſty, guilty of the leaſt Hereſy, is ſafe in the Church of *Rome*; nor is the Honeſty of a Catholick more gently dealt withal amongſt Proteſtants, who being themſelves alſo divided into ſundry Factions, with proud Determinations denounce Heaven or Hell to one another. There is no Remembrance of Mortality; no Pardon to miſtaking, any where. Altho you offend not in your Manners, yet is it a capital Offence to trip in the underſtanding of Divine Matters. Yet hath the publick Hatred of the World more eaſily conſpir'd againſt no ſort of Men, than againſt thoſe who commonly paſs under the name of *Socinians* or *Photinians*. Certainly an unhappy Race of Men, and amidſt ſo many Injuries and Reproaches, honeſt in a manner *gratis!* For neither do I excuſe the Errors which they hold. The thing I wonder at is this, How Men ſo diſtant from all Ambition and Avarice, and innocent in all the parts of their Life, ſhould be ſo grievouſly miſtaken. To aim at high matters is the undoing of very many Wits, born and fram'd to the beſt things. But this Vice, ariſing from the Deſire of Glory, hath there no place (if other Luſts be abſent) where Ambition finds not room enough for her ſwelling to expatiate in. For what Man, being well in his wits, would promiſe to himſelf a Name of Renown amongſt the moſt contemn'd and univerſally hated part of the ignoble Vulgar? Who would ſeek after the Rays of an illuſtrious Fame amidſt the Darkneſs of Obſcurity, who might find it in the Light and Sunſhine? As we ſee very many of them might do, whom neither the Splendor of their Birth, nor their Wit and Learning exempts from a voluntary Debaſement. Nor can you juſtly charge them with Avarice, a great part of whom do generouſly deſpiſe all means of growing rich; and you ſhall hardly find any where either poorer Men, or ſuch as by the Rule of their Sect are neceſſitated to give more than they. There remains Superſtition, whoſe timorous nature always condemns another's Liberty, in that which ſhe her ſelf doth with a ſcrupulous Religion refuſe. Certainly Superſtition is either baniſh'd from amongſt them, or hath there put off that which was in her nature moſt odious; ſince they in all their Doctrines ſo diſſent from others, as that they exclude none either from eternal Salvation, or from brotherly Communion, but ſuch an one as is a Patron of manifeſt Vice. Which very Carriage wipes away even the leaſt Suſpicion of Pride, which never debaſes her ſelf to ſo great modeſty, as not to preſcribe that Truth, which ſhe arrogates to her ſelf, to be held and obſerv'd by all others almoſt under a Form. So that I am utterly unable to find out the Cauſe, why they ſhould expoſe themſelves to the cruel Hatred of all, and to Dangers, unleſs it be an ardent Deſire to pleaſe God, and Study of true Piety. In which regard they are worthy of more Pardon, if any Diſaſter befal them in the Search of ſublime things. For indeed I cannot apprehend what it is that inflames us with ſo implacable Prejudice againſt them, when neither the Sweetneſs of Fame, nor the Spur of Riches, nor the Allurements of a diſſolute Life, but only the ſollicitous Care of their Salvation, has caſt them into theſe Straits. We ought rather to favour the Wretches, and reach forth a ſaving Right Hand to them, even againſt their Will. Whereas now on the contrary, we reject them ſuing for our Favour, and had rather hate and abominate than inſtruct them in a friendly manner. But by what Right, or for what Demerit of theirs? Is it becauſe they defend things, which they conceive to be true, with ſo great prejudice to their Honour and Security? What! would we have them ſacrifice their Faith and Conſcience on the Pleaſures of others? Or is it becauſe they think thoſe things to be true, which are falſe? Truly we are very injurious to Mortality, if we ſuppoſe the Errors and Failings of our Mind to be Crimes. You will ſay, *They ſin of ſet purpoſe*; and fall not caſually, but by a voluntary ſlip. But who told you ſo? Or who hath diſcover'd to you their intimate Counſels? Certainly not Charity, which is an Enemy to evil Surmiſes, but Bitterneſs and Malignity of Spirit, which is apt to make a ſiniſter Conſtruction of another's meaning. Altho they had no evident proof of their Innocency, yet in a doubtful matter, and ſuch as is known only to the Judg of Hearts, it becomes us not to make any ſad Decree againſt them. How much leſs can they be condemn'd, when there appears nothing that might invite and drive them to ſo wretched and dangerous Malice? We ſhould at leaſt here make uſe of that notable Saying of *Piſo*'s, *For what Advantage is this done?* For if they be neither ſeiz'd with a longing after Honour and Riches, nor with an Itch of Pleaſures, nor can have any hopes of earthly Solace; and if they conform their Lives to the Preſcript of that moſt holy Law, where lies the Incitement to ſo great Improbity, as that they ſhould purpoſely procure to themſelves ſo many Troubles, together with eternal Deſtruction?

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## CHAP. IX.

### *An Anſwer to the Objection about rejecting the Conſent of the Church, for the Authority of the Scripture only.*

BUT you will ſay, That they have been ſo daring, as to queſtion a Myſtery for ſo many Ages ſince receiv'd by all the Chriſtian World with great Applauſe, venerable for its very Antiquity, and ratify'd by the Authority of ſo many Holy Fathers and Councils: and ſo are come to the very height of Wickedneſs, in attempting to diſcuſs with ſacrilegious Curioſity ſuch things as ought to be believ'd. The Reprehenſion then is this, that they have begun to make a doubt of ſo certain a thing. But what? is it unlawful to buſy your Wit about a thing of undoubted Truth, that after a more ſtrict Examination, you may the ſooner impetrate Aſſent from your ſelf? Certainly it is a diſparagement to the Truth, if we ſuppoſe her to be afraid of Men's Judgments. For neither is it unbecoming her to plead for her ſelf at the Bar of Reaſon, that ſhe may bravely overcome, and draw the very Judg to her ſide: whereas if ſhe decline the Trial of this Court, ſhe ſuffers not a little in the Confidence of her Cauſe. For tho we may not enquire into the Truth of the Divine Oracle, yet we both may and ought into the true meaning thereof: and they ſeem Slanderers, who ſay that the *Socinians* believe not the words of the Scripture, becauſe they doubt of the receiv'd Senſe. But what if they ſeem alſo to have juſt cauſes of doubting? For they conceive that the Holy Fathers, and the Conſent of ſo many Ages, do add more Dignity and Veneration, than Streſs to the Doctrine of the Trinity. How well grounded this Conceit is, I diſpute not. However, certain it is, that they are not the firſt who have charg'd the publick Authority of the Church, and the Conſent of many Synods and Ages, with the Suſpicion of very great Crimes. For ſince they ſee the foreſaid Authority in many other things of great moment, not only accus'd, but alſo convicted of Falſhood, what ſo heinous Crime have they committed, who dare not intruſt their Faith and Opinion of Divine Things unto her? For of ſixteen Ages, the twelve latter cannot warrant many things to the greateſt part of Chriſtians. It cannot be deny'd, that the *Socinians* going further than others, do alſo reject the Conſent of the four former, but eſpecially of the third and fourth Ages. For ſince the

Truth hath found little aſſurance in human Authority for ſo many Ages of the loweſt Antiquity, they thought that their Opinions were to be ſquar'd only by the Rule of the Holy Scripture: wherein truly they could not err ſo greatly, but that they had a far greater cauſe of erring. For what could the Faith of the Church, being once ſuſpected, ratify to them? How could they know that the Chriſtian World hath groan'd under the Darkneſs of Errors no longer than for ten or twelve Ages? Or that thoſe antient times had any Privilege above the following ones, ſo that they could not err? They ſaw them to be Men, yea ſuch Men as were, alas! defil'd for a great part with Vices and Crimes. Nor could they be ignorant of the Factions amongſt the *Nicene* Fathers, nor of their evident Ambition, nor of the evil Arts of ſundry others, nor of the ſhameful Errors of Men, otherwiſe moſt holy. And tho it were to be held, that about the three hundredth Year of Salvation, the Church did ſtill retain the primitive Truth, yet in ſo many Diſſenſions and ſo many adverſe Councils, they judg'd that at leaſt the Choice of the truer Opinion did pertain to themſelves. In chuſing which, they ought not to follow the Judgment of the ſucceſſive Church, which had been already juſtly condemn'd in many Points of Faith, but the infallible Rule of the Holy Scripture. For how could the Church warrant unto them the Opinion of others, when ſhe was not able to make good her own? Beſides, they call'd to mind the Genius of that Age, and the Diſpoſitions of thoſe Fathers, concerning whom that great Man *Juſtus Lipſius* in our Age wrote, *That many did then ſo put on Chriſt by an outward Profeſſion, that in their Minds they did not put off* Plato. And therefore they not without cauſe ſuſpected, that in many Heads of Doctrine, plain words were wreſted to foreign and philoſophical Senſes, whilſt the Fathers did with ingenious Comments tack the Myſteries of their Philoſophy to the Word of God, that they might not ſeem to have learned in vain. For what ſhould be the Cauſe, ſay they, that touching the receiv'd Explication of the Holy Trinity, *Plato* and *Triſmegiſtus* ſpeak more clearly than the Sacred Scripture? Or what reaſon ſhould there be, why the Scripture ſhould more timorouſly and obſcurely deliver ſo holy a Myſtery, than the aforeſaid Philoſophers? Theſe and the like things, tho they do not acquit them of Error, yet do they clear them from the Imputation of Raſhneſs. For nothing is more certain, than that the Doctrine of Chriſt is not built on ſo weak a Foundation, as ſome conſtitute in human Authority. Nor did we heretofore wreſt theſe Arms out of the hands of Papiſts, that we our ſelves might uſe them againſt others. Certainly it becomes not us, either to take their Weapons, or deliver ours up to them: but when we are ſummon'd to the Tribunal of the Holy Scripture only, we ought not to yield this Praiſe to the Adverſaries, that they ſhould ſeem to hope better than we, concerning the Equity and Favour of ſo great a Judg.

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## CHAP. X.

### *An Anſwer to three other Objections. A Compariſon of* Calvin's *Doctrine touching fatal Predeſtination, with the Doctrine of others.*

BUT it will be further objected, that the *Socinians* impiouſly contradict the manifeſt words of the ſacred Scripture, and ſcornfully reject the clear Truth coming in upon them. To which I anſwer, That whatſoever pains and travel they undertake in this Buſineſs, is employ'd not againſt the Holy Trinity (as they are unjuſtly defam'd) nor againſt the ſacred Scripture, but againſt the human Explications of both. Hence we may ſee that they willingly aſſent and give credit to all the Sacred Oracles touching this matter, only rejecting certain Interpretations and Forms, ſprung up certain Ages after. They believe they are, according to the Command of Chriſt, *to be baptiz'd into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,* Mat. 28. They believe *thoſe three ſacred Witneſſes in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit,* 1 *John* 5. They acknowledg, *that in the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was a God,* John 1. Yea, ſuch a one, *to whom all Power in Heaven and Earth was given*; as he ſpeaks of himſelf, *Mat.* 28. It would be tedious to reckon up all the Scripture Teſtimonies of this kind, to which they give credence without any exception. Thoſe hard and ſubtle Opinions concerning the Eſſence and Perſon of God, concerning the Communication of Properties, and others of that batch, they either underſtand not, or think them repugnant to the ſimple and plain Word of God. Give us leave, ſay they, to be ignorant of ſuch things as are believ'd with danger. In theſe ſo ſubtle and thorny Explications, if they, after the manner of Men, chance to err, ſhall they preſently be term'd the Enemies of God and Chriſt? Shall there be found no pardon for an Error in ſo great difficulty of things, no Excuſe for Weakneſs? Which notwithſtanding we ingenuouſly ſeek, even for the greateſt Crimes, tho we be never ſo well provided of means to avoid them. Are they, who out of Ignorance and Error violate the Edicts of Princes, acquitted from the Crime of Treaſon? And ſhall he that offends about the Divine Oracles, in our Opinion, have no refuge for his Weakneſs in the Mercy of the Heavenly Father? But you will reply, that their Blaſphemies are horrid, wherein Impiety leaves no place for Pity; and reproachful againſt the Son of God, and overthrowing the Foundation of our Faith. To which I anſwer, That if there have been any amongſt them of a more intemperate Tongue or Quill, they are infamous not only with us, but alſo with them. But what is here meant by the Foundation of Faith, I do not ſufficiently perceive. It hath been abundantly evidenc'd before, that ſuch Errors do neceſſarily take away neither our Faith, nor our Salvation. For it is not the Foundation of Salvation to know his Eſſence, who hath promis'd the Salvation to us, ſo that we have no impious and contumelious Opinion of him: as the Ignorance of the Nature of the Promiſer takes not away the Certainty of the Promiſe, unleſs he hath promis'd us any thing under the condition of ſuch Knowledg. As for the Knowledg of the Father, they therein do in a manner agree with us. They likewiſe adore and reverence with Divine Worſhip the Son of God, as the Author and Mediator of their Salvation, the Heir and Lord of the Univerſe, and the General of our Warfare. But you will here reply, that they deny his Eternity. I anſwer, that they, together with holy *Paul*, care not much to know any thing but *Jeſus Chriſt, and him crucify'd*; and had rather, with ſo great an Apoſtle, reſt in the Simplicity of this Knowledg, than either with *Arius* to aſcend to *Non-entities*, or with *Athanaſius* to *Co-eſſentialities*. As for the Honour which they give to the Holy Spirit, the Greatneſs thereof appears, in that they ſcarce diſtinguiſh him from the Supreme Father. Shall they then be ſaid to blaſpheme againſt theſe, if they be ſomewhat miſtaken in the other Knowledg of them? Indeed many Opinions are drawn out of their Doctrines, that the Wretches may be loaded with more Envy, and that by them, who whilſt they are ſo vigilant in other mens Errors, are faſt aſleep in their own. But if all the Chaff were to be ſifted out of human Opinions, I would wiſh that a great part of the Reformed Churches would labour to defend their own Cauſe, before they undertake to oppoſe that of others: but thoſe above all, who have from the Age of *Chryſippus* recall'd down to theſe very times that ſecret and inevitable Law of Fate; and who hold alſo, that the Sins and Deſtruction of Mankind, and finally all and ſingular Motions and Impulſions of our Will, proceed from the

Decree of eternal Deſtiny; to whom this falſe Perſuaſion alſo ſeems to be fatal. From which Opinion, if we lay aſide Prejudice, more and more ſhameful Errors will be deduc'd, than out of the Books of the *Socinians*. For which is more reproachful unto God, to hold that he is one as well in Perſon as Eſſence, or (that I may clothe naked Injuſtice with ſoft words) to bring him in puniſhing Men, for not doing thoſe things, which by his own procurement were impoſſible? Is it more abſurd to conceive that there is one Eſſence of the Father, another of the Son, than that God (I tremble to ſpeak it) hath one thing open in his Tongue, and another thing contrary thereunto ſhut up in his Breaſt? This is Reproach enough to the moſt High God, altho we do not add, that this Diſſimulation is join'd with Deceit. Is the Dignity of the Holy Spirit more traduc'd, whilſt he is ſaid to be only the Virtue and Power of God, than the Goodneſs of God, whilſt he is held the Author of Sin? Which Conſequence doth alſo flow by a fatal and inevitable Flux from that Doctrine of Fate. For he that decreed Men ſhould neceſſarily ſin, certainly would have them ſin: otherwiſe he would have decreed a thing againſt his own Deſire. Now he, whoſe Decree and Will the Event doth immutably follow, may certainly be term'd the Cauſe of that Event, whether he effect it by himſelf, or by another. Finally, it is a greater derogation to the Dignity of Chriſt, to deny two Natures in him, leſt we ſhould make him two Perſons, than to the Wiſdom of God, to affirm that he would perſuade Men to that, whereto nevertheleſs he hath not perſuaded them, namely, that he would give Salvation unto all, when notwithſtanding he hath deſign'd it only to a few? Truly, if we look more narrowly into the matter, the Doctrine of the *Socinians* touching the Holy Trinity, is not to be accounted ſo much evil and impious in its own nature, as imperfect and maim'd. For it ſeems to aſcribe to the Holy Trinity nothing falſe or abſurd, but only to take away ſomething that is true, namely, the Divine Nature of Chriſt, and the proper Perſon of the Holy Spirit. Whereas this Doctrine touching the fatal Predeſtination of particular Men, labours not with any Defect, but with manifeſt Pravity. For it not only offers Injury to God by moſt unworthy Calumnies, but alſo ſtrikes at the Foundation of our Faith. For to omit Security and Deſpair, with which two Rams it batters the Wall of our Piety, it wonderfully weakens the very Belief of God's Promiſes, whilſt it brings in God wickedly diſſembling, the more is the grief.

## CHAP. XI.

### *Reaſons and Examples for tolerating Hereticks; and who are true Hereticks.*

TO what purpoſe ſpeak I theſe things? namely, to ſhew that there is no cauſe, why we ſhould not think that they ought to be tolerated in the Church, whoſe Tenets, either by themſelves, or for their abſurd Conſequences, ſeem ſcarce tolerable; ſo that they do not wilfully aſcribe ſome impious thing to God, and teſtify their Love towards the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by obeying his Commandments. For altho both the Patrons of the forecited Opinions did build unprofitable, yea, damnable Tenets, as it were Hay and Stubble, upon our Foundation, which is Jeſus Chriſt; yet as it hath been alſo ſhewn at the beginning, the Tenets which they thro Error have brought in, ſhall be deſtroy'd by Fire, whilſt they themſelves in the mean time (unleſs ſome other thing hinder) ſhall, as the Apoſtle teſtifies, 1 *Cor.* 3. obtain Pardon and Salvation. Neither indeed ought we to refuſe or ſcorn their Communion, whom God will receive into the Society of eternal Happineſs; nor ſhould we hate them on Earth, to whom eternal Love in Heaven is due. We are unworthy to bear the Title of God's Children, if we diſdain to be their Brethren, whoſe Father God deſires to be. But if we be afraid of the Contagion of ſuch Errors, either in behalf of our ſelves, or rather of the weaker ones, in the firſt place we may not thereupon renounce brotherly Love, which we owe to them, altho they err. For we ought not to forſake a certain and clear Duty, leſt an uncertain Evil ſhould happen, nor to purſue even the moſt holy Ends by unlawful means. But ſecondly, that Fear is vain. For if we have not the Truth, there is little danger to be fear'd from them, much leſs if we have it. For ſince they maintain their Tenets with no Arms, nor with any Force, and think it not ſo much as lawful ſo to do, nor ſet them off with any carnal Allurements, certainly the Truth can never be by them either oppreſs'd with Force, or overthrown with Fraud; inaſmuch as the nature of Truth is ſuch, that like to Eagle's Feathers, ſhe devours all other light Plumage of Opinions, never withdrawing herſelf from us, unleſs ſhe be tired either with our Servitude or Sins. Which twain being not to be fear'd by us in a modeſt Liberty of Diſſenting, and Study of true Charity, what cauſe is there why we ſhould ſo warily fence our Opinions from their Tenets? Let us rather be poſſeſs'd with a certain Hope, that as earthen Veſſels being join'd with thoſe of Tin or Silver, are broken to pieces; ſo alſo if God the Author of Peace ſhall bring back into the Church that happy Tolerance, all falſe Opinions fighting hand to hand with the true, will be daſh'd to ſhivers and periſh. Otherwiſe, if we ſo much fear that mutual Patience and friendly Conference, we do not think well enough concerning the Goodneſs of our Cauſe. Heretofore when the Dawning of the Goſpel Light was return'd, *Luther* and his Followers would have wiſh'd that they might be tolerated in the Communion of the *Roman* Church. But it concern'd the Pope to ſecure his Darkneſs from the Approach of the Morning. Again, when a Diſſenſion was riſen up between the *Lutherans* and the *Reform'd*, who was it that refus'd the Form of Agreement that was offer'd, but he that doubted of his Cauſe? Now alſo in the very Reform'd Church it ſelf, upon the Diſſenſion concerning Fate, none are more diſpleas'd with Tolerance than they that ſuſpect the Truth of their Doctrine. Would Error were ſo circumſpect in the Cradle of its Infancy, as it is provident, being once grown up. But being blind when it is born, it doth afterwards become ſharp-ſighted, foreſeeing its Fate afar off, and eſchewing it; and is never more ingenious to prolong its Life, than when it is preſs'd with the Conſcience of its own Weakneſs. But you will ſay, Shall we acknowledg a Heretick even for a Brother, when the Apoſtle, *Tit.* 3. commands us to avoid him after two or three Admonitions? Why ſhall we be more merciful than the Holy Spirit? Let not that Mercy turn to our Miſery, when once the Lord begins to require at our hands the Souls of ſo many ſeduc'd Innocents. Shall we not eſteem him a Heretick, who in ſo great a matter departs from the ſound Doctrine of the Church? Do we not think our own Doctrine ſound? How often have they been admoniſh'd both with Writings and Diſputations, and yet nevertheleſs ſtick to their Errors as to Rocks? I anſwer, Let none pleaſe himſelf ſo much, as to vie with the Apoſtolical Meekneſs. It is an incurable Member that the Apoſtle enjoins to be cut off from the reſt of the Church's Body. Howbeit there may be Error in them that undertake the Cure, and they themſelves may be overſpread with much Darkneſs. For neither can the ſound part be always diſcern'd from the diſeas'd one, and the one doth oftentimes deceive us with the Diſguiſe and Image of the other: And tho it be ever ſo manifeſt what part is entangled with a true Diſeaſe, yet doth it ſometimes remain to be ſcan'd, whether it be to be cut off, or cured with mollifying

Remedies; for thoſe Members only ought to ſuffer Amputation, wherein the Gangrene leaves no place for a milder Medicine. Nor is the Apoſtle of another mind, when he commands many Admonitions to be premis'd before Excommunication. And leſt it ſhould be doubtful whom he deſign'd by the name of a Heretick, he ſubjoins Arguments thereupon, which are indeed Effects of the Heretick himſelf, but unto us impulſive Cauſes, that we may avoid him. For he ſaith, *That ſuch an one is overturn'd, and ſinneth, being condemn'd of himſelf.* And leſt any ſhould think that theſe are indeed impulſive Cauſes, but not of our fact and our avoiding, but only of the Apoſtle's Injunction; ſo that he indeed for theſe cauſes excludes every Heretick from the Communion of the Church, but yet it is not neceſſary for us to have reſpect to them; he premiſes the Participle *Knowing*, to intimate that we alſo ought to know the cauſes why we diſcommon any of the Citizens in that Heavenly Commonwealth, and not haſten raſhly to ſuch Proſcriptions, but after we have certain knowledg of ſo great Malice in them. And truly altho the Apoſtle had not added this, yet did very Charity and the Analogy of our Religion dictate ſo much unto us. For this is a great Puniſhment, not to be inflicted but on ſuch as ſin evidently. And foraſmuch as in ſo great a matter no Error can be little, we ought firſt of all to be aſcertain'd, that the Man to be condemn'd is worthy of ſo rigid a Sentence, namely, ſuch an one as is here painted out in his Colours. Which not belonging unto Men, who go aſtray from the common road, out of mere Ignorance, or Injury of the Times, what ſhall we do to them that make uſe of this exception? Shall they who in theſe calamitous times, in this Deſolation of the Church (being born a great while after the Riſe of Antichriſt, and not able fully to diſpel the Darkneſs of that long Night) turn aſide into By-Paths, be judg'd to ſin out of Perverſity of Mind? Where now is that Royal Highway, thro which the Godly may paſs ſecurely on with an unerring foot to Salvation? If it lies in the Authority of the Church, ſhe hath now for many Ages been beſet with the Snares of Antichriſt. We wonder that they are afraid of the ſuſpected Faith of the Church, when they do the ſame after our example: and in ſo great danger to fear even all the things that are ſafe, is a point of Prudence. And we ſtill dare to upbraid them with Raſhneſs in departing from the common Doctrine, when they ſeem to do it out of a juſt and well-grounded Fear. But if this way conſiſts in the Authority of the Holy Scripture, they do not ſtray from it, whilſt they, together with us, honour thoſe Sacred Books with due Reverence. But you will ſay, that the right and orthodox Senſe of the Holy Scripture is rather the only Path, that is able to bring us to the very Citadel of Truth. I confeſs that this way was heretofore worn with the publick going of Chriſtians; but now being firſt hidden with the ſpringing Briars of Antichriſt, and therefore trodden by very few, and not as yet diſcover'd by having all the Brake cut down; and beſides, call'd into doubt by ſo many intervening falſe Paths, it hath not as yet recover'd the Name and Nature of a Royal Highway, which it had for a long time loſt. And therefore the greater Pardon is due unto ſuch as deviate from the ſame. For neither do they err thro deſperate Malice of Heart, who do not always walk therein amidſt ſo many Croſs-ways and Turnings. Let any one reckon up to me all the Sects of Chriſtian Religion, and I will ſay he is a brave Fellow, if he omit none. In ſo great a Concourſe of Opinions, if they have not choſen the truer, who will ſay that this is done rather out of Improbity, than out of Ignorance? For by what Argument, after ſo many Errors have been introduc'd, ought the Truth to lie open to their view? By the unanimous Conſent of the Church? O unanimous Conſent, amidſt ſix hundred different Sects! You will ſay, that in the Doctrine contrary unto them, the greateſt part are agreed. But this is nothing, ſince they have alſo agreed in very many Errors. So that we muſt again ſeek out a Privilege for the Doctrine of the Trinity, whereby it came to paſs, that tho Men err'd in other points, yet could they not miſtake in this. But if we ſuppoſe that they ought to examine all Opinions by the Rule of the Holy Scripture, and afterwards to chuſe the truer; they have done both, ſave that in the latter they have not follow'd that which indeed was, but only that which they thought to be truer. Which certainly is an Error, and no Malice; nor can they be ſaid to ſin ſelf-condemn'd in holding ſuch an Opinion, for which they are ready to loſe their Lives and Fortunes. For neither doth he condemn himſelf, at leaſt in his Conſcience, who in the midſt of cruel Tortures hopes for eternal Life from God, as the Reward of defending the Truth. Wherefore ſince we are not certain, that they are perverſe and ſelf-condemn'd, but well aſſur'd that they are not ſuch, even from the Death, which they willingly undergo for their Errors; and ſince ſuch Errors (as hath been before prov'd) do not ſubvert eternal Salvation, it ſeems that they ought not to be ſegregated from the Communion of the Church, if they will teſtify their Love towards the Lord Jeſus, by obeying his Commandments.

## CHAP. XII.

### *What Hereticks are to be excommunicated, what not. And a fuller Apology for thoſe who in our Age paſs for Hereticks.*

BY this reckoning, will ſome ſay, how few Hereticks muſt be excommunicated? Who will not invent plauſible Pretences for his Pravity? There is no Doctrine ſo abſurd and peſtilent, which being palliated with that Cloke of Error, may not creep into the Church. To which I anſwer, That there is no cauſe why we ſhould be ſollicitous leſt we ſhould have no occaſion to uſe this rigid Law of Excommunication. Would the Church had even at this day no voluntary Rebels againſt the Divine Majeſty. But neither in the Times of the Apoſtles were there Men wanting, who ſubverted either our Faith in God, or the Hope of Immortality, or the Piety and Love that is enjoin'd us; and ſuch as did not by Deductions and Conſequences, but with open face, as they ſay, vent Blaſphemies and Impieties. Whoſe Endeavour and Impiety is not ſo obſcure, but that it is apparent that they were conſcious to themſelves of their Pravity and Fraud. As if any one ſhould deny the Reſurrection of the Dead, who ſees not that ſuch a Man, after he hath view'd the clear and certain Sentence of the Holy Scripture, will be convicted in himſelf, altho he may perhaps diſſemble it? There is the ſame reaſon in the Patron of ſome apparent Vice. All which being manifeſt (for ſo are the Works of the Fleſh) and manifeſtly forbidden, ſuch a Man hath no Starting-hole in the Ambiguity or Obſcurity of the Sacred Scripture, unleſs he diſbelieves the ſame, and ſo overthrow all Religion. Whoſoever therefore brings into the Church ſuch Doctrines, as do in their own nature ſubvert our Salvation and Faith, they are deſervedly commanded to depart together with the former, not only leſt they ſhould hurt others, but alſo becauſe they themſelves, as has been ſhewn, are of incorrigible Malice and Perverſity, and conſequently ſelf-condemn'd. For a Chirurgeon doth not preſently ſear or cut off an infected part, becauſe it may with its Contagion hurt the reſt of the Body, but would firſt have that very part cured of the Infection: which if it doth not ſucceed, he then cuts it off as incurable. But thoſe Doctrines that ſtand not within the Boundaries of Neceſſity to Salvation,

Salvation are ſuch, that an Error in them, eſpecially in this diſturb'd ſtate of things, cannot be tax'd of wilful Pravity; nor can it either damn its Author, or exclude him from the Boſom of the Church. But ſome one will here object, Shall we brand with this ſpiritual Cenſure the obſtinate Maintainer of none, even the greateſt Error, if ſo be it overthrow not our Salvation? But there are many things, which tho in their own nature they take not from us our Salvation, yet do they by degrees ſo undermine and weaken the ſame, that afterwards it falls down of its own accord. And do you like it, that ſuch Diſeaſes ſhould be cheriſh'd in the Church? To which I anſwer, that I would have theſe Diſtempers cured without Wounds and Cauteries, eſpecially becauſe the Truth, unleſs it be oppreſs'd by Force, or ſcorn'd by Men who are blind with the Love of Vices, is never wont to be ſupplanted by thoſe pernicious Errors: yea, this Daughter and Foſter-Child of Time, always growing ſtronger with very Age, doth with the Beams of her Light diſſolve and melt all the waxen Arguments of Falſhood, unleſs one of thoſe twain before-mention'd doth hinder; both which ought to be baniſh'd from the true Church of Chriſt. For ſince by Force, or the Allurement of our Affections, as well Falſhood as Truth may be promoted (if yet Truth may be ſo promoted) but by a free Diſpute in mutual Love, only Truth; and Falſhood ſometimes puts on the Vizor of Truth, it is a ſafer courſe to keep this way only in the Church, which having ſhut out Error, lies open to Truth, than whilſt we endeavour by all means to inſinuate Truth into Men, to leave and prepare an Entrance for Falſhood. And therefore to caſhier the lighter Errors (for the Objection ſpeaks not of the lighteſt) the Care and Vigilancy of the Paſtors is ſufficient; who will find that the Love due to erring Perſons will no whit retard them in pulling up falſe Opinions according to their Ability. However, ſhould it never ſo much be granted, that in the Infancy of the Church, and in her following Growth, theſe Errors, which outwardly appear ſomewhat light, but inwardly contain very much, were not tolerated; yet will it not be evinc'd from thence, that they ought not at this day to be tolerated in the old Age of the Church. For they deceive and are deceiv'd, who model our times by the Pattern of that flouriſhing Age. The crazy Health of the Church cannot be reſtor'd with the ſame Remedies. Many things ſtifle a Diſeaſe in the birth, which when it is grown up do foment it. When the Church was ſound and luſty, in the prime Flower of her Age, and whilſt the College of the Apoſtles was yet living, even violent Remedies were to be uſed towards her, becauſe of her Vigor;

gor: Whereas now being ſpent with Diſeaſes and old Age, and become feeble, ſhe doth in a manner ſink under the Weight of her prevailing Sickneſs, and is never in more danger, than when ſhe falls into the hands of cruel Phyſicians. Heretofore her former Vigor did admit the opening of a Vein, and taking away of Blood; but now after her Strength hath been exhauſted with ſo many Maladies, if there be any vital Juice remaining, it cannot be let out, but the very Life and Spirit will iſſue forth together. Believe me, ye that talk of nothing but Lancets and Cauteries, will with your unſeaſonable Phyſick kill the Church, if ye let out that little Blood which is remaining, in this nick of time when ſhe ſeems to be almoſt a dying. Whatſoever Remedies have been invented for the Health and Conſervation of the Church, as this is touching the Puniſhment of Hereticks, ſhould then, as Prudence teaches, be omitted, when they bring more Hurt and Danger than Profit. For why deſire we that the People of God ſhould like a Lump of moldring ſtuff be further crumbled into infinite pieces? What end of Schiſms will there be, if a promiſcuous Diſſent be ſufficient to make a rent? Why take we pleaſure to behold not the Coat only, as a Great Man wrote, but the very Body of Chriſt, whereof he is the Head, to be cut and torn in pieces? But let the reſpect of Profit take place: let us ſee whether it be lawful for us at this time to chaſe thoſe erring Perſons from the Communion of Chriſt's Church. For there is a wide difference between them and thoſe Hereticks that were contemporary with the Apoſtles. For ſuppoſe them, who now-a-days err in matters of Faith, to make their appearance before the reverend Conſiſtory of the Apoſtles and their Aſſociates; ſuppoſe them to be often convicted and admoniſh'd, and nevertheleſs to perſiſt obſtinate, tho in the leaſt Error, who would not deteſt their Malice? Certainly a very ſlight Error would now be tranſmitted into the nature of a wicked Crime. And why ſo? Becauſe they durſt reſiſt the Holy Spirit ſpeaking by the Apoſtles: And when they had no cauſe to queſtion the Doctrine and Faith of that moſt ſacred Council, unleſs they would withal queſtion the whole Chriſtian Religion, yea, did not give credence thereunto, nor obey it, and nevertheleſs would be accounted Chriſtians. What Madneſs, what Wickedneſs, what Perverſeneſs was it, when by this very Incredulity they do ſufficiently teſtify that they were not Chriſtians, as who deny'd Belief to the Apoſtles and their Aſſociates, and yet under pretence of Chriſtianity, did peſter the Church with Deceit and Lyes? Beſides, the Malice of ſuch Men was in the beginning far more manifeſt, in that a Blemiſh may ſooner be diſcover'd cover'd in a clean Body, than one that is ſpotted. And therefore it was an eaſy matter to eſpy and puniſh the Wickedneſs of ſuch Men, as did turn aſide out of the common Road, that never had been call'd in queſtion. But now tho we have a very ſtrong Perſuaſion concerning the Certainty of our Faith, yet who hath herein given us Caution or Security, that we cannot err? What Council can he at this day imagine ſo uncorrupt, as that of the Apoſtles, or the Primitive Church? And yet how many Preſcriptions may you behold in this Age? How many Degrees, whereby Men for the ſlighteſt matters exclude one another out of Heaven and the Church? I ſpeak not theſe things as if I thought any queſtion were to be made concerning the Soundneſs of the Orthodox Opinion; but to make it plain, firſt, that we ought more timorouſly than the Apoſtles heretofore, to condemn ſuch as are tardy in this behalf; and ſecondly, that we ſhould not in light matters be over-confident of our Knowledg and Perſuaſion; and finally, that even in weightier things, provided they do not ſubvert our Faith in the Lord Jeſus, and the Obedience of his Commandments, we may and are bound to tolerate the Weakneſs of ſuch as err. For what matters it, for me certainly to know that I hold the ſaving Doctrine in theſe points, if this be not manifeſt to all Chriſtians, or if I cannot always very clearly demonſtrate the ſame to him that errs? Have not all a far juſter cauſe of queſtioning the true Opinion now-a-days, than heretofore in the time of the Apoſtles? And ſutably a Man may very eaſily ſlip in ſuch things thro Imprudence, which heretofore could not be done without the intervening of extreme Impiety. Nor is there need of Malice for continuance in Error, where Prejudice is ſufficient, and a Suſpicion of Error firmly imprinted in the Mind againſt the Patrons of the true Opinion. Which certainly may eaſily ſeize even on an honeſt Heart, eſpecially becauſe every Sect of Chriſtians inſtil into their Partiſans at the firſt a Hatred and Abhorrency of others, and from their very Cradle ſow in their Hearts their own Tenets; which having once taken root, can hardly be pull'd thence in their riper Age. Now what cruelty is it, to caſt out of the Boſom and Lap of the Church ſuch Perſons as are ſtudious of Honeſty and Truth (yea, ſeek an Agreement) only for thoſe Errors, which have been implanted in them without any fault of theirs, and do not overthrow Salvation? But they are Hereticks, and to be avoided, as ſuch who are condemn'd of their own Conſcience. Yea, for the fore-alledg'd cauſes they are not condemn'd of their own Conſcience; and therefore neither now to be avoided, nor Hereticks. Or if we take no compaſſion on them, yet let us at leaſt take pity on the very Truth which we defend, whoſe Growth we envy; firſt, becauſe we drive others from a nearer prying into her; and next, becauſe we teach by our own example, that ſhe, if charg'd with falſe Suſpicions, of right may and ought to be excluded by other Chriſtian Churches.

## The Poſtſcript to the Reader.

LEST the following Papers, Chriſtian Reader, being left empty, ſhould beguile thy Sight, I have thought good in this place again to beſpeak thee with a word or too. By this time thou haſt perceiv'd our Mind and Drift, which both the Author of this Diſcourſe had before his eyes when he wrote it, and I alſo when I publiſh'd the ſame, for thy behoof and benefit. If thou haſt but a grain of Candor in thy heart, and wilt paſs Sentence according to the Preſcript of Truth, thou wilt judg and call this Writing not *Heretical*, but *Peaceable*. But you will ſay, What Peace, what Agreement either can or ought a Chriſtian Man to have with Hereticks? Good Reader, we undertake not the Patronage of Hereticks. But before you exclude others out of the Verge of Chriſtian Charity, and throw the Thunderbolt of an Anathema upon them, you ſhould well weigh and conſider to whom the Crime of Hereſy is juſtly to be imputed. In paſſing cenſure upon Hereticks, it was not ſo eaſy a matter to miſtake in that golden Age, wherein the Chriſtian Church was founded by the Apoſtles, and govern'd by themſelves, as in this Age of ours. For tho in thoſe Beginnings of the Chriſtian Church there did divers Errors, yea and Hereſies ſpring up, nevertheleſs from that Confuſion of diſſenting Opinions there were not peculiar Churches, diſtinguiſh'd by divers Forms of Confeſſions and Ceremonies, as yet ſtarted up; but there was then one only Chriſtian Church, and ſhe truly Apoſtolical, and in all Points of Doctrine, which ſhe profeſs'd, of a ſound Belief. Wherefore to contradict this Church, and her Doctrine, was truly blaſphemous, truly heretical: and whomſoever either the Apoſtles themſelves, or alſo other Apoſtolical Doctors [of the Primitive Church, declar'd Hereticks, they might alſo deſervedly be accounted ſuch by all Chriſtians, and there was no danger of Error in that Cenſure, no not among the more ignorant Chriſtians, as following the Judgment of the very Holy Spirit, by whom thoſe Divine Governors of the Church were guided, as appear'd by moſt evident Arguments. But at this day, inaſmuch as there are, alas! ſo many and ſo various Churches of Chriſtians, which of all will be ſo bold as to aſcend, with like confidence to that of the Apoſtles, to that ſacred Tribunal, from which ſhe may pronounce Sentence on the reſt as Heretical? It is out of controverſy, that ſuch an Authority can agree to no more than one of them. For the true Church can be but one: and only the true one is able to judg and condemn all the reſt as Heretical. Now foraſmuch as amongſt all thoſe Churches, which will at this day be call'd Chriſtian (I juſtly here except the vain Arrogancy of the *Roman Church*) none dares undoubtedly to arrogate to it ſelf the infallible Certainty of the Apoſtolical Truth in all the Heads of her Confeſſion; it may hence clearly enough appear, that the Cenſure of Heretical Pravity doth ſo evidently agree to none of them, that we deſervedly ought alſo to acquieſce in her Determination. I am not ignorant of what the greateſt part of our Divines are here wont to reply: That the Primitive Apoſtolical Church, ſay they, is ceas'd, we do not deny; yet inaſmuch as we have the Doctrine of that Church conſign'd in the Monuments of the Evangeliſts and the Apoſtles, we cannot chuſe but pronounce them Hereticks, who contradict the Doctrine there expreſs'd. I alſo, dear Friends, eaſily permit, that in this Diſpute of ours the Divine Writings of the Apoſtles ſtand in this ſtead; ſo that he who contradicts them, be no leſs eſteem'd an Heretick, than he that heretofore contumaciouſly oppos'd the Apoſtles preaching by word of mouth. But even thus can we not challenge that cenſorian Rod againſt Hereticks: For they whom ye place in the Rank of Hereticks, are ſo far from contradicting the Holy Scripture, that they wage war againſt you out of the ſame, and appeal to the Judgment thereof, not without a certain Hope of Victory, in the Examination of their Cauſe, inaſmuch as they embrace the Scripture in all things with as great a Veneration of Mind as you do: nor amongſt all the Chriſtian Churches, which are at this day extant, ſhall ye ſhew any one (that I know of) which doth not religiouſly, and from the Heart, yield an undoubted Aſſent to all thoſe things that are propos'd and taught in the Holy Scripture. Wherefore there is no cauſe why ye ſhould condemn any one of them for Hereſy, ſince they agree with you in giving due credence to the Sacred Writ. And therefore whatſoever pretence ye ſeek for your carnal Zeal againſt ſuch as you call Hereticks, yet to indifferent Judgments can no other ground hereof appear, than their Diſſent from your Interpretation of the Holy Scripture, as to the controverted Doctrines. But I will here bountifully grant you, that ye have in all things hit the true Senſe of the Scripture, and defend it. Nevertheleſs it is further requiſite, that ye make this plain to them, whom ye brand with the Crime of Hereſy. But what here is the ſtreſs of your Arguments? Ye appeal again to the Holy Scripture, and from thence condemn Hereticks. But they have already ſtricken this Weapon out of your hands, ſhewing that the Holy Scripture maketh for you, only in your own Senſe and Interpretation, and they that are accordingly condemn'd by you, not from the Sacred Scripture, but from your Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture. And this is the Circle of your arguing, which they deſervedly reject. Draw out therefore againſt Hereticks thoſe truly Apoſtolical Weapons, not the Thraſonical Prating of the Chair in the Univerſity, but the Power of the Holy Spirit, wherewith the Apoſtles being endued, could deliver Blaſphemers to Satan, 1 *Tim.* 1. 20. and ſlay Hypocrites with the ſpeaking of a word, *Acts* 5. If ye want the powerful Efficacy of the Spirit, acknowledg your Raſhneſs and Iniquity in condemning them, to whom ye are not able with evident and ſufficient Arguments to demonſtrate your Interpretation of the Holy Scripture, and who by the ſame Right, and from the ſame Foundation, object to you not only Errors, but alſo Hereſies. Ye know that of Chriſt; *Condemn not, and ye ſhall not be condemn'd.* What account will ye give to this juſt Judg, for ſo often violating this Precept? Your Zeal of the Divine Glory will not then excuſe you; for tho it palliate it ſelf under this reverend Name, yet it is wholly of the Fleſh, and odious to God. But if ye affirm that it proceeds from the Holy Spirit, produce Arguments worthy of ſo great an Author. For neither is this Spirit ſo weak, but that he can ſhew forth Tokens of his Divine Authority and Preſence in his Miniſters, and by them againſt his Enemies. But whither am I carried away? I beſeech thee, good Reader, to pardon this Digreſſion of mine; and having lik'd the pious Counſel of our Author, intreat God, that he would inſtil into other Readers alſo a Mind ſtudious of Peace and Concord. *Farewel.*

# Phenix XXIV.

# Vindiciæ Judæorum: *Or, a Letter in Anſwer to certain Queſtions propounded by a Noble and Learned Gentleman, touching the Reproaches caſt on the Nation of the* Jews; *wherein all Objections are candidly, and yet fully clear'd.*

*By* Rabbi Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael, *a Divine and a Phyſician.*

Printed in 1656.

*Moſt Noble and Learned Sir,*

I Have receiv'd a Letter from your Worſhip, which was welcome to me; and I read it, becauſe yours, with great delight, if you will pleaſe to allow for the Unpleaſantneſs of the Subject. For I do aſſure your Worſhip, I never met with any thing in my life which I did more deeply reſent, for that it reflects upon the Credit of a Nation, which amongſt ſo many Calumnies, ſo manifeſt (and therefore ſhameful) I dare to pronounce innocent. Yet I am afraid, that whilſt I anſwer to them, I ſhall offend ſome, whoſe Zeal will not permit them to conſider, that Self-vindication, as defenſive Arms, is natural to all; but to be wholly ſilent, were to acknowledg what is ſo falſly objected. Wherefore that I may juſtify my ſelf to my own Conſcience, I have obey'd your Worſhip's Commands: for your Requeſt muſt not be accounted leſs, at leaſt by me. I preſume your Worſhip cannot expect either prolix or polite Diſcourſes upon ſo ſad a Subject; for who can be ambitious in his own Calamity? I have therefore diſpatch'd only ſome conciſe and brief Relations, barely exceeding the Bounds of a Letter; yet ſuch as may ſuffice you, to inform the Rulers of the *Engliſh* Nation of a Truth moſt real and ſincere, which I hope they will accept in good part, according to their noble and ſingular Prudence and Piety. For Innocence being always moſt free from ſuſpecting evil, I cannot be perſuaded, that any one hath either ſpoken or written againſt us, out of any particular Hatred that they bare us, but that they rather ſuppos'd our coming might prove prejudicial to their Eſtates and Intereſts, Charity always beginning at home. Yet notwithſtanding I propounded this matter under an Argument of Profit (for this hath made us welcome in other Countries) and therefore I hope I may prove what I undertake. However I have but ſmall encouragement to expect the happy Attainment of any other Deſign, but only that Truth may be juſtify'd of her Children. I ſhall anſwer in order to what your Worſhip hath propos'd.

## *The Firſt Section.*

AND in the firſt place, I cannot but weep bitterly, and with much anguiſh of Soul lament that ſtrange and horrid Accuſation of ſome Chriſtians againſt the diſpers'd and afflicted *Jews* that dwell among them, when they ſay (what I tremble to write) that the *Jews* are wont to celebrate the Feaſt of Unlevened Bread, fermenting it with the Blood of ſome Chriſtians, whom they have for this purpoſe kill'd: when the Calumniators themſelves have moſt barbarouſly and cruelly butcher'd ſome of them; or to ſpeak more mildly, have found one dead, and caſt the Corps, as if it had been murder'd by the *Jews*, into their Houſes or Yards, as lamentable Experience hath prov'd in ſundry places: and then with unbridled Rage and Tumult they accuſe the innocent *Jews*, as the Committers of this moſt execrable Fact. Which deteſtable Wickedneſs hath been ſometimes perpetrated, that they might thereby take advantage to exerciſe their Cruelty upon them; and ſometimes to juſtify and patronize their Maſſacres already executed. But how far this Accuſation is from any ſemblable appearance of Truth, your Worſhip may judg by theſe following Arguments.

1. It is utterly forbid the *Jews* to eat any manner of Blood whatſoever, *Levit.* 7. 26. and *Deut.* 12. where it is expreſly ſaid וכל דם, *And ye ſhall eat no manner of Blood:* And in obedience to this Command, the *Jews* eat not the Blood of any Animal. And more than this, if they find one drop of Blood in an Egg, they caſt it away as prohibited. And if in eating a piece of Bread, it happens to touch any Blood drawn from the Teeth or Gums, it muſt be pared and cleanſed from the ſaid Blood, as it evidently appears in *Sulhan Haruch*, and our Ritual Book. Since then it is thus, how can it enter into any man's heart to believe that they ſhould eat human Blood, which is yet more deteſtable; there being ſcarce any Nation now remaining upon Earth ſo barbarous as to commit ſuch Wickedneſs?

2. The Precept in the Decalogue, *Thou ſhalt not kill*, is of general extent; it is a moral Command. So that the *Jews* are bound not only not to kill one of thoſe Nations where they live, but they are alſo oblig'd by the Law of Gratitude to love them. They are the very words of Rabbi *Moſes* of *Egypt* in *Iad a Razaka*, in his Treatiſe of Kings, the tenth Chapter, in the end: *Concerning the Nations, the Antients have commanded us to viſit their ſick, and to bury their Dead as the Dead of* Iſrael, *and to relieve and maintain their Poor, as we do the Poor of* Iſrael, *becauſe of the ways of Peace; as it is written, God is good to all, and his tender Mercies are over all his Works*, Pſal. 145. 9. And in conformity hereto, I witneſs before God bleſſed for ever, that I have continually ſeen in *Amſterdam*, where I reſide, abundance of good Correſpondence, many Interchanges of brotherly Affection, and ſundry things of reciprocal Love. I have thrice ſeen when ſome *Flemiſh* Chriſtians have fallen into the River in our Ward, call'd *Flemburgh*, our Nation caſt themſelves into the River to them, to help them out, and to deliver their Lives from Death. And certainly he that will thus hazard himſelf to ſave another, cannot harbour ſo much cruel Malice, as to kill the Innocent, whom he ought out of the Duty of Humanity to defend and protect.

3. It is forbid *Exod.* 21. 20. to kill a Stranger: *If a Man ſmite his Servant, or his Maid with a Rod, and he die under his hand, he ſhall ſurely be puniſh'd; notwithſtanding, if he continue a day or two, he ſhall not be puniſh'd, for he is his Mony.* The Text ſpeaks of a Servant that is one of the *Gentile* Nations, becauſe that he

only is ſaid to be the Mony of the *Jew*, who is his Maſter, as *Aben Ezra* well notes upon the place. And the Lord commands, that if he die under the hand of his Maſter, his Maſter ſhall be put to death; for that as it ſeems he ſtruck him with a murderous intent. But it is otherwiſe if the Servant dies afterwards; for then it appears, that he did not ſtrike him with a purpoſe to kill him; for if ſo, he would have kill'd him out of hand: wherefore he ſhall be free, and it may ſuffice for Puniſhment that he hath loſt his Mony. If therefore a *Jew* cannot kill his Servant or Slave that is one of the Nations, according to the Law, how much leſs ſhall he be impower'd to murder him that is not his Enemy, and with whom he leads a quiet and peaceable Life? And therefore how can any good Man believe that, againſt his holy Law, a *Jew* (in a ſtrange Country eſpecially) ſhould make himſelf guilty of ſo execrable a Fact?

4. Admit that it were lawful (which God forbid) why ſhould they eat the Blood? And ſuppoſing they ſhould eat the Blood, why ſhould they eat it on the Paſſover? Here at this Feaſt every Confection ought to be ſo pure, as not to admit of any Leven, or any thing that may fermentate, which certainly Blood doth.

5. If the *Jews* did repute and hold this Action (which is never to be nam'd without an Epithet of Horror) neceſſary, they would not expoſe themſelves to ſo imminent a Danger, to ſo cruel and more deſerv'd Puniſhment, unleſs they were mov'd to it by ſome Divine Precept, or at leaſt ſome Conſtitution of their Wiſe Men. Now we challenge all thoſe Men who entertain this dreadful Opinion of us, as oblig'd in point of Juſtice, to cite the place of Scripture, or of the Rabbins, where any ſuch Precept or Doctrine is deliver'd. And until they do ſo, we will aſſume ſo much liberty, as to conclude it to be no better than a malicious Slander.

6. If a Man, to ſave his Life, may break the Sabbath, and tranſgreſs many of the other Commands of the Law, as hath been determin'd in the *Talmud*; as alſo confirm'd by R. *Moſes* of *Egypt*, in the fifth Chapter of his Treatiſe of the Fundamentals of the Law; yet three are excepted, which are *Idolatry*, *Murder*, and *Adultery:* Life not being to be purchas'd at ſo dear a rate, as the committing of theſe heinous Sins; an innocent Death being infinitely to be prefer'd before it. Wherefore if the killing of a Chriſtian, as they object, were a Divine Precept and Inſtitution (which far be it from me to conceive) it were certainly to be null'd and render'd void, ſince a Man cannot perform it, without endangering his own Life; and not only ſo, but the Life of the whole Congregation of

an intire People: and yet more, ſince it is directly a Violation of one of theſe three Precepts, *Thou ſhalt do no murder*; which is intended univerſally of all Men, as we have ſaid before.

7. The Lord bleſſed for ever, by his Prophet *Jeremiah*, ch. 29. 7. gives it in command to the captive *Iſraelites* that were diſpers'd among the Heathens, that they ſhould continually pray for, and endeavour the Peace, Welfare and Proſperity of the City wherein they dwelt, and the Inhabitants thereof. This the *Jews* have always done, and continue to this day in all their Synagogues, with a particular Bleſſing of the Prince or Magiſtrate, under whoſe Protection they live. And this the Right Honourable my Lord *St. John* can teſtify; who when he was Embaſſador to the Lords the States of the United Provinces, was pleas'd to honour our Synagogue at *Amſterdam* with his Preſence, where our Nation entertain'd him with Muſick, and all Expreſſions of Joy and Gladneſs, and alſo pronounc'd a Bleſſing, not only upon his Honour then preſent, but upon the whole Commonwealth of *England*, for that they were a People in League and Amity; and becauſe we conceiv'd ſome hopes that they would manifeſt towards us, what we ever bare towards them, *viz*. all Love and Affection. But to return again to our Argument, if we are bound to ſtudy, endeavour, and ſollicit the good and flouriſhing Eſtate of the City where we live, and the Inhabitants thereof, how ſhall we then murder their Children, who are the greateſt Good, and the moſt flouriſhing Bleſſing that this Life doth indulge to them?

8. The Children of *Iſrael* are naturally merciful and full of compaſſion. This was acknowledg'd by their Enemies, 1 *Kings* 20. 31. when *Benhadad* King of *Aſſyria* was diſcomfited in the Battel, and fled away, he became a Petitioner for his Life to King *Ahab*, who had conquer'd him; for he underſtood that *the Kings of the Houſe of* Iſrael *were merciful Kings:* and his own Experience confirm'd it, when for a little Affection that he pretended in a Compliment, he obtain'd again his Life and Fortunes, from which the Event of the War had diſintitled him. And when the *Gibeonites* made that cruel Requeſt to *David*, that ſeven of *Saul*'s Sons, who were innocent, ſhould be deliver'd unto them, the Prophet ſays, *Now the* Gibeonites *were not of the Children of* Iſrael, 2 *Sam*. 21. 2. as if he had ſaid, In this Cruelty the Piety of the *Iſraelites* is not ſo much ſet forth, as the Tyranny and implacable Rage of the *Gentiles*, the *Gibeonites*. Which being ſo, and Experience withal declares it, *viz*. the Fidelity which our Nation hath inviolably preſerv'd towards their Superiors; then moſt certainly it is wholly incompatible, and inconſiſtent with the murdering of their Children.

9. There are ſome Chriſtians, that uſe to inſult the *Jews* as Chriſtian Homicides, that will venture to give a reaſon of theſe pretended murderous Practices: As if the Accuſation were then moſt infallibly true, if they can find any ſemblance of a reaſon why it might be ſo. As they ſay, that this is practis'd by them in hatred and deteſtation of Jeſus of *Nazareth*; and that therefore they ſteal Chriſtian Children, buffeting them in the ſame manner that he was buffeted, thereby to rub up and revive the memory of the aforeſaid Death. And likewiſe they imagine that the *Jews* ſecretly ſteal away Croſſes, Crucifixes, and ſuch-like graven Images, which Papiſts privately and carefully retain in their Houſes; and every day the *Jews* mainly ſtrike, and buffet, ſhamefully ſpitting on them, with ſuch-like Ceremonies of deſpite, and all this in hatred of Jeſus. But I admire what they really think, when they object ſuch things as theſe, laying them to our charge: For ſurely we cannot believe, that a People, otherwiſe of ſufficient Prudence and Judgment, can perſuade themſelves into an Opinion that the *Jews* ſhould commit ſuch Practices, unleſs they could conceive they did them in honour and obedience to the God whom they worſhip. And what kind of Obedience is this they perform to God bleſſed for ever, when they directly ſin againſt that ſpecial Command, *Thou ſhalt not kill?* Beſides, this cannot be committed without the imminent and manifeſt Peril of their Lives and Fortunes, and the neceſſary expoſing themſelves to a juſt Revenge. Moreover, it is an *Anathema* to a *Jew* to have any graven Images in his Houſe, or any thing of an Idol, which any of the Nations figuratively worſhip, *Deut*. 7. 26.

10. *Matthew Paris*, p. 532. writes, that in the Year 1240. the *Jews* circumcis'd a Chriſtian Child at *Norwich*, and gave him the Name *Jurnin*, and reſerv'd him to be crucify'd, for which cauſe many of them were moſt cruelly put to death. The truth of this Story will evidently appear upon the conſideration of its Circumſtances. He was firſt circumcis'd, and this perfectly conſtitutes him a *Jew*. Now for a *Jew* to embrace a Chriſtian in his Arms, and foſter him in his boſom, is a Teſtimony of great Love and Affection. But if it was intended that ſhortly after this Child ſhould be crucify'd, to what end was he firſt circumcis'd? If it ſhall be ſaid it was out of hatred to the Chriſtians, it appears rather to the contrary, that it proceeded from deteſtation of the *Jews*, or of them who had newly become Proſelytes, to embrace the *Jews* Religion. Surely this ſuppos'd Prank (ſtory'd to be done in Popiſh Times) looks more like a piece of the real Scene of the Popiſh *Spaniards* Piety, who firſt baptiz'd the poor *Indians*,

and afterwards, out of cruel Pity to their Souls, inhumanly butcher'd them; than of ſtrict Law-obſerving *Jews*, who dare not make a ſport of one of the Seals of their Covenant.

11. Our Captivity under the *Mahometans* is far more burdenſom and grievous than under the Chriſtians; and ſo our Antients have ſaid, *It is better to inhabit under* Edom *than* Iſmael, for they are a People more civil and rational, and of a better Policy, as our Nation have found experimentally. For excepting the nobler and better ſort of *Jews*, ſuch as live in the Court of *Conſtantinople*, the vulgar People of the *Jews* that are diſpers'd in other Countries of the *Mahometan* Empire, in *Aſia* and *Africa*, are treated with abundance of Contempt and Scorn. It would therefore follow, if this ſacrificing of Children be the Product and Reſult of Hatred, that they ſhould execute and diſgorge it much more upon the *Mahometans*, who have reduc'd them to ſo great Calamity and Miſery. So that if it be neceſſary to the Celebration of the Paſſover, why do they not as well kill a *Mahometan*? But altho the *Jews* are ſcatter'd and diſpers'd throughout all thoſe vaſt Territories, notwithſtanding all their deſpite againſt us, they never yet to this day forg'd ſuch a calumnious Accuſation. Wherefore it appears plainly, that it is nothing elſe but a Slander, and ſuch a one, that conſidering how the Scene is laid, I cannot eaſily determine whether it ſpeak more of Malice, or of Folly: certainly Sultan *Selim* made himſelf very merry with it, when the Story was related him by *Moſes Amon* his chief Phyſician.

12. If all that which hath been ſaid is not of ſufficient force to wipe off this Accuſation, becauſe the matter on our part is purely negative, and ſo cannot be clear'd by Evidence of Witneſſes, I am conſtrain'd to uſe another way of Argument, which the Lord bleſſed for ever preſcrib'd, *Exod.* 22. which is an Oath: Wherefore I ſwear, without any deceit or fraud, by the moſt high God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, who promulg'd his Law to the People of *Iſrael* upon Mount *Sinai*, that I never yet to this day ſaw any ſuch Cuſtom among the People of *Iſrael*, and that they do not hold any ſuch thing by divine Precept of the Law, or any Ordinance or Inſtitution of their Wiſe Men, and that they never committed or endeavour'd ſuch Wickedneſs (that I know, or have credibly heard, or read in any *Jewiſh* Authors) and if I lie in this matter, then let all the Curſes mention'd in *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy* come upon me; let me never ſee the Bleſſings and Conſolations of *Zion*, nor attain to the Reſurrection of the Dead. By this I hope I may have prov'd what I did intend; and certainly this may ſuffice all the Friends of Truth, and all faithful Chriſtians,

to give credit to what I have here aver'd. And indeed our Adverſaries, who have been a little more learned, and conſequently a little more civil than the Vulgar, have made a halt at this Imputation. *John Hoornbeek* in that Book which he lately writ againſt our Nation, wherein he hath objected againſt us, right or wrong, all that he could any ways ſcrape together, was notwithſtanding aſham'd to lay this at our door, in his *Prolegomena*, p. 26. where he ſays, *An autem verum ſit quod vulgo in hiſtoriis legatur, &c. i.e.* whether that be true, which is commonly read in Hiſtories, to aggravate the *Jews* hatred againſt the Chriſtians, or rather the Chriſtians againſt the *Jews*, that they ſhould annually, upon the Preparation of the Paſſover, after a cruel manner, ſacrifice a Chriſtian Child, privily ſtolen, in diſgrace and contempt of Chriſt, whoſe Paſſion and Crucifixion the Chriſtians celebrate, I will not aſſert for Truth: as well knowing, how eaſy it was for thoſe times, wherein theſe things are mention'd to have happen'd (eſpecially after the Inquiſition was ſet up in the Popedom) to forge and feign; and how the Hiſtories of thoſe Ages, according to the Affection of the Writers, were too-too much addicted and given unto Fables and Figments. Indeed I have never yet ſeen any of all thoſe Relations that hath by any certain Experiment prov'd this Fact; for they are all founded either upon the uncertain Report of the Vulgar, or elſe upon the ſecret Accuſation of the Monks belonging to the Inquiſition, not to mention the Avarice of the Informers, wickedly hankering after the *Jews* Wealth, and ſo with eaſe forging any Wickedneſs. For in the firſt Book of the *Sicilian* Conſtitutions, tit. 7. we ſee the Emperor *Frederick* ſaying, *Si vero Judæus vel Saracenus ſit, in quibus prout certo perpendimus Chriſtianorum Perſecutio minus abundat ad præſens:* But if he be a *Jew* or a *Saracen*, againſt whom, as we have weigh'd, the Perſecution of the Chriſtians do much abound, &c. thus taxing the Violence of certain Chriſtians againſt the *Jews*. Or if perhaps it hath ſometimes happen'd, that a Chriſtian was kill'd by a *Jew*, we muſt not therefore ſay that in all places where they inhabit, they annually kill a Chriſtian Child. And for that which *Thomas Cantipratenſis*, lib. 2. cap. 23. affirms, *viz.* that it is certainly known, that the *Jews* every year, in every Province, caſt lots what City or Town ſhall afford Chriſtian Blood to the other Cities; I can give it no more credit than his other Fictions and Lyes, wherewith he hath ſtuff'd his Book. Thus far *John Hoornbeek*.

13. Notwithſtanding all this, there are not wanting ſome Hiſtories, that relate theſe and the like Calumnies againſt an afflicted People: For which cauſe the Lord ſaith, *He that toucheth*

*toucheth you toucheth the Apple of my Eye*, Zach. 2. 6. I ſhall curſorily mention ſome Paſſages that have occur'd in my time, whereof I ſay not that I was an Eye-witneſs, but only that they were of general report and credence, without the leaſt contradiction. I have faithfully noted both the Names of the Perſons, the Places where, and the Time when they happen'd, in my Continuation of *Flavius Joſephus*; I ſhall be the leſs curious therefore in reciting them here. In *Vienna* the Metropolis of *Auſtria*, *Frederick* being Emperor, there was a Pond frozen, according to the Cold of thoſe parts, wherein three Boys (as it too frequently happens) were drowned. When they were miſs'd, the Imputation is caſt upon the *Jews*, and they are incontinently indicted for murdering them to celebrate their Paſſover. And being impriſon'd, after infinite Prayers and Supplications made to no effect, three hundred of them were burnt. When the Pond thaw'd, theſe three Boys were found, and then their Innocency was clearly evinc'd, altho too late, after the execution of this Cruelty.

In *Araguza*, about thirty years ago, there was a Chriſtian Woman, into whoſe Houſe there came a little Girl (of eleven years of age, Daughter to a neighbouring Gentleman) richly adorn'd with Jewels: This wretched Woman, not thinking of a ſafer way to rob her than by killing her, cut her throat, and hid her under her Bed. The Girl was preſently miſs'd, and by Information they underſtood that ſhe was ſeen to go into that Houſe. They call a Magiſtrate to ſearch the Houſe, and find the Girl dead. She confeſs'd the Fact, and as if ſhe ſhould have expiated her own Guilt by deſtroying a *Jew*, tho ever ſo innocent, ſhe ſaid ſhe did it at the inſtigation and perſuaſion of one *Iſaac Jeſhurun*, for that the *Jews* wanted Blood to celebrate their Feaſt. She was hang'd, and the *Jew* was apprehended, who being ſix times cruelly tortur'd, they employing their wits in inventing unheard of and inſufferable Torments, ſuch as might gain *Perillus* the eſtimation of merciful and compaſſionate, ſtill cries out of the Falſhood of the Accuſation, ſaying that that Wickedneſs which he never committed, no not ſo much as in his dreams, was maliciouſly imputed to him; yet notwithſtanding he was condemn'd to remain cloſe Priſoner for twenty years (tho he continued there only three) and to be fed there thro a Trough, upon the Bread and Water of Affliction, being cloſe manacled, and naked, within a four-ſquare Wall built for that purpoſe, that he might there periſh in his own dung. This man's Brother *Joſeph Jeſhurun*, is now living at this time in *Hamburgh*. This miſerable Man calling upon God, beſeeching him to ſhew ſome ſignal Teſtimony of his Innocence, and citing before his divine Tribunal the Senators,

tors, who had with no more Mercy than Juſtice thus grievouſly and inhumanly afflicted him; the Bleſſed God was a juſt Judg, for the Prince died ſuddenly at a Banquet, the Sunday next enſuing the giving of the Sentence; and during the time of his Impriſonment, the aforeſaid Senators by little and little dropt away, and died: which was prudently obſerv'd by thoſe few that yet remain'd, wherefore they reſolv'd to deliver themſelves by reſtoring him to his Liberty, accounting it as a particular Divine Providence. This Man came out well, paſs'd throughout all *Italy*, where he was ſeen, to the admiration of all that had cognizance of his Sufferings, and died a few years ſince at *Jeruſalem*.

14. The Act of the Faith (which is ordinarily done at *Toledo*) was done at *Madrid*, *Anno* 1632. in the preſence of the King of *Spain*, where the Inquiſitors did then take an Oath of the King and Queen, that they ſhould maintain and conſerve the Catholick Faith in their Dominions. In this Act it is found printed, how that a Family of our Nation was burnt, for confeſſing upon the Rack the Truth of a certain Accuſation of a Maid-Servant, who (provok'd out of ſome diſguſt) ſaid, that they had ſcourg'd and whipt an Image, which by the frequent Laſhes iſſu'd forth a great deal of Blood, and crying with an out-ſtretch'd Voice, ſaid unto them, *Why do you thus cruelly ſcourge me?* The whole Nobility well underſtood that it was all falſe, but things of the Inquiſition all muſt huſh.

15. A very true Story happen'd at *Lisbon*, *Anno* 1631. A certain Church miſs'd one night a ſilver Pix or Box, wherein was the Popiſh Hoſt. And foraſmuch as they had ſeen a young Youth of our Nation, whoſe Name was *Simao pires Solis*, ſufficiently noble, to paſs by the ſame night not far from thence, who went to viſit a Lady, he was apprehended, impriſon'd, and terribly tortur'd. They cut off his hands, and after they had drag'd him along the ſtreets, burnt him. One year paſs'd over, and a Thief at the foot of the Gallows confeſs'd how he himſelf had rifled and plunder'd the Shrine of the Hoſt, and not that poor Innocent whom they had burnt. This young man's Brother was a Friar, a great Theologiſt and a Preacher; he lives now a *Jew* in *Amſterdam*, and calls himſelf *Eliazar de Solis*.

16. Some perhaps will ſay, that Men are not blame-worthy for imputing to the *Jews*, that which they themſelves with their own mouths have confeſs'd. But ſurely he hath little underſtanding of Racks and Tortures that ſpeaks thus. An Earl of *Portugal*, when his Phyſician was impriſon'd for being a *Jew*, requeſted one of the Inquiſitors by Letter, that he

would cauſe him to be ſet at liberty, for that he knew for certain that he was a very good Chriſtian; but he not being able to undergo the Tortures inflicted on him, confeſs'd himſelf a *Jew*, and became a Penitentiary. At which the Earl being much incens'd, feigns himſelf ſick, and deſires the Inquiſitor by one of his Servants, that he would be pleas'd to come and viſit him. When he came, he commanded him that he ſhould confeſs that himſelf was a *Jew*, and further, that he ſhould put it down in writing with his own hand; which when he refus'd to do, he charges ſome of his Servants to put a Helmet that was red-hot in the Fire (provided for this purpoſe) upon his head; at which he not being able to endure this threaten'd Torment, takes him aſide to confeſs, and alſo he writ with his own hand that he was a *Jew*. Whereupon the Earl takes occaſion to reprove his Injuſtice, Cruelty, and Inhumanity, ſaying, In like manner as you have confeſs'd, did my Phyſician confeſs: beſides that you have preſently only out of Fear, not Senſe of Torment, confeſs'd more. For this cauſe in the *Iſraelitiſh* Senate no Torture was ever inflicted, but only every Perſon was convicted at the Teſtimony of two Witneſſes. That ſuch-like Inſtruments of Cruelty may enforce Children that have been tenderly educated, and Fathers that have lived deliciouſly, to confeſs that they have whipt an Image, and been guilty of ſuch-like criminal Offences, daily Experience may demonſtrate.

17. Others will perchance alledg, theſe are Hiſtories indeed, but they are not ſacred or canonical. I anſwer, Love and Hatred, ſays *Plutarch*, corrupt the Truth of every thing, as Experience ſufficiently declares it; when we ſee that which comes to paſs, that one and the ſame thing, in one and the ſame City, at one and the ſame time, is related in different manners. I my ſelf, in my own Negotiation here, have found it ſo. For it hath been rumour'd abroad, that our Nation had purchas'd St. *Paul*'s Church, for to make it their Synagogue, notwithſtanding it was formerly a Temple conſecrated to *Diana*. And many other things have been reported of us, that never enter'd into the thoughts of our Nation; as I have ſeen a fabulous Narrative of the Proceedings of a great Council of the *Jews*, aſſembled in the Plain of *Ageda* in *Hungary*, to determine whether the Meſſiah were come or no.

18. And now ſince it is evident that it is forbidden the *Jews* to eat any manner of Blood, and that to kill a Man is directly prohibited by our Law, and the reaſons before given are conſentaneous and agreeable to every one's Underſtanding; I know it will be inquir'd by many, but eſpecially by thoſe who are more pious and the Friends of Truth, how this Calumny

did ariſe, and from whence it deriv'd its firſt Original. I may anſwer, that this Wickedneſs is laid to their charge for divers reaſons.

Firſt, *Ruffinus* the familiar Friend of St. *Jerom*, in his Verſion of *Joſephus*'s ſecond Book that he wrote againſt *Apion* the Grammarian (for the *Greek* Text is there wanting) tells us how *Apion* invented this Slander to gratify *Antiochus*, to excuſe his Sacrilege, and juſtify his perfidious dealing with the *Jews*, making their Eſtates ſupply his Wants. *Propheta vero aliorum eſt Apion, &c.* *Apion* is become a Prophet, and ſaid, that *Antiochus* found in the Temple a Bed, with a Man lying upon it, and a Table ſet before him, furniſh'd with all Dainties both of Sea and Land, and Fowls; and that this Man was aſtoniſh'd at them, and preſently adores the Entrance of the King, as coming to ſuccour and relieve him; and proſtrating himſelf at his knees, and ſtretching out his Right Hand, he implores Liberty: whereat the King commanding him to ſit down and declare who he was, why he dwelt there, and what was the cauſe of this his plentiful Proviſion, the Man with ſighs and tears lamentably weeps out his neceſſity, and tells him he is a *Grecian*, and whilſt he travel'd about the Province to get Food, he was ſuddenly apprehended, and caught up by ſome ſtrange Men, and brought to the Temple, and there ſhut up, that he might be ſeen by no man, but be there fatted with all manner of Dainties; and that theſe unexpected Benefits wrought in him at firſt Joy, then Suſpicion, after that Aſtoniſhment; and laſt of all adviſing with the Miniſter that came unto him, he underſtood that the *Jews* every year, at a certain time appointed, according to their ſecret and ineffable Law, take up ſome *Greek* Stranger, and after he hath been fed delicately for the ſpace of a whole year, they bring him into a certain Wood, and kill him. Then, according to their ſolemn Rites and Ceremonies, they ſacrifice his Body, and every one taſting of his Intrails, in the offering up of this *Greek*, they enter into a ſolemn Oath, that they will bear an immortal Feud and Hatred to the *Greeks*. And then they caſt the Relicks of this periſhing Man into a certain Pit. After this *Apion* makes him to ſay, That only ſome few days remain'd to him before his Execution, and to deſire the King that he, fearing and worſhipping the *Grecian* Gods, would revenge the Blood of his Subjects upon the *Jews*, and deliver him from his approaching Death. This Fable (ſaith *Joſephus*) as it is moſt full of all Tragedy, ſo it abounds with cruel Impudence; I had rather you ſhould read the Confutation of this Slander there, than I to write it in this place. You will find it in the *Geneva* Edition of *Joſephus*, pag. 1066.

Secondly, The very ſame Accuſation and horrid Wickedneſs of killing Children, and eating their Blood, was of old by the antient Heathens charg'd upon the Chriſtians, that thereby they might make them odious, and incenſe the common People againſt them, as appears by *Tertullian* in his *Apologia contra Gentes*, *Juſtin Martyr* in *Apologia* 2. *ad Anton.* *Euſebius Cæſareenſis*, l. 5. cap. 1, & 4. *Pineda* in his *Monarchia Eccleſiaſtica*, l. 11. c. 52. and many others, as is known ſufficiently. So that the Imputation of this Cruelty, which as to them continues only in memory, is to the very ſame purpoſe at this day charg'd upon the *Jews*. And as they deny this Fact, as being falſly charg'd upon them, ſo in like manner do we deny it; and I may ſay perhaps with a little more reaſon, foraſmuch as we eat not any manner of Blood, wherein they do not think themſelves oblig'd.

Now the reaſon of this Slander was always the covetous Ambition of ſome, who deſiring to gain their Wealth, and poſſeſs themſelves of their Eſtates, have forg'd and introduc'd this enormous Accuſation, to colour their Wickedneſs under the ſpecious pretence of revenging their own Blood. And to this purpoſe, I remember that when I reprov'd a Rabbi (who came out of *Poland* to *Amſterdam*) for the exceſs of Uſury in *Germany* and *Poland*, which they exacted of the Chriſtians, and told him how moderate they in *Holland* and in *Italy* were; he reply'd, we are of neceſſity conſtrain'd to do ſo, becauſe they ſo often raiſe up falſe Witneſſes againſt us, and levy more from us at once, than we are able to get again by them in many years. And ſo, as Experience ſhews, it uſually ſucceeds with our poor People under this pretext and colour.

19. And ſo it hath been divers times; Men miſchiefing the *Jews* to excuſe their own Wickedneſs: as to inſtance one Precedent in the time of a certain King of *Portugal*. The Lord bleſſed for ever, took away his Sleep one night (as he did from King *Ahaſhuerus*) and he went up into a Balcony in the Palace, from whence he could diſcover the whole City, and from thence (the Moon ſhining clear) he eſpy'd two Men carrying a dead Corps, which they caſt into a *Jew's* Yard. He preſently diſpatches a couple of Servants, and commands them, yet with a ſeeming Careleſneſs, they ſhould trace and follow thoſe Men, and take notice of their Houſe; which they accordingly did. The next day there is a Hurly-burly and a Tumult in the City, accuſing the *Jews* of Murder. Thereupon the King apprehends theſe Rogues, and they confeſs the Truth; and conſidering that this buſineſs was guided by a particular divine Providence, calls ſome of the Wiſe Men of the *Jews*, and asks them how they tranſlate the fourth Verſe of

the 121ſt Pſalm; and they anſwer'd, *Behold, he that keepeth* Iſrael *will neither ſlumber nor ſleep.* The King replied, if he will not ſlumber, then much leſs will he ſleep; you do not ſay well, for the true Tranſlation is, *Behold, the Lord doth not ſlumber, neither will he ſuffer him that keepeth* Iſrael *to ſleep.* God who hath yet a care over you, hath taken away my Sleep, that I might be an Eye-witneſs of that Wickedneſs which is this day laid to your charge. This with many ſuch-like Relations we may read in the Book call'd *Scebet Jehuda*, how ſundry times, when our Nation was at the very brink of Deſtruction for ſuch forg'd Slanders, the Truth hath diſcover'd it ſelf for their Deliverance.

20. This Matter of Blood hath been heretofore diſcuſs'd and diſputed before one of the Popes at a full Council; where it was determin'd to be nothing elſe but a mere Calumny: and hereupon he gave liberty to the *Jews* to dwell in his Countries, and gave the Princes of *Italy* to underſtand the ſame, as alſo *Alfonſo* the wiſe, King of *Spain*. And ſuppoſe any one Man had done ſuch a thing, as I believe never any *Jew* did ſo, yet this were great cruelty, to puniſh a whole Nation for one Man's Wickedneſs.

21. But why ſhould I uſe more words about this matter, ſeeing all that is come upon us was foretold by all the Prophets? *Moſes*, Deut. 28. 61. *Moreover, every Sickneſs and every Plague which is not written in the Book of this Law, them will the Lord bring upon thee*, &c. *becauſe thou haſt not hearken'd to the Voice of the Lord thy God. David* in the 44th Pſalm makes a doleful Complaint of thoſe Evils and ignominious Reproaches, wherewith we are inviron'd round about in this Captivity, as if we were the proper Center of Miſery; ſaying, *For thy ſake are we kill'd all the day long, we are counted as Sheep for the Slaughter.* The ſame he ſpeaks Pſalm 74. and in other Pſalms.

*Ezekiel* more particularly mentions this Calumny, God bleſſed for ever promiſing *Chap.* 36. 13. that in time to come the devouring of Men, or the eating of Man's Blood ſhall be no more imputed to them, according to the true and proper Expoſition of the Learned *Don Iſaac Abarbanel*. The bleſſed God, according to the multitude of his Mercies, will have compaſſion upon his People, and will take away the Reproach of *Iſrael* from off the Earth, that it may be no more heard, as is propheſy'd by *Iſaiah*. And let this ſuffice to have ſpoken as to this Point.

*The*

## *The Second Section.*

YOUR Worſhip deſir'd jointly to know what Ceremony or Humiliation the *Jews* uſe in their Synagogues, toward the Book of the Law; for which they are by ſome ignorantly reputed to be Idolaters. I ſhall anſwer it in order.

Firſt, The *Jews* hold themſelves bound to ſtand up, when the Book of the Law written upon Parchment is taken out of the Desk, until it is open'd on the Pulpit, to ſhew it to the People, and afterwards to be read. We ſee that obſerv'd in *Nehemiah*, chap. 8. 6. where it is ſaid, *And when he had open'd it, all the People ſtood up.* And this they do in reverence to the Word of God, and that ſacred Book.

For the ſame cauſe, when it paſſes from the Desk toward the Pulpit, all that it paſſes by bow down their Heads a little with reverence; which can be no Idolatry, for theſe following Reaſons.

Firſt, It is one thing *adorare*, to *adore*; and another *venerari*, to *worſhip*. For *Adoration* is forbidden to any Creature, whether Angelical or Earthly; but *Worſhip* may be given to either of them, as to Men of a higher Rank, commonly ſtil'd *Worſhipful.* And ſo *Abraham*, who in his time rooted out vain Idolatry, humbled himſelf, and alſo proſtrated himſelf before thoſe three Gueſts, which then he entertain'd for Men. As alſo *Joſhua*, the holy Captain of the People, did proſtrate himſelf to another Angel, which with a Sword in his hand made him afraid at the Gates of *Jericho*. Wherefore if thoſe were juſt Men, and if we are oblig'd to follow their example, and they were not reprehended for it; it is clear, that to worſhip the Law in this manner as we do can be no Idolatry.

Secondly, The *Jews* are very ſcrupulous in ſuch things, and fear in the leaſt to appear to give Honour or Reverence to Images. And ſo it is to be ſeen in the *Talmud*, and in R. *Moſes* of *Egypt* in his Treatiſe of Idolatry: That if by chance any *Iſraelite* ſhould paſs by a Church that had Images on the Outſide, and at that time a Thorn ſhould run into his foot, he may not ſtoop to pull it out, becauſe he that ſhould ſee him, might ſuſpect he bow'd to ſuch an Image. Therefore according to this Strictneſs, if that were any appearance of Idolatry to bow to the Law, the *Jews* would utterly abhor it; and ſince they do it, it is an evident ſign that it is none.

Thirdly, To kiſs Images is the principal Worſhip of Idolatry, as God ſaith, in 1 *Kings* 19. 19. *Yet I have left me ſeven thouſand in* Iſrael, *all the Knees that have not bowed unto* Baal, *and* *every Mouth that hath not kiſs'd him.* But if that were ſo, it would follow that all Men, who kiſs the Teſtament after they are ſworn, ſhould be Idolaters. But becauſe that is not ſo, ſince that Act is but a ſimple Worſhip, by the ſame reaſon it will follow, that to bow the Head cannot be reputed for Idolatry.

Fourthly, Experience ſhews, that in all Nations the Ceremonies that Men uſe mutually one towards another, is to bow the Head; and alſo there are degrees thereof, according to the Quality of the Perſon with whom they ſpeak: which ſhews, that in the opinion of all Nations it is no Idolatry; and therefore much leſs to reverence the Law with bowing of the Body.

Fifthly, In *Aſia* (and it is the ſame almoſt in all the world) the People receiving a Decree, or Order of the King, they take it, and kiſs it, and ſet it upon the head. We owe much more to God's Word, and to his divine Commandments.

Sixthly, *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* receiving the 72 Interpreters with the Book of the Law into his preſence, he roſe from his Seat, and proſtrating himſelf ſeven times, worſhip'd it (as *Ariſtæus* aſſures us.) If a Gentile did this to a Law, which he thought did not oblige him, much more do we owe Reverence to that Law which was particularly given unto us.

Seventhly, The *Iſraelites* hold for the Articles of their Faith, that there is a God, who is one in moſt ſimple Unity; Eternal, Incorporeal; who gave the written Law unto his People *Iſrael*, by the hand of *Moſes*, the Prince and Chief of all the Prophets; whoſe Providence takes care for the World which he created; who takes notice of all mens Works, and rewards or puniſhes them. Laſtly, that one day *Meſſias* ſhall come to gather together the ſcatter'd *Iſraelites*, and ſhortly after ſhall be the Reſurrection of the Dead.

Theſe are their Doctrines, which I believe contain not any Idolatry; nor yet in the opinion of thoſe that are of other Judgments. For as a moſt learned Chriſtian of our time hath written in a *French* Book, which he calls the *Rappel* of the *Jews* (in which he makes the King of *France* to be their Leader, when they ſhall return to their own Country) 'The *Jews*, ſaith he, 'ſhall be ſaved, for yet we expect a ſecond Coming of the 'ſame *Meſſias*; and the *Jews* believe that that Coming is the 'firſt, and not the ſecond, and by that Faith they ſhall be 'ſaved; for the difference conſiſts only in the Circumſtance 'of the Time.

## *The Third Section.*

SIR, I hope I have given Satisfaction to your Worſhip touching thoſe Points. I ſhall yet further inform you with the ſame Sincerity concerning the reſt. *Sixtus Senenſis* in his *Bibliotheca*, lib. 2. *Titulo contra Talmud*, and others, as *Biatenſis*, *Ordine* 1. *Tract.* 1. *Titulo Perachot.* aver out of the *Talmud*, cap. 4. 'That every *Jew* thrice a day curſes all Chriſtians, and prays 'to God to confound and root them out, with their Kings 'and Princes. And this is eſpecially done in the Synagogue, 'by the *Jews* Prieſts, thrice a day. I pray let ſuch as love the Truth, ſee the *Talmud* in the quoted place, and they ſhall find nothing of that which is objected; only there is recited in the ſaid fourth Chapter the daily Prayer, which ſpeaks of *Minim*, that is *Hereticks*, ordain'd in *Tabne*, (that is a Town not far from *Jeruſalem*, between *Gath* and *Gazim*, &c.) the *Talmud* hath no more. Hence *Sixtus Senenſis* by diſtillation draws forth the foreſaid Calumny, whenas what the *Talmud* rehearſes briefly, to be made only by the Wiſe Men in the ſaid Town, he ſaith, was a Conſtitution in the *Talmud* long after.

Now let us ſee what was done by thoſe Wiſe Men in the ſaid Town; and let us examine, whether that may juſtly offend the Chriſtians.

There is in the daily Prayers a certain Chapter, where it is thus written, *la-Mumarim*, &c. that is, *For Apoſtates let there be no hope, let all Hereticks be deſtroy'd, and all thine Enemies, and all that hate thee, let them periſh. And thou ſhalt root out the Kingdom of Pride forthwith, weaken, and put it out, and in our days.* This whole Chapter ſpeaks nothing of Chriſtians originally, but of the *Jews*, who fell in thoſe times to the *Sadduces* and *Epicureans*, and to the *Gentiles*, as *Moſes* of *Egypt* ſaith, *Tract. Tephila* cap. 2. For by Apoſtates and Hereticks are not to be underſtood all Men, that are of a diverſe Religion, or Heathens, or Gentiles, but thoſe Renegado *Jews*, who did abrogate the whole Law of *Moſes*, or any Articles receiv'd thence; and ſuch are properly by us call'd Hereticks. For according to the Law of Chriſtians, he is not properly an Apoſtate or Heretick, who is originally bred a Scholar, and a candid Follower from his youth of a diverſe Law, and ſo continues: otherwiſe native *Jews* and *Hagarens*, and other Nations that are no Chriſtians, nor ever were, ſhould be properly call'd Apoſtates and Hereticks in reſpect of Chriſtians, which is abſurd; as it is abſurd for the *Jews* to call the Chriſtians Apoſtates or Hereticks. Wherefore it ſpeaks nothing of Chriſtians, but of the fugitive *Jews*, that is, ſuch as have deſerted the Standard, or the Sacred Law.

2. Laſtly, neither the Kingdoms, nor Kings that are Chriſtians, or *Hagarens*, or Followers of other Sects are curſed here, but namely the Kingdom of Pride. Certain it is, that in that time (wherein our Wiſe Men added to the daily Prayers the foreſaid Chapter) there was no Kingdom of Chriſtians. What therefore that Kingdom of Pride was, ſhould any Man ask, who can plainly ſhew it? So much as we can conjecture by it, it is the Kingdom of the *Romans* which then flouriſh'd, which did rule over all Nations tyrannically and proudly, eſpecially over the *Jews*. For after that, *Veſpaſian*, with his Son *Titus*, had diſſipated all *Judea*. And tho ſome *Roman* Emperors after that became Chriſtians, or had a good opinion of Chriſtianity, yet the Kingdom of the *Romans* was heatheniſh, and without diſtinction, was proud and tyrannical. And however the *Jews* repeated the ſame words of the Prayer when the Prince was very good, and they lived under a juſt Government, that they did only of an antient cuſtom, without any malice to the preſent Government. And now truly in all their Books printed again, the foreſaid Words are wanting, leſt they ſhould now be unjuſtly objected againſt the *Jews*; and ſo for *Apoſtates* and *Hereticks*, they ſay, *ſecret Accuſers*, or *Betrayers* of the *Jews*; and for the *Kingdom of Pride*, they ſubſtitute all *Zedim*, that is, *proud Men*.

3. After this manner, to avoid Scandal, did the 72 Interpreters, who coming in *Leviticus* to unclean Beaſts, in the place of *Arnebeth*, which ſignifies the *Hare*, they put δασύποδα, that is, *rough foot*; leaving the Name, and keeping the Senſe. They would not retain the *Hebrew* word *Arnebeth*, as they have done in ſome other Appellatives, leſt the Wife of *Ptolomy*, whoſe Name was *Arnebet*, ſhould think the *Jews* had mock'd her, if they ſhould have plac'd her Name among the unclean Beaſts. Neither would they render it λαγωὸν *lagoon*, or λαγὸν *lagon*, which in the *Greek* Language ſignifies a *Hare*, leſt *Ptolomy* himſelf, who was the Son and Nephew of the *Lagi*, ſhould be offended, to ſee the Name of his Family regiſter'd among the Creatures that were unclean. Beſides, *Plutarch* records how it was deeply reſented, as a very high Affront and Contempt, when one ask'd *Ptolomy*, who was *Lagus*'s Father; as if it ſcoffingly reflected upon his obſcure Extraction and Deſcent.

4. The very like Calumny fell out concerning the very ſame Chapter of our Prayer. When *Mulet Zidan* reign'd in *Morocco*, a certain fugitive *Jew*, to ſhew himſelf conſtant in the *Mahometan* Religion, and an Enemy to his own Nation, accus'd the *Jews* before this King, ſaying, that they pray'd to God for

his Deſtruction, when they mention in their Prayers all *Zedim*; as tho they would have all the Family of *Zidan* deſtroy'd. They excus'd themſelves with the Truth, and affirm'd, in praying againſt *Zedim*, that they pray'd only againſt proud Men (as that word in the *Hebrew* Language properly ſignifies) and not againſt his Majeſty. The King admitted of their Excuſe, but ſaid unto them, that becauſe of the Equivocation of the Word, they ſhould change it for another.

5. For certain, the *Jews* give no occaſion that any Prince or Magiſtrate ſhould be offended with them; but contrariwiſe, as it ſeems to me, they are bound to love them, to defend, and protect them: For by their Law and *Talmud*, and the inviolable Cuſtom of the diſpers'd *Jews* every where, upon every Sabbath-day, and in all yearly Solemnities, they have Prayers for Kings and Princes, under whoſe Government the *Jews* live, be they Chriſtians, or of other Religions; I ſay by their Law, as *Jeremiah* ch. 29. commandeth, viz. *Seek ye the Peace of the City, whither I have caus'd you to be carried away Captives, and pray for them unto the Lord*, &c. By the *Talmud*, Ord. 4. Tract. 4. *Abodazara*, cap. 1. there is a Prayer for the Peace of the Kingdom, from Cuſtom, never intermitted of the *Jews*. Whereſoever they are on the Sabbath-day, and their annual Solemnities, the Miniſter of the Synagogue, before he bleſſes the People of the *Jews*, doth with a loud voice bleſs the Prince of the Country under whom they live, that all the *Jews* may hear it; and they ſay, *Amen*. You have ſeen the Form of the Prayer in the Book intitled, *The Humble Addreſſes*.

6. In like manner the Antients obſerve, that whereas God commands in *Numb*. 29. 13. that ſeventy Bullocks ſhould be ſacrific'd upon the ſeven days of the Feaſt of Tabernacles, that this was in reſpect of the ſeventy Nations (who ſhall one day come up to *Jeruſalem*, year after year, to keep this Feaſt of Tabernacles, *Zechar*. 14. 16.) for whoſe Conſervation they alſo ſacrific'd. For they ſay, That all the Nations of the Earth ſhall be bleſſed in *Abraham*, and in his Seed, not only ſpiritually, and in the Knowledg of the one firſt Cauſe; but alſo that at this time they ſhall enjoy temporal and earthly Bleſſings, by virtue of that Promiſe. And ſo in the time of the ſecond Temple, they offer'd up Sacrifice for their Confederate Nations, as may appear by theſe enſuing Inſtances.

In *Megilat Tahanit*, cap. 9. it is reported, that when *Alexander* the Great, at the inſtigation of the *Samaritans*, that inhabited Mount *Gerizim*, went with a Reſolution to deſtroy the Temple; *Simeon* the Juſt met him in the way, and amongſt divers reaſons that he urg'd to divert him from his purpoſe, told him, *This is the place where we pray unto God for the Welfare of your ſelf, and of your Kingdom, that it may not be deſtroy'd; and ſhall theſe Men perſuade you to deſtroy this place?*

The like we find in the firſt Book of the *Maccabees*, cap. 7. 33. and in *Joſephus*'s Antiq. *lib.* 12. *cap.* 17. when *Demetrius* had ſent *Nicanor* the General of his Army againſt *Jeruſalem*, the Prieſts, with the Elders of the People, went forth to ſalute him, and to ſhew him the Sacrifice which they offer'd up to God for the Welfare of the King.

In the ſame Hiſtory, *lib.* 2, 3. and in *Joſephus Gorionides*, lib. 3. cap. 16. we may read, that *Heliodorus*, General to *Seleucus*, came to *Jeruſalem* with the ſame intent; *Onias* the High-Prieſt beſought him not to deſtroy that place, where they pray'd to God for the Proſperity of the King and his Iſſue, and for the Conſervation of his Kingdom.

In the firſt Chapter of *Baruch*, the Diſciple of *Jeremiah*, we find that the *Jews*, who were firſt carry'd captive into *Babylon* with *Jechonias*, made a Collection of Mony, according to every one's power, and ſent it to *Jeruſalem*, ſaying, *Behold, we have ſent you Mony, wherewith ye ſhall buy Offerings, and pray for the Life of* Nebuchadnezzar, *and for the Life of* Baltaſar *his Son; that their days may be upon Earth as the days of Heaven, and that God would give us ſtrength, and lighten our eyes, that we may live under their ſhadow, that we may long do them ſervice, and find favour in their ſight.*

The *Jews* in *Aſia* did the ſame, as is reported by *Joſephus Gorionides*, lib. 3. cap. 4. they ſent Letters, with a Preſent to *Hircanus* the High Prieſt, deſiring that Prayers might be made for the Life of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and his Companion *Marcus Antonius*.

*Philo Judæus*, in the Book of his Embaſſage to *Caius*, making mention of a Letter which *Caius* ſent, requiring his Statue to be ſet up in the Sacred Temple, and *Agrippa*'s Anſwer thereupon unto the ſaid Emperor, reports, that there were theſe words in it, viz. *The* Jews *ſacrifice for the Proſperity of your Empire, and that not only upon their ſolemn Feaſts, but alſo every day.*

The like is recorded by *Joſephus* (lib. 2. cap. 9. *de Bello Judaico*) the *Jews* ſaid to *Petronius* General to the Emperor *Caius*, *We daily offer up Burnt-Offerings unto God, for the Peace of the Emperor, and the whole People of* Rome. And in his ſecond Book againſt *Apion*, he ſays, *We* Hebrews *have always accuſtom'd to honour Emperors with particular Sacrifices.*

Neither was this Service ever entertain'd unthankfully, as appears by the Decree of *Cyrus*, *Ezra* 6. 3. where alſo *Darius* commands, that of the King's Goods, even of the Tribute, Expences ſhould be forthwith given unto the Elders of the

*Jews*, &c. and that which they had need of, both young Bullocks and Rams, and Lambs for the Burnt-Offerings of the Lord of Heaven, and Wheat, Salt, Wine, and Oil, *&c.* that they might offer Sacrifices of a ſweet ſavour unto the God of Heaven, and pray for the Life of the King, and of his Sons.

The ſame alſo was commanded afterwards by *Artaxerxes*, who alſo confer'd liberally many large Gifts, as well towards the building of the Temple, as the maintaining of the Sacrifices. As for *Alexander* the Great, he lighted down out of his Chariot, and bow'd himſelf at the feet of the High Prieſt, deſiring him to offer up Sacrifice to God on his behalf. And who can be ignorant of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, how richly he endow'd the Temple, as is recorded by *Ariſteus* ? Nor did *Antiochus* King of the *Greeks* unlike this, when by a publick Edict he forbid that any Stranger ſhould enter the Temple, to profane that place, which the *Hebrews* had conſecrated to Religion and Divine Worſhip (*Joſephus*, lib. 12. cap. 3.) *Demetrius* did the like (*Joſephus*, lib. 13. cap. 5, 6.) To which may be added, that when they of *Jeruſalem* contended with them of *Samaria*, about the Honour and Dignity of the Temple before *Alexander* the Great, the *Jeruſalem* Prieſt in his Plea urg'd, That this Temple was ever had in great reverence by all the Kings of *Aſia*, and by them enrich'd with ſundry ſplendid and magnificent Gifts. In the ſecond Book of *Joſephus* againſt *Apion*, we read, that *Ptolomy Euergetes*, when he had conquer'd *Syria*, offer'd up Euchariſtical Sacrifices, not to Idols and falſe Gods, but to the true God at *Jeruſalem*, according to the manner of the *Jews*. *Pompey* the Great, as is mention'd by *Joſephus de Bello Judaico, lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. durſt not ſpoil, no nor ſo much as touch the Treaſures of the Temple, not becauſe (as *Tully* in his Oration for *Plancius* ſuppoſes, to whom *Auguſtin* in his Book *de Civitate Dei* aſſents) he fear'd leſt he might be thought too avaritious ; for this ſeems in compariſon very ridiculous and childiſh, for military Law would ſoon have acquitted him for this, becauſe of the Reverence to the Place, with which his Mind was ſo affected. *Philo Judæus*, p. 102. 6. relates a Letter of *Agrippa's*, where he writes, that *Auguſtus Cæſar* had the Temple in ſo great Reverence, that he commanded a Sacrifice of one Bullock and two Lambs to be offer'd up every day out of his own Revenues. And his Wife *Julia Auguſta* adorn'd it with golden Cups and Baſons, and many other coſtly Gifts. Neither did *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, fall ſhort of her Liberality. *Tiberius* throughout the twenty two years of his Empire, commanded Sacrifices to be offer'd up unto God out of his own Tribute. The like did *Nero*, till the unadvis'd Raſhneſs of *Eleazar*, in refuſing his Sacrifice, alienated the Mind of the Emperor, that he became the cauſe of a bloody Perſecution.

And by all this, we may the better interpret that eleventh Verſe of the firſt Chapter of *Malachi* (who flouriſh'd in the ſecond Temple) the words are, *From the riſing of the Sun, even unto the going down of the ſame, my Name ſhall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place Incenſe ſhall be offer'd unto my Name, and a pure Offering; for my Name ſhall be great among the Heathen, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* For beſides that the Heathens term'd the Temple the Houſe of the Great God, *Ezra* 5. 8. they and their Monarchs and Emperors, both of *Perſia*, *Greece*, and *Rome*, deſir'd, as we have heard, to have Sacrifices and Incenſe offer'd for them in God's Name.

9. And let the Reader be pleas'd further to obſerve, that the Jews were accuſtom'd not only to offer up Sacrifices and Prayers to God for the Emperors, their Friends, Confederates, and Allies, but alſo generally for the whole World. It is the Cuſtom (ſaith *Agrippa* to *Caius* according to *Philo*, p. 1035.) for the High Prieſt, at the day of Atonement, to make a Prayer unto God for all Mankind; beſeeching him to add unto them another Year, with Bleſſing and Peace. The ſame *Philo Judæus* in his ſecond Book of Monarchy ſaith, 'The 'Prieſts of other Nations pray unto God only for the Welfare 'of their own particular Nations, but our High Prieſt prays 'for the Happineſs and Proſperity of the whole World. And in his Book of Sacrifices, *p.* 836. he ſaith, 'Some Sacrifices 'are offer'd up for our Nation, and ſome for all Mankind. 'For the daily Sacrifices twice a day, *viz.* at morning and 'evening, are for the obtaining of thoſe good things, which 'God the chief Good grants unto them, at thoſe two times of 'the Day.

And in like manner, *Joſephus* in his ſecond Book againſt *Apion*, ſaith, 'We ſacrifice and pray unto the Lord, in the 'firſt place for the whole World, for their Proſperity and 'Peace, and afterwards more particularly for our ſelves; for'aſmuch (as we conceive) that Prayer, which is firſt extended 'univerſally, and is afterwards put up more particularly, is 'very much acceptable unto God. Which words are alſo related by *Euſebius Cæſareenſis* in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, lib. 8. cap. 2.

10. 'Tis true that no outward material Glories are perpetual; and ſo the Temple had its period, and with the Paſchal Lamb all other Sacrifices ceas'd: but in their ſtead, we have at this day Prayer, and as *Hoſea* ſpeaks, chap. 14. 2. *For Bullocks we render the Calves of our Lips.* And three times every day this is our humble Supplication and Requeſt to God: *Fill the whole World, O Lord, with thy Bleſſings; for all Creatures are*

*the Works of thy hands*: as it is written, *The Lord is good to all, and his tender Mercies are over all his Works*, Pſal. 145. 9.

11. Yea further, we pray for the Converſion of the Nations, and ſo we ſay in theſe moſt excellent Prayers, upon *Roſ a ſana* and the Day of Atonement: 'Our God, and the 'God of our Fathers, reign thou over the whole World in thy 'Glory, and be thou exalted over all the Earth in thine Excellency; cauſe thy Influence to deſcend upon all the Inhabitants of the World, in the glorious Majeſty of thy 'Strength; and let every Creature know that thou haſt created him; and let every thing that is form'd underſtand that 'thou haſt form'd it; and let all that have Breath in their 'Noſtrils ſay, The Lord God of *Iſrael* reigneth, and his Kingdom is over all Dominions. And again, 'Let all the Inhabitants of the Earth know and ſee, that unto thee every 'Knee ſhall bow, and every Tongue ſwear; before thee, O 'Lord our God, let them bow and proſtrate themſelves: Let 'them give Honour to the Honour of thy Name, and let 'them all take upon them the Yoke of thy Kingdom, *&c.* And again, 'Put thy Fear, O Lord our God, upon all thy 'Works, and thy Dread upon all that thou haſt created; let 'all thy Works fear thee, and let all Creatures bow down before thee, and let them all make themſelves one Handful, '(that is, with joint Conſent) to do thy Will with a perfect 'Heart, *&c.* A moſt worthy Imitation of the wiſe King *Solomon*, who after he had finiſh'd the Building of the Temple, in that long Prayer, 1 *Kings* 8. was not unmindful of the Gentiles; but *ver.* 41. he ſaith, *Moreover, concerning a Stranger, that is not of thy People of* Iſrael, *but cometh out of a far Country for thy Name's ſake, for they ſhall hear of thy great Name, and of thy ſtrong Hand, and of thy ſtretch'd out Arm; when he ſhall come, and pray towards this Houſe, hear thou in Heaven thy Dwelling-place, and do according to all that the Stranger calleth to thee for; that all People of the Earth may know thy Name to fear thee, as do the People of* Iſrael, *and that they may know that thy Name is call'd upon in this Houſe which I have builded.* Where it may be obſerv'd, that when the *Iſraelite* comes to pray, he ſaith, *ver.* 29. *And give every man according to his ways*; but upon the Prayer of a Stranger he ſaith, *And do according to all that the Stranger calleth to thee for.* And this Diſtinction is made to this end, that by the evident and apparent Return and Anſwer of their Prayers, all Gentiles might effectually be brought in to the Truth, and Knowledg, and Fear of God, as well as the *Iſraelites.*

12. Moreover, ſince the holy Prophets made Prayers and Supplications for all Men, as well for the Nations as the *Iſraelites*, how ſhould not we do the ſame for the Nations among

whom we inhabit, as engag'd by a more eſpecial Obligation, for that we live under their Favour and Protection? In *Deut.* 23. 7. God commands, *Thou ſhalt not abhor an* Egyptian, notwithſtanding the heavy Burdens they afflicted us with, only *becauſe thou waſt a Stranger in his Land*; becauſe that at the firſt they entertain'd and receiv'd us into their Country.

As on the other ſide, *Ezek.* 23. 11. he ſaith, *As I live, ſaith the Lord God, I have no pleaſure in the Death of the Wicked, but that the Wicked turn from his way and live.* We ought therefore to imitate his Actions, and not to hate any man, upon the mere account of Religion, but to pray to the Lord for his Converſion; and this alſo, without giving offence, or any kind of moleſtation. To deteſt or abhor thoſe, to whom we owe that Proſperity which we enjoy, or who endeavour their own Salvation, is a thing very unworthy and ill-becoming; but to abhor their Vices and Sins, is not ſo. It was a very excellent Obſervation of a moſt wiſe and vertuous Lady, *Beruria,* who (as it is recorded in the *Talmud, Berachot* cap. 1.) when her Husband *R. Meir* was about to pray to God to deſtroy ſome of his perverſe and froward Neighbours, that had no leſs grievouſly than maliciouſly vex'd and moleſted him, gave him this ſeaſonable Admonition, That ſuch a thing ought not to be done in *Iſrael*; but that he ſhould rather make his Prayer that they might return, and break off their Sins by Repentance: alledging that Text, Pſal. 104. 35. *Let Sin be conſum'd out of the Earth*; it is not ſaid *Sinners,* but *Sins*; and then *the Wicked ſhall be no more.*

13. We have now in this Section ſhewn, that it is a mere Calumny to imagine, that we *Jews* ſhould pray to God, ſo as to give an offence to the Chriſtians, or cauſe ſcandal by any thing in our Prayers, unleſs it be that we are not Chriſtians. We have declar'd to the contrary, how we daily pray for them. As alſo that during the time of the Temple, we offer'd up Sacrifices for Nations confederate with us, and how all Emperors deſir'd this. Yea, and we offer'd Sacrifices, not only for particular Princes, but for all Mankind in general. How ſince Sacrifices ceas'd with the Temple, we at this day do the ſame in our Prayers, and how we beſeech God for their Salvation, without giving any ſcandal or offence in reſpect of Religion; and how we think our ſelves oblig'd to perform all this by the Sacred Scripture. By all which laid together, I hope I have ſufficiently evidenc'd the Truth of that I have aſſerted.

## *The Fourth Section.*

BY conſequence the Accuſation of *Buxtorphius*, in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinorum*, can have no appearance of Truth; concerning that which he puts upon us, *viz.* That we are *Blaſphemers.* I will ſet down the Prayer it ſelf:

'We are bound to praiſe the Lord of all things; to magni-
'fy him who made the World, for that he hath not made us
'as the Nations of the Earth, nor hath he plac'd us as the
'Families of the Earth, nor hath he made our Condition like
'unto theirs, nor our Lot according to all their Multitude.
'For they humble themſelves to things of no worth and va-
'nity, and make their Prayers to Gods that cannot ſave them;
'but we worſhip before the King of Kings, that is holy and
'bleſſed, that ſtretch'd forth the Heavens, and fram'd the
'Earth: The Seat of his Glory is in Heaven above, and his
'divine Strength in the higheſt of the Heavens. He is our
'God, and there is no other; he is truly our King, and be-
'ſides him there is no other, as it is written in the Law. And
'know this day, and return into thine own Heart, becauſe the
'Lord is God in Heaven above, and upon the Earth beneath,
'there is no other.

Truly, in my opinion, it is a very ſhort and moſt excellent Prayer, and worthy of Commendation. The Sultan *Selim*, that famous Conqueror and Emperor of the *Mahometans*, made ſo much account of it, that he commanded his Doctor *Moſes Amon* (who tranſlated the *Pentateuch* into the *Arabian* and *Perſian* Languages) that he ſhould tranſlate our Prayers. And when he had deliver'd them to him in the *Turkiſh* Tongue, he ſaid to him, What need is there of ſo long Prayers? Truly this one might ſuffice, he did ſo highly eſteem and value it. This is like another Prayer which was made at that time, *viz.*

'Bleſſed be our God, who created us for his Honour, and
'ſeparated us from thoſe that are in errors, and gave unto us
'a Law of Truth, and planted amongſt us eternal Life. Let
'him open our Hearts in his Law, and put his Love in our
'Hearts, and his Fear, to do his Will, and to ſerve him with
'a perfect Heart; that we may not labour in vain, nor beget
'Children of Perdition. Let it be thy Will, O Lord our God,
'and God of our Fathers, that we may keep thy Statutes and
'Laws in this World, and may deſerve, and live, and inherit
'well, and that we may attain the Bleſſing of the World to
'come, that ſo we may ſing to thy Honour without ceaſing.
'O Lord my God, I will praiſe thee for ever.

But neither the one nor the other is a Blaſphemy, or Malediction againſt any other Gods, for theſe Reaſons following:

1. It is not the manner of the Jews by their Law to curſe other Gods by name, tho they be of the Gentiles. So in *Exod.* 22. 27. *Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods*, Heb. אלהים, that is, *Gods*, or God, as *Philo Judæus, in libro de Monarchia*, doth interpret; and not Judges, as *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* tranſlate in their *Chaldee* Paraphraſe. Where *Philo* adds this reaſon, which is, leſt they hearing their own Gods blaſphem'd, ſhould in a revengeful way of Retaliation blaſpheme the true God of *Iſrael*. And we have Examples enough, how the idolatrous Heathen us'd to revile and defame each others Gods, both in *Cicero* and *Juvenal*.

And in that ſenſe *Flavius Joſephus*, in his Book written againſt *Apion*, hath theſe words: 'As it is our practice to obſerve our own, and not to accuſe or revile others; ſo neither 'may we deride or blaſpheme thoſe which others account to 'be Gods. Our Lawgiver plainly forbad us that, by reaſon of 'that Compellation, *Gods*. According to this, by our own Religion we dare not do that which *Buxtorfius* chargeth us with. And upon this account the *Talmudiſts* tell us, that we ought to honour and reverence not only the Kings of *Iſrael*, but all Kings, Princes, and Governors in general; foraſmuch as the Holy Scripture gives them the Stile of Gods, in reſpect of the Dignity of their Office.

2. The time wherein theſe, as alſo the other Prayers were compos'd and order'd, was in the days of *Ezra*, who, with 120 Men, amongſt whom were three Prophets, *Haggai*, *Zechary*, *Malachi*, compos'd them, as we have it in the *Talmud*. Wherefore he cannot ſay, that there is any thing intended againſt the Honour or Reverence of Chriſt, who was not born till many years after.

Moreover, the Jews, ſince that Calumny was firſt rais'd (tho that was ſpoken of the Gentiles and their vain Gods, *humbling themſelves to things of no worth and vanity*) becauſe they deſire to decline, and avoid the leaſt occaſion of Scandal and Offence, have left off to print that Line, and do not in ſome Books print any part thereof. As *John Hoornbeek* alſo witneſſes, in his foremention'd *Prolegomena*; and *William Dorſtius* in his Obſervations upon R. *David Gawz*, p. 269. and *Buxtorf* in his Book of *Abbreviatures*. And perhaps it will be worthy our Obſervation, that all theſe three Witneſſes ſay, that it was firſt made known to them by one *Antonius Margarita*, who was a Jew converted to the Chriſtian Faith, That this part of the Prayer was intended *contra Idola Papatus*, againſt the Popiſh Idols, which they therefore, as by a neceſſary conſequence, interpret as againſt Chriſt; but how juſtly, let the unprejudic'd and unbiaſs'd Reader judg.

3. If this be ſo, how can it be thought, that in their Synagogues they name him with ſcornful ſpitting? (far be it from us.) The Nation of the Jews is wiſe and ingenious: So ſaid the Lord, Deut. 4. 6. *The Nations ſhall ſay, Surely this is a wiſe and an underſtanding People.* Therefore how can it be ſuppos'd, that they ſhould be ſo brutiſh in a ſtrange Land, when their Religion depends not upon it? Certainly, it is much contrary to the Precept we ſpeak of, to ſhew any reſemblance of Scorn. There was never any ſuch thing done (as it is well known) in *Italy* and *Holland*, where ordinarily the Synagogues are full of Chriſtians, who with great attention ſtand conſidering and weighing all their Actions and Motions. And truly they ſhould have found great occaſion to find fault withal, if that were ſo. But never was any man heard thus to calumniate us, wherever we dwell and inhabit; which is a reaſon ſufficiently valid to clear us. Wherefore I ſuppoſe, that I have ſufficiently inform'd you concerning our Prayers, in which we purpoſe nothing but to praiſe God, and to ask ſpiritual and temporal Bleſſings; and by our Service and Worſhip, implore the Divine Benevolence, Protection, and Defence.

## *The Fifth Section.*

BUT foraſmuch as it is reported, that we draw and ſeduce others to our Religion, *&c.*

1. Never unto this day in any part hath this been ſuſpected, where the Jews are diſpers'd, nor can it find place here. Truly I have held Friendſhip with many great Men, and the wiſeſt and moſt eminent of all *Europe*; and alſo they came to ſee me from many places at my Houſe, and I had many friendly Diſcourſes with them: yet did not this give occaſion to make us ſuſpected of any ſuch things. Yea, *Gaſpar Barleus*, the *Virgil* of our time, and many others, hath written many Verſes in my commendation, which I mention not for Vainglory (far be it) but for Vindication of my innocent Repute.

2. By our ritual Books we are clear of this ſeducing: For if any Man offer to become a Jew, of what Nation ſoever he be, before we receive him, and admit him as a Member of our Synagogue, we are bound to conſider, whether he be mov'd by Neceſſity to do it, or if it be not for that he is in love with ſome of our Nation, or for any other worldly reſpect. And when we find no reaſon to ſuſpect him, we have yet another Obligation upon us, which is, to let him know

the Penalties he ſubjects himſelf unto, if he breaketh the Sabbath, or eateth Blood, or Fat, which is forbidden *Lev.* 3. 17. or diſannulleth any Precept of the Law, as may be ſeen in the *Targum* upon *Ruth*. And if he ſhew himſelf conſtant and zealous, then is he admitted and protected. Wherefore we do not ſeduce any one, but contrarily avoid diſputing with Men concerning Religion, not for want of Charity, but that we may, as far as it is poſſible, avoid ſcandal and hate; and for this cauſe we refuſe to circumciſe them that come to us, becauſe we will give no offence. Yea, I have known ſome, that for this reaſon have circumciſed themſelves. And if *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Caſtile*, did make an Order to expel the Jews, becauſe they ſeduc'd many Chriſtians, and ſome of the Nobility to become Jews; this was but a pretence and colour for their Tyranny, and only, as it is well known, having no other thing to object againſt us. Truly I do much commend that Opinion, not only of *Oſorius de rebus Immanuelis*, but of our *Flavius Joſephus*, the moſt famous of all Hiſtorians; which he relates in his Hiſtory of his own Life:

‘ At that time (ſaith he) there came unto me two Noble-
‘ men of the *Trachonites*, Subjects of the King, bringing with
‘ them Horſemen, with Arms and Mony. Theſe, when the
‘ Jews would compel to be circumcis'd, if they would live
‘ amongſt them, I would not ſuffer them to trouble them;
‘ maintaining that every Man ought to ſerve God of his own
‘ free Will, and not be forc'd thereto by others. For ſhould
‘ we do this thing (ſaith he) it might make them repent that
‘ ever they fled unto us. And ſo perſuading the Multitude,
‘ I did abundantly afford unto theſe Men their Food, accor-
‘ ding to their Diet.

Truly this was an Action worthy of a noble and wiſe Man, and worthy of Imitation, for defending common Liberty; leaving the Judgment and Determination to God alone. The *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, with all their Torments and Cruelties, cannot make any Jew that falls into their power become a Chriſtian. For unreaſonable Beaſts are taught by Blows, but Men are taught by Reaſon: Nor are Men perſuaded to other Opinions by Torments, but rather on the contrary they become more firm and conſtant in their Tenet.

## The Sixth Section.

HAVING thus diſcuſs'd the main Exceptions, I will now proceed to ſmaller matters, tho leſs pertaining to my Faculty, that is, to Buſineſs of Merchandiſe. Some ſay, that if the Jews come to dwell here, they will draw unto themſelves the whole Negotiation, to the great damage of the natural Inhabitants. I anſwer, that it hath been my opinion always (with ſubmiſſion to better Judgments) that it can be no prejudice at all to the *Engliſh* Nation; becauſe, principally in tranſporting their Goods, they would gain much, by reaſon of the publick Payments of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, *&c.*

Moreover, they would always bring profit to the People of the Land, as well in buying of Commodities, which they would tranſport to other places, as in thoſe they would trade in here. And if by accident any particular Perſon ſhould loſe by it, by bringing down the Price of ſuch a Commodity, being diſpers'd into many hands; yet by that means the Commonwealth would gain, in buying cheaper, and procuring it at a leſſer rate.

Yea, great Emolument would grow to the natural Inhabitants, as well in the Sale of all Proviſion, as in all things elſe that concern the Ornaments of the Body. Yea, and the native Mechanicks alſo would gain by it, there being rarely found among us any man that uſes ſuch an Art.

2. Add to this, that as our Nation hath ſail'd into almoſt all Parts of the World, ſo they are always herein profitable to a Nation, in a readineſs to give their Opinions in favour of the People amongſt whom they live: beſide that all Strangers do bring in new Merchandizes, together with the knowledg of thoſe foreign Countries wherein they were born.

And this is ſo far from damnifying the Natives, that it conduces much to their Advantage; becauſe they bring from their Countries new Commodities, with new Knowledg. For the great Work-maſter and Creator of all things, to the end to make Commerce in the Earth, gave not to every place all things, but hath parted his Benefits amongſt them; by which way he hath made them all wanting the Help others. This may be ſeen in *England*, which being one of the moſt plentiful Countries that are in the World, yet wants divers things for Shipping; as alſo Wine, Oil, Figs, Almonds, Raiſins, and all the Drugs of *India*; things ſo neceſſary for the Life of Man. And beſides, they want many other Commodities, which are abundant in other Countries, with more knowledg of them;

tho it be true, that in my opinion there is not in the world a more underſtanding People for moſt Navigations, and more capable of all Negotiation than the *Engliſh* Nation are.

3. Farther there may be Companies made of the Natives and Strangers (where they are more acquainted) or elſe Factors. All which, if I be not deceiv'd, will amount to the Profit of the Natives. For which many reaſons may be brought, tho I cannot comprehend them, having always liv'd a ſedentary Life, applying my ſelf to my Studies, which are far remote from things of that nature.

4. Nor can it be juſtly objected againſt our Nation, that they are Deceivers; becauſe the generality cannot in any rational way be condemn'd for ſome particulars. I cannot excuſe them all, nor do I think but there may be ſome Deceivers amongſt them, as well as amongſt all other Nations and People, becauſe Poverty bringeth Baſeneſs along with it.

5. But if we look to that which we ought by our Religion, the moral Precept of the Decalogue, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal*, it belongs in common to all Jews towards all Gentiles: As may be ſeen in R. *Moſes* of *Egypt*, Tract. *Geneba*, cap. 1. and *Gazela*, cap. 1. *It is a Sin* (ſaith he) *to rob any man, tho he be a Gentile.* Nor can that be alledg'd out of the Sacred Hiſtory, concerning the Jewels and Houſhold-ſtuff, of which the *Iſraelites* ſpoil'd the *Egyptians*, as I have heard it ſometimes alledg'd by ſome to ſome Men; becauſe that was a particular Diſpenſation, and a divine Precept for that time. So it is recorded in the *Talmud*, in the Tract of the *Sanhedrim*, cap. 11. that in the time of *Alexander* the Great, thoſe of *Alexandria* accus'd the Jews for being Thieves, and they demanded Reſtitution of their Goods. But *Guebia Ben Peſria* anſwer'd them, ‘ Our Fathers went down into *Egypt* but ſeventy Souls, there they grew a numerous Nation, above 600000, and ſerv'd them in baſe Offices for the ſpace of 210 years: according to this, pay us for our Labour, and make the accounts even, and you ſhall ſee you are yet much in our debt. The reaſon ſatisfy'd *Alexander*, and he acquitted them.

6. By conſequence the Jews are bound not to defraud, nor abuſe in their Accounts, Negotiation, or Reckonings, any man whatſoever, as it may be ſeen expreſly in R. *Moſes* of *Egypt*, and R. *Moſeh de Koſi* in *Samag*.

7 Yea, they farther ſay, that by Reſtitutions there is a reſult to the Praiſe of God, and the Sacred Law. Whence that Holy and Wiſe Man, R. *Simeon Ben Satah*, having bought an Aſs of a Gentile, the Head-ſtall whereof was a Jewel of great value, which the Owner knew not of: Afterwards he found it, and freely, and for nothing, he reſtor'd it to the

Seller that knew not of it, ſaying, I bought the Aſs, but not the Jewel. Whence there did accrue Honour to God, and his Law, and to the Nation of the Jews, as *Midras Raba* reports in *Paraſot Hekel*.

8. After the ſame manner they command, that the Oath which they ſhall make to any other Nation, muſt be with Truth and Juſtice, and muſt be kept in every particular. And for proof thereof, they quote the Hiſtory of *Zedekias*, whom God puniſh'd and depriv'd of his Kingdom, becauſe he kept not his Word and Oath, made to *Nebuchadnezzar* in the name of God, tho he were a Gentile, as it is ſaid, 2 *Chron.* 36. 13. *And he alſo rebel'd againſt* Nebuchadnezzar, *who made him ſwear by God.*

9. Theſe are the Laws and Obligations which the Jews hold. So that the Law that forbids the Jews to kill any Gentiles, forbids them alſo to ſteal from them: yet every one muſt look to it, for the World is full of fraud in all Nations. I remember a pretty Story of what paſs'd in *Morocco*, in the Court of the King of *Mauritania*. There was a Jew that had a ſort of falſe Stones, *&c.* He making a truck with a *Portugal* Chriſtian for ſome Verdigreaſe that he had, which was much ſophiſticated (as they are wont to do there) being all falſify'd with Earth; one of the *Portugal*'s Friends laugh'd at him, ſaying, The Jew fitted thee well: He anſwer'd, If the Jew hath ſtoned me, I have buried him. And ſo they ordinarily mock one another.

This I can affirm, that many of the Jews, becauſe they would not break with other mens Goods, were very poor at *Amſterdam*, liv'd very poorly; and thoſe that did break with other mens Goods by neceſſity, became ſo much the more miſerable, that they were forc'd to live on Alms.

And whereas in the time of King *Edward* I. the Jews were accus'd of clipping the King's Coin; it appears that this Accuſation drew its Original mainly from the Suſpicion and Hatred the Chriſtians bare againſt the Jews, as appears in the Story, as it is ſet forth by Mr. *Prynne*, in his ſecond Part of a *Short Demurrer to the Jews*, &c. *p.* 82. where quoting *Clauſ.* 7. *E.* 1. *n.* 7. *De fine recipiendo a Judæis*, brings in the King writing to his Judges in Latin, in theſe words: *Rex dilectis & fidelibus ſuis* Stephano de Pentecester, Waltero de Helyn, *&* Th. de Cobham, *Juſticiariis ad placita tranſgreſſionis monetæ audienda, ſalutem. Quia omnes* Judæi *nuper rectati, & per certam ſuſpicionem indictati de retonſura monetæ noſtræ, & inde convicti cum ultimo ſupplicio puniuntur; & quidam eorum eadem occaſione, omnia bona & catalla ſua ſatisfecerunt, & in priſona noſtra liberabantur, in eadem ad voluntatem noſtram detinendi. Et cum accepimus, quod plures Chriſtia-*

*ni ob Odium* Judæorum, *propter diſcrepantiam Fidei Chriſtianæ & Ritus* Judæorum, *& diverſa gratia minus per ipſos* Judæos *Chriſtianis hactenus illata, poſtquam* Judæos *nondum rectatos in indictatos de tranſgreſſione monetæ, per levas & voluntarias accuſationes accuſare, & indictare de die in diem nituntur & proponunt, imponendas eis ad terrorem ipſorum, quod de ejuſmodi tranſgreſſione culpabiles exiſtunt ſuper ipſos* Judæos *faciendæ, & ſic per minas hujuſmodi accuſationis, ipſos* Judæos *metu incutiant, & pecuniam extorqueant ab eiſdem: ita quod ipſi* Judæi *ſuper hoc ad legem ſuam ſæpe ponuntur in vitæ ſuæ periculum manifeſtum. Volumus quod omnes* Judæi *qui ante primum diem Maii proximo præterit indictati, vel per certam ſuſpicionem rectati non fuerunt de tranſgreſſione monetæ predictæ, & qui facere voluerint finem juxta diſcretionem veſtram, ad opus noſtrum facere pro ſic, quod non occaſiorentur, &c. hujuſmodi tranſgreſſionibus factis ante primum diem Maii propter novas accuſationes Chriſtianorum poſt eundem diem inde factas non moleſtentur, ſed pacem inde habeant in futurum. Proviſo, quod* Judæi *indictati, vel per certam ſuſpicionem, rectati de hujuſmodi tranſgreſſione ante prædictum diem Maii, Judicium ſubeant coram vobis, juxta formam prius inde ordinatam & proviſam. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod fines hujuſmodi capiatis, & præmiſſa fieri & obſervari faciatis in forma prædicta. Teſte Rege apud Cantuar.* 8 *die Maii.*

## *The Seventh Section.*

AND now by this time, I preſume (moſt noble Sir) I may have given abundant Satisfaction (ſo far as the nature of an Epiſtle will permit) to all your Objections, without giving juſt ground of Offence or Scandal to any. And foraſmuch as you are further deſirous to know ſomewhat concerning the ſtate of this my Expedition and Negotiation at preſent, I ſhall now only ſay, and that briefly, that the Communication and Correſpondence I have held, for ſome years ſince, with ſome eminent Perſons of *England*, was the firſt Original of my undertaking this Deſign: For I always found by them a great probability of obtaining what I now requeſt; whilſt they affirm'd, that at this time the Minds of Men ſtood very well affected towards us, and that our entrance into this Iſland would be very acceptable and well-pleaſing unto them. And from this beginning ſprang up in me a ſemblable Affection, and Deſire of obtaining this purpoſe. For, for ſeven years on this behalf I have endeavour'd and ſollicited, by Letters and other means, without any interval. For I conceiv'd that our univerſal Diſperſion was a neceſſary Circumſtance to be fulfil'd, before all that ſhall be accompliſh'd which the Lord hath promis'd to the People of the Jews, concerning their Reſtauration, and their returning again into their own Land; according to thoſe words, *Dan.* 12. 7. *When he ſhall have accompliſh'd to ſcatter the Power of the holy People, all theſe things ſhall be finiſh'd.* As alſo that this our ſcattering, by little and little, ſhould be amongſt all People, from the *one end of the Earth even unto the other*, as it is written *Deut.* 28. 64. I conceiv'd that by the *end of the Earth* might be underſtood this Iſland. And I knew not, but that the Lord, who often works by natural means, might have deſign'd and made choice of me, for the bringing about this Work. With theſe Propoſals therefore I apply'd my ſelf, in all zealous Affection, to the *Engliſh* Nation, congratulating their glorious Liberty, which at this day they enjoy, together with their proſperous Peace. And I entitled my Book nam'd, *The Hope of* Iſrael, to the firſt Parliament, and the Council of State; and withal declar'd my Intentions: In order to which they ſent me a very favourable Paſſport. Afterwards I directed my ſelf to the ſecond, and they alſo ſent me another. But at that juncture of time my coming was not preſently perform'd, for that my Kindred and Friends conſidering the chequer'd and interwoven Viciſſitudes and Turns of things here below, embracing me, with preſſing Importunity earneſtly requeſted me not to part from them; and would not give over, till their Love conſtrain'd me to promiſe that I would yet a while ſtay with them. But notwithſtanding all this, I could not be at quiet in my mind (I know not but that it might be thro ſome particular Divine Providence) till I had a-new made my humble Addreſſes to his Highneſs the Lord Protector, whom God preſerve. And finding that my coming over would not be altogether unwelcom to him, with thoſe great hopes which I conceiv'd, I joyfully took my leave of my Houſe, my Friends, my Kindred, all my Advantages there, and the Country wherein I have lived all my life-time, under the benign Protection and Favour of the Lords the States General and Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*: In fine, I ſay, I parted with them all, and took my voyage for *England*; where, after my arrival, being very courteouſly receiv'd, and treated with much reſpect, I preſented to his moſt Serene Highneſs a Petition, and ſome Deſires, which for the moſt part were written to me by my Brethren the Jews, from ſeveral parts of *Europe*, as your Worſhip may better underſtand by former Relations. Whereupon it pleas'd his Highneſs to convene an Aſſembly at *Whitehall*, of Divines, Lawyers, and Merchants, of different Perſuaſions and Opinions; whereby Mens Judgments and Sentences were different: inſomuch that as yet we have had no final Determina-

tion

tion from his moſt Serene Highneſs. Wherefore thoſe few Jews that were here, deſpairing of our expected Succeſs, departed hence: And others who deſir'd to come hither, have quitted their hopes, and betaken themſelves ſome to *Italy*, ſome to *Geneva*, where that Commonwealth hath at this time moſt freely granted them many and great Privileges.

Now, O moſt High God, to thee I make my Prayer; even to thee, the God of our Fathers: Thou who haſt been pleas'd to ſtile thy ſelf, *The Keeper of* Iſrael; Thou who haſt graciouſly promis'd, by thy holy Prophet *Jeremiah*, chap. 31. *That thou wilt not caſt off all the Seed of* Iſrael, *for all the Evil that they have done:* Thou who by ſo many ſtupendous Miracles didſt bring thy People out of *Egypt*, the Land of Bondage, and didſt lead them into the Holy Land: graciouſly cauſe thy holy Influence to deſcend down into the Mind of the Prince (who for no private Intereſt or Reſpect at all, but only out of Commiſeration to our Affliction, hath inclin'd himſelf to protect and ſhelter us; for which extraordinary Humanity, neither I my ſelf, nor my Nation, can ever expect to be able to render him anſwerable and ſufficient Thanks) and alſo into the Minds of his moſt illuſtrious and prudent Council, that they may determine that, which according to thine infinite Wiſdom, may be beſt and moſt expedient for us. For Men, O Lord, ſee that which is preſent, but thou in thy Omniſcience ſeeſt that which is afar off.

And to the highly honour'd Nation of *England*, I make my moſt humble Requeſt, that they would read over my Arguments impartially, without prejudice, and devoid of all Paſſion, effectually recommending me to their Grace and Favour, and earneſtly beſeeching God that he would be pleas'd to haſten the time promis'd by *Zephaniah*, wherein we ſhall all ſerve him *with one conſent*, after the ſame manner, and ſhall be all of the ſame Judgment; that as his Name is one, ſo his Fear may be alſo one; and that we may all ſee the Goodneſs of the Lord, bleſſed for ever, and the Conſolations of *Zion*. *Amen*, and *Amen*.

*From my Study in* London, April 10. *in the Year from the Creation* 5416. *and in the Year, according to the vulgar Account*, 1656.

As to give Satisfaction to your Worſhip, being deſirous to know what Books have been written and printed by me, or elſe are almoſt ready for the Preſs; may you pleaſe to take the Names of them in this Catalogue.

## *A Catalogue of ſuch Books as have been publiſh'd by* Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael *in* Hebrew.

N*Iſmachaim*, four Books concerning the Immortality of the Soul; wherein many notable and pleaſant Queſtions are diſcuſs'd and handled, as may be ſeen by the Arguments of the particular Chapters, prefix'd to the Book in *Latin*. Dedicated to the then Emperor *Ferdinand* the Third.

*Pene Rabba*, upon *Rabot*, of the antient Rabbins; in *Latin* and *Spaniſh*.

*Conciliatoris pars prima in Pentateuchum.*

*De Reſurrectione mortuorum libri tres.*

*Problemata de Creatione.*

*De Termino Vitæ.*

*De Fragilitate humana, ex lapſu* Adami, *deque divino in bono opere Auxilio.*

*Spes Iſraelis.* This is alſo in *Engliſh*.

*Orationes Panegyricæ, quarum una ad illuſtriſſimum Principem Aurantium, altera ad ſereniſſimam Reginam Sueciorum.* In *Spaniſh* only.

*Conciliator*, { The ſecond Part, upon the firſt Prophets.
The third Part, upon the later Prophets.
The fourth Part, upon the *Hagiographa*.

*Humas*, or the *Pentateuch*, with the ſeveral Precepts in the Margin.

*Theſoro de los dirim*, five Books of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews, in two Volumes.

*Humas* the *Pentateuch*, with a Commentary.

*Piedra pretioſa*, of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Image, or the fifth Monarchy.

*Laus Orationes del anno*, the Jews Prayers for the whole Year, tranſlated out of the Original.

## *Books ready for the Preſs.*

*De Cultu Imaginum contra Pontificios, Latine.*

*Sermois*, Sermons in the *Portugal* Tongue.

*Loci communes omnium Midraſim*, which contains the Divinity of the antient Rabbins; in *Hebrew*.

*Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, together with the Arguments of their Books, and my Judgment upon their ſeveral Editions.

*Phocylides*, in *Spaniſh* Verſe, *cum Notis*.

*Hippocratis Aphoriſmi*, in *Hebrew.*

*Flavius Joſephus adverſus Apionem*, in *Hebrew. Ejuſdem Monarchia Rationis*, in *Hebrew.*

*Refutatio libri cui titulus Præadamitæ.*

*Hiſtoria ſive Continuatio Flavii Joſephi ad hæc uſque tempora.*

*De Divinitate Legis Moſaicæ.*

*De Scientia Talmudiſtarum, in ſingulis facultatibus.*

*Philoſophia Rabbinica.*

*De Diſciplinis Rabbinorum.*

*Nomenclator Hebraicus & Arabicus.*

I have alſo publiſh'd, and printed with my own Preſs, above ſixty other Books, amongſt which are many Bibles in *Hebrew* and *Spaniſh*, with all our *Hebrew* Prayers corrected, and diſpos'd in good order.

# Phenix XXV.

## *Of the Torments of HELL: The Foundation and Pillars thereof diſcover'd, ſearch'd, ſhaken, and remov'd. With infallible Proofs, That there is not to be a Puniſhment after this Life, for any to endure, that ſhall never end.*

Printed in 1658.

### *Of Chriſt's deſcending into Hell.*

SOME of the learned ſay, *Chriſt deſcended into Hell*, and for proof alledg *Pſal.* 16. 10. *Acts* 2. 27. Dr. *Willet* ſays, that thoſe words of Chriſt (*deſcended into Hell*) are not found in the moſt antient Creeds: Dr. *William Whitaker* ſays, I could produce fifty of the moſt antient Creeds that have not theſe words (*he deſcended into Hell*) in his Anſwer to *Campion*, p. 215. Mr. *William Perkins* on the Creed ſaith, It ſeems likely that theſe words (*he deſcended into Hell*) were not plac'd in the Creed at firſt, and that it crept in by Negligence; for above threeſcore Creeds of the moſt antient Councils and Fathers want this Clauſe (*he deſcended into Hell*) among the reſt not found in the *Nicene* Creed, nor found in the Romiſh Church, nor us'd in the Church of the Eaſt.

Alſo ſome of the Learned ſay, Chriſt deſcended not into Hell, yet it is an Article of their Faith; but if you ſay he did not deſcend into Hell, they will ſay you deny the Faith, and are a Heretick and a Blaſphemer, and you may be glad you can eſcape ſo: Themſelves interpret Hell otherwiſe than for a Place of Torments never to end. Mr. *Bucer* ſaith, Chriſt deſcending into Hell, is to be underſtood of his Burial: Mr. *Calvin* ſaith, Hell is the Sorrow of Mind Chriſt was in before his Death. *Why haſt thou forſaken me?* is God's hiding his Face when he was upon the Croſs, ſaith Dr. *Whitaker* againſt *Campion*, *p.* 211. For upon the Croſs he ſaid, *It is finiſh'd*, John 9. 30. therefore his Suffering was at an end. Some of the Papiſts confeſs Chriſt ſuffer'd not after his Death, *Luke* 12. 42, 45. *Urſinus Catechiſ.* p. 350. Mr. *Perkins* ſaith, Hell is the inward Sufferings of Chriſt on the Croſs: *Bernard* makes the Grief of Chriſt's Soul his Hell.

Dr. *Ames*, in his *Marrow of Divinity*, p. 65. ſaith, That of the Place of Hell, and Manner of Torture there, the Scripture hath not pronounc'd any thing diſtinctly. If ſo, then the Word of God ſaith not any thing at all of them; for that which the Scripture ſpeaks, it ſpeaks diſtinctly, elſe it could not have been read diſtinctly, *Neh.* 3. 8. That which is ſpoken expreſly, is ſpoken diſtinctly: The Spirit ſpeaks expreſly, 1 *Tim.* 4. 1. The Word of the Lord came expreſly, *Ezek.* 1. 3. That which is not ſpoken diſtinctly, cannot be underſtood, as appears 1 *Cor.* 14. 2——17.

Dr. *Fulk* ſaith plainly, That neither in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, nor *Latin*, is there a Word proper for Hell (as we take Hell for the Place of Puniſhment of the Ungodly) *Fulk*'s *Defence Tranſlation*, p. 13, 87, 89. Is not this a full Teſtimony againſt their Opinion of the Torments of Hell? For if it be not to be read in the Word of God, what have we to do with it? We are not to believe any thing in Religion, unleſs it be written. *How readeſt thou?* ſaith Chriſt. *Reveal'd things belong to us*, Deut. 29. 29. *As it is written, I believ'd*, 2 Cor. 4. 13. They confeſs it is not written; then ſure I am it is not to be by any affirm'd nor believ'd. Meddle not with things not reveal'd; they are but groundleſs Conceits, Fables, and Traditions of Men.

That the word *Hell* is not in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Bible; for the Word in the *Hebrew*, for which the *Engliſh* word *Hell* is put, is *Sheol*; the proper Signification of *Sheol* is the Grave, as all that be learned in the *Hebrew* do know. *Sheol* hath its

Signification of *Shaal,* to crave or require; therefore it is one of the four that is never ſatisfy'd, *Prov.* 30. 15. We learn the Propriety of the *Hebrew* word from the learned Rabbies, ſaith Dr. *Fulk, Def. Tranſ. Bib.* p. 90. The *Hebrew* Doctors and Jewiſh Rabbies are for ſignification of Words faithful Interpreters; they ſay, *Sheol* is the Grave. Rabbi *Levi,* according to the Opinion of the Learned, expounds *Sheol* to be the loweſt Region of the World oppoſite to Heaven: *If I deſcend into* Sheol, *thou art preſent.* So R. *Abraham* on *Jonah* 2. And *David Chimchi,* and R. *Solomon* read *Pſal.* 19. 16, 17. *Let the Wicked be turn'd into* Sheol; that is, Death's Eſtate or deadly Bed. *Jonah* calls the Belly of the Whale *Sheol,* Jon. 2. 2, 3. Rabbi *Solomon Jarchi* on *Gen.* 37. 35. ſaith, that the true and proper Interpretation of *Sheol* is *Keber,* which is the Grave. The *hoar Head* is ſaid to *go down to* Sheol, *Gen.*42.38. In *Numb.*16. it is ſaid, *They, their Subſtance, and Cattel, went alive to* Sheolah; that is, the Pit or Grave. *Our Bones are ſcatter'd at the very brink or mouth of* Sheol, Pſal. 141. 7. *Jacob* ſaid, *I will go down to my Son* Joſeph *to* Sheol, *Gen.* 37. 35. The Proteſtant Writers ſay *Sheol* properly ſignifies the Grave: Dr. *Fulk*'s Anſwer to the Preface *Remiſt.* p. 22. ſo alſo in his *Defence,* p. 91. Mr. *Beza* ſaith, that *Sheol* properly ſignifies nothing but the Grave or Pit. *Fulk* ſaith, the beſt of the *Hebrews* that either interpreted Scripture or made Dictionaries, Jews or Chriſtians, ſay *Sheol* properly ſignifies the Grave, *p.* 89. and that Deliverance from the loweſt Hell, is Deliverance from the greateſt danger of Death; ſo *Fulk*'s *Anſw. Remiſt.* p. 13, 39, 135. and ſo the late Annotation of the Bible interprets it. And *Auguſtine* on *Pſal.* 16. 13. for loweſt Hell reads loweſt Grave, and ſo Dr. *Willet,* Synop. *p.*1049.

The *Chaldee* Paraphraſt retaineth the word *Sheol,* and tranſlates it the Houſe of the Grave, *p.* 11, 15. They interpret *Sheol, Keburata,* the Grave: *Job* 21. 5, 13, 14. *Beith Keburata,* the Houſe of the Grave, *p.* 17, 12. Rabbi *Abraham Periſtſol* joins *Sheol* and *Keber* together, both ſignifying the Grave; and ſo doth Dr. *Fulk* in his Defence, *p.* 91. And ſo Mr. *Cartwright* on *Acts* 2. 27. Mr. *Cradock* ſaith, Hell is not mention'd in the Old Teſtament, but as it is taken for the Grave; in his *Good News,* p. 43.

*Sheol* enforces not any Place of Puniſhment, becauſe it ſignifies not any Place of Puniſhment; ſo ſays Dr. *Willet,* Synopſ. *p.* 1055. Alſo he ſaith the word *Sheol* cannot be tranſlated, but for the Grave. There are four words in the Pſalms expreſſing the ſame thing in effect that *Sheol* doth, yet none of them applicable to ſignify any Place of Torment: the firſt is *Shacath, Fovea,* the Pit, *Pſal.* 36. 9. the ſecond is *Bhor,* the Lake; the third is *Cheber,* the Grave; both theſe words uſed for the ſame thing, *Pſal.* 88. 3. The word is *Sheol*, ver. 45. the other word uſed as expreſſing the former: and all theſe three do contain a Deſcription of Death and the Grave. The fourth is *Tehemoth*, Abyſſus Terræ; *Thou wilt take me from the Depth of the Earth*, Pſal. 71. 20. In all which there is no mention of a Place of Torment, *Willet Synopſ.* p. 1050.

The *Greek* tranſlates *Sheol* into *Haden* or *Hades* of *Adam*, becauſe *Adam* taſted Death and went to the Grave, *Gen.* 3. 19. The Gates of *Sheol* is Death; *Sheol* and *Hades* are ſaid to have Gates, *Iſa.* 38. 10. *Pſal.* 9. 14. *Mat.* 16. 8.

The Septuagint expreſs a Place generally to receive the Dead; the Word uſed in the *Greek* inſtead of the *Hebrew* word *Sheol*, ſignifies a dark place, ſuch as the Grave or Pit in which the Dead are laid. Dr. *Fulk* ſaith, ſome take the *Greek* word for Hell, but it ſignifies the Grave: Hell it cannot ſignify in their ſpeech that believe no Hell. The *Greeks* ſay plainly, that their Souls ſhall vaniſh like light Smoke or light Air; *Fulk Def.* p. 92. Alſo he ſaith, if the *Greek* and *Latin* Interpreters had before us tranſlated amiſs, which gave occaſion to divers Errors, muſt we (knowing the true Signification of the word) follow them?

The word *Hell* is not in the *Greek*; the *Greek* word for which they put the *Engliſh* word *Hell*, is *Gehenna*; *Ge* in *Greek* is the Earth or Ground, and *Henna* is borrow'd from the *Hebrew*, from the Valley of *Hinnom*. Dr. *Lightfoot* in his Epiſtle to his *Harmony*, ſaith, It is well known the Judgment of *Gehinna* is taken from the Valley of *Gehinna*; *Tophet*, or *Gehinnom*, are Names of the Places of Idolatry; there was the Idol *Moloch*.

*Of Hell-fire*, Mat. 5. 22. *and the everlaſting Fire, and unquenchable Fire*, Mat. 25. 41, 46. *Fear him that hath Power to caſt into Hell*, Luke 12. 5. *The Damnation of Hell*, Mat. 23. 33.

*Mat.* 5. 22. The Fire of *Gehinna*, and the everlaſting Fire, *&c.* How the Jews underſtood them, it is evidently to be ſeen in their Writings, that they underſtood them of the Fire of the Valley of *Hinnom*; ſo ſaith Dr. *Lightfoot* to the Reader in his *Harmony*, Becauſe of the Law thou art deliver'd from the Judgment of *Gehenna* and *Baal-tur*, Gen. 1. 1.

The Proteſtant Writers confeſs that *Mat.* 5. 22. *Mat.* 25. 41, 46. *Luke* 12. 5. are to be underſtood of the Fire of the Valley of the Son of *Hinnom*, which is *Tophet*; ſo Mr. *Cartwright*, Dr. *Fulk*, and Mr. *Trap*, and the late Annotations of the Bible, and others, *in danger of Hell-fire*, &c. read, in danger to burn in the Valley of *Hinnom* or *Tophet*: the Damnation of

Hell, of Hell *Gehinnah*, they interpret theſe Places of the Valley of *Hinnom* or *Tophet*, which Place was near to *Jeruſalem*, where they offer'd their Children to *Moloch*, *Joſh.* 15. 8. King *Joſiah* defil'd *Tophet*, the Valley of the Son of *Hinnom*, that no Man might make his Son or Daughter to paſs thro the Fire to *Moloch*, 2 Kings 23. 10. *Joſiah* commanded all the Carrion of the City of *Jeruſalem* to be carried into that Valley and burnt there, that the Carrion might not annoy the City: thither, ſaith *David Chimchi*, were carry'd all the Filth and unburied Carcaſes to be burned. The Sanhedrim of the Jews for ſome Offences ſentenc'd the Bodies of the Offenders to lie unburied in that Valley to burn with the Carrion caſt there, which among the Jews was counted a great Diſgrace: and for Offences moſt criminal, they burn'd alive in that Valley. They ſet the Malefactor in a dunghil up to the knees, and put a Towel about his neck, and one pull'd it one way and one another way, till ſtrangling him, forc'd him to open his mouth; then they pour'd ſcalding Lead into his mouth, which went down into his Body, and ſo burnt his Bowels; *Talmud in Sanhedr. Per.* 7. Mr. *Cartwright* ſaith, the Jews ſent thither their Guilty to be burnt in that Valley, and thoſe they burnt there, they dealt with as guilty, 2 *Chron.* 29. 3.

It is confeſs'd by all, that Chriſt ſpeaks and alludes to the *Jewiſh* Practice in their Judicature, therefore the Places aboveſaid concern them. Secondly, the Speech of Chriſt was to the *Jews* by Birth and Education; they wrote the New Teſtament, and tho it be pen'd in Greek, it ſpeaks the Phraſe of the Jewiſh Nation. The Apoſtle preaching to the Jews, us'd the word *Gehennah*, *Jam.* 3. 6. Chriſt and his Diſciples us'd known Terms, that they might the better be underſtood. Thirdly, Becauſe the Jews had not power to ſend them to the Hell they ſpeak of. Fourthly, Becauſe the laſt of the three Sins is ſaid to be judg'd to the Fire of *Gehennah*, which if it were to be underſtood as ſome would have it, it will follow, that ſome Sins deſerve not Hell, and ſhall not be puniſh'd there, which is contrary to themſelves who teach the leaſt Sin deſerves Hell. Fifthly, *Mat.* 5. 22. ſhews the Ignorance and Severity of the Jews and Phariſees that anger without a cauſe; and *Racha* a word of Diſgrace, which ſignifies an empty Fellow, or wicked Wretch, as great faults as to ſay Fool, if not greater, yet puniſh'd leſs; raſh Anger in danger of the Judgment, *Racha* in danger of the Counſel; if ſay Fool, in danger of Hell-fire, to burn in the Valley of the Son of *Hinnom*.

### *Of the word* Everlaſting.

Firſt, The Fire of the Valley of *Tophet* is ſo call'd, in that it did burn night and day, and went not out.

Secondly, the Words (*Ever*) and (*Everlaſting*) the Greeks underſtand it for an Age; ever and everlaſting are of a like ſignification, and is us'd for a limited time, a time during Life; *He ſhall ſerve his Maſter for ever*, Exod. 21. 6. Luke 24. 46. that is, until his own or Maſter's Death, longer he could not ſerve him. The everlaſting Prieſthood, *Exod.* 40. 15. was but until Chriſt came, then it was to ceaſe, as appears, *Heb.* 11. 12, 13, 14. It is ſaid, *They ſhall inherit the Land for ever*, Iſa. 61. 21. that Ever was but a little while, as appears *Iſa.* 63. 18.

Thirdly, In that Fire is durable, and goeth not out until the combuſtible Matter be conſum'd, may be call'd everlaſting and unquenchable; for the Fire that deſtroy'd the Citys of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* is call'd *Eternal Fire*, and γὲ (a word of as large ſignification) in that it conſum'd thoſe Citys, for where no Wood is the Fire goeth out, *Prov.* 26. 26.

Fourthly, If Fire were everlaſting, it will not follow that which is caſt into it is everlaſting; the Wicked are compar'd to Chaff and Stubble, Fire is not long in conſuming them: *Burn the Chaff*, Iſa. 5. 24. If any ſay Chaff will be ever burning, and never conſum'd, we know the contrary.

Fifthly, Conſider that the Scripture ſometime uſes words that exceed their ſignification, and are not ſtrictly to be underſtood according to the Letter and Signification of thoſe words, as *John* 21. 25. *The things that Jeſus did, if they ſhould be written, I ſuppoſe the World it ſelf would not contain the things that ſhould be written.* A large Expreſſion! What! will not the whole World contain a Record of the Actions of one Man? The meaning is, they would be too great: So Sin, and the Strength of the *Ethiopian* Army are ſaid to be infinite, *Job* 22. 5. *Nah.* 3. 9. that is, very great; for the World and all in it is finite, *Iſa.* 40. 17. Theſe Conſiderations ſhew how ſuch words are to be underſtood, and it may ſatisfy us herein.

Is it not a very ſtrange thing that themſelves ſhould confeſs that the Engliſh word *Hell* is in the Hebrew *Sheol*, and in the Greek *Haides* and *Gehenna*, and that they are to be underſtood as aforeſaid, that they ſhould for the ſaid words tranſlate it in Engliſh *Hell*, and then expound Hell for a terrible and dreadful place of Torment never to end? O horrible Abuſe and Blaſphemy againſt God and his Word! and even all Men are deluded and deceiv'd thereby. Verily, verily, they deſerve the Name they give to others of denying the Word of God.

*The Story of* Dives, *Luke* 16. 30.

Is not any proof of any Torments in Hell, becauſe it is a Parable, not a Hiſtory; of a Parable we are not to ground a Doctrine: The Story of *Dives* is no more a proof of a Puniſhment after this Life, than *Judg.* 9. 8. is a Proof that Trees did walk and ſpeak, tho it is ſaid the Trees went forth and ſaid, *&c.* The Story of *Dives* is not to be underſtood according to the Letter, for theſe Reaſons:

1. It ſaith, there was a rich Man in Hell, yet all confeſs the Body is in the Grave.

2. How could *Dives* ſee ſo far as *Abraham*'s Boſom is from Hell? Mr. *Leigh* ſaith, the great Chaos between *Abraham* and *Dives* ſignifys an infinite diſtance, which overthroweth their ſeeing and ſpeaking to each other.

3. It ſaith, he ſaw *Abraham*; yet they ſay, Hell is a place of utter Darkneſs: how can any thing be ſeen in a place of utter Darkneſs?

4. By what means can *Dives* know *Abraham* from another, ſeeing, as all confeſs, his Body is in the Grave until the Reſurrection?

5. How could *Dives* ſpeak to *Abraham*, his Body being in the Grave? Can any ſpeak without the Organ of the Body?

6. How ſhall *Dives* hear *Abraham* at ſo great a gulf and diſtance as Heaven is from Hell?

7. How comes *Dives* to have ſuch Charity in Hell to his five Brethren, ſeeing he had none to them when on earth?

8. *Dives* would have *Abraham* to ſend to them, which cannot be, becauſe *Abraham knoweth us not*, Iſa. 63. 16.

9. How ſhall *Abraham* ſend, ſeeing he hath no Communion with us, nor paſſage to us?

10. To what purpoſe will it be to ſend? if they will not hear *Moſes* and the Prophets, neither will they be perſuaded if one riſe from the dead, *ver.* 31. It is therefore a Parable, and the Scope of it is, as Dr. *Fulk* ſaith, that thoſe that will not hear *Moſes* and the Prophets, are not to expect to be call'd neither by Viſion nor Apparition, *ver.* 26, 30. This Parable is not done, but repreſented, ſaith Mr. *Cartwright* on *Luke* 16. 30. The Story of *Dives* in Hell, is one of their main Pillars of Hell-Torments, and by that which is ſaid, it is ſhaken and removed.

### *Of Tophet,* Iſa. 30. 33.

This Place is no proof of Hell-Torments, themſelves being Judges: They ſay, Hell is deep under ground, and *Tophet* is a Place above ground, as hath been ſhew'd: *Behold, the days come, ſaith the Lord, that this Place ſhall no more be call'd* Tophet, *nor the Valley of the Son of* Hinnom, *but the Valley of Slaughter; for in this place will I cauſe them to fall by the Sword before their Enemies, by the hand of thoſe that ſeek their Lives, and their Carcaſes will I give for Meat for the Fowls of the Heaven; and they ſhall bury in* Tophet, *till there be no place to bury in.* Jer. 19. *6. Jer.* 7. 33. They confeſs *Tophet* is the Valley of the Son of *Hinnom; Tophet, Hebrew Toph, Timpanum,* that is to ſay *Gehinnom. Greek Gehinna* ſignifies a Tabret, or Drum-head, or any thing that makes a noiſe, *ver.* 32. *Tophet* is ordain'd of old, *Hebrew* yeſterday, prepar'd, fitted for the King, and thoſe with him whom the Lord will there ſlay for their Sins by their Enemies: it is deep and large, fit for great Armies to meet and fight in; Fire and much Wood to conſume the Carcaſes ſlain there: the Breath of the Lord like a Stream of Brimſtone doth kindle it, not a Stream of Fire and Brimſtone, but like it; the Deſtruction being from God was great and terrible, or Fire and Brimſtone ſhall be ſent from Heaven to deſtroy them there, as *Ezek.* 38. 11, 22. *Dan.* 7. 10. *Gen.* 19. 24. *Tophet* is another of their chief Proofs of the Torments of Hell, and with that which is ſaid it is ſhaken and remov'd.

### *Of* Iſa. *66.* 24. *They ſhall go forth, and look upon the Men that have tranſgreſs'd againſt me; for their Worm ſhall not die, neither ſhall their Fire be quench'd: and they ſhall be an abhorring to all Fleſh.*

This Place is not to be underſtood of any Puniſhment after this Life, becauſe it ſaith their Carcaſes ſhall lie to be ſeen, and others ſhall look upon them. In Hell they will confeſs the Carcaſes of the Wicked are not now, nor hereafter ſhall be; for a Carcaſe is without life, therefore not capable of ſuffering. If they ſay, at the end of the World Soul and Body ſhall be united to ſuffer, how is it then a Carcaſe after the end of the World? How ſhall they be an abhorring to all Fleſh? for then there will be no Fleſh to go forth to look upon them. The late Annotations on the Bible, on *Iſa.* 66. 24. ſay, the Carcaſes are the Forces of *Gog* and *Magog,* which ſhall be ſlain near *Jeruſalem,* as *Ezek.* 29. 4 to 10. and 37. 36. containeth, and is apparent; for after the Slaughter is made of them, they ſhall lie a long time unburied, and ſeven months ſhall the Children of *Iſrael* be a burying them, that they may cleanſe the Land, *Ezek.* 39. 11, 12. Alſo the Judgments inflicted upon them ſhew it to be in this life, as Peſtilence, overflowing Rain, great Hailſtones, Fire and Brimſtone, *Ezek.* 38. 11. And the end why God puniſh'd them, ſhews it to be in this life; which was, that God might be magnify'd, and ſanctify'd in the eyes of many Nations; after the end of the World he cannot be ſanctify'd in the eyes of any, much leſs many Nations. The Worm hath reference to thoſe that are bred and fed upon dead Bodies, as *Acts* 11. 29. eſpecially ſuch as lie long upon the ground, until they rot and become as Dung and Carrion. *Job* 21. 26. *Jer.* 4. 11, 14, 20. The Fire to the burning thoſe Bodies not fit to be ſtir'd and remov'd; but to be conſum'd by Fire in the place where they lay, *Iſa.* 9. 5. *Ezek.* 39. 6. that lie rotting upon the face of the Earth, until they crawl all over with Worms and Maggots: The ſight of ſuch is a loathſom Spectacle; therefore it is ſaid they ſhall be abhorring to all Fleſh. The *Greek* renders it a Sight or Spectacle; it hath relation to *Tophet* aboveſaid: and the *Hebrew* Doctors ſay the ſame on this place; They ſhall go forth out of *Jeruſalem* into the Valley of *Hinnom*, and there they ſhall ſee the Carcaſes of thoſe that rebell'd againſt me: So *D. Chimchi*, and *Ab. Ezr. in loc.*

The Worm that ſhall not die, and the Fire that ſhall not be quench'd, is in this Life, and not as they ſay in Hell, *Mark* 6. 43, 44. *Rev.* 14. 10, 11. *Ezek.* 3. &c. *Ezek.* 38. 24. concern the Deſtruction of *Gog* and *Magog*, as hath been ſhew'd.

Concerning Luke 5. 2. *They ſhall not come out thence till they have paid the utmoſt Farthing.*

This place Mr. *Leigh* doth alledg to prove Hell-Torments, and the Papiſts alledg it to prove their Purgatory, and to as much purpoſe; for *ver.* 25, 26. is Chriſt's Counſel to avoid Differences, and to compoſe them that fall out between Man and Man in this Life, to prevent Suits in Law, and Impriſonment; ſo the Text ſhews, and *Chryſoſtom* expounds it ſo. The word in the *Greek* is an Adverſary of the Law, *Prov.* 6. 3. *Luke* 12. 38. mention is made of the Magiſtrate and Goaler, which are Terms and Offices properly fitting the buſineſs of this Life: A like place is *Mat.* 18. 34. To underſtand *Luke* 5. of their Hell, doth imply free Will and falling from Grace; and that ſuffering in Hell is a Satisfaction and Payment of the Debt, they will confeſs. In Hell there is no Goal Delivery, nor any Redemption, therefore it ſutes not to their purpoſe.

It is conceiv'd, that Hell is deep within the Earth; Reaſon concludes it muſt needs be dark: the Grave is call'd the Land of Darkneſs, *Job* 10. 21, 22. The Cruelty of the Enemy is call'd thick Darkneſs, *Joel* 2. 1———14. The *Greek* Poets ſay it is dark; they compare the Darkneſs thereof to a certain Territory that lies between the *Baiæ* and *Cumæ*, where the *Cimeria* inhabit, ſo inviron'd with Hills, that the Sun never came to it; whereupon the Proverb comes, *Darker than the Darkneſs of* Cimeria: but the chief cauſe is, becauſe they are in Darkneſs without the Light of the Word; for Darkneſs is in this Life. We cannot order our Speech by reaſon of Darkneſs, *Job* 38. 19. Where no Light is, there is utter Darkneſs; when the Eye is evil, the whole Body is full of Darkneſs, *Mat.* 6. 23. The dark places of the Earth, full of Cruelty, *Pſal.* 74. 20. Ignorant Men are in the dark, and full of Works of Darkneſs, *Rom.* 13. 12. that would have others tormented with cruel Tortures and Death, becauſe not of their Opinion in Religion. All unconverted Men are in Darkneſs, they are of the Night, 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. *Gen.* 5. Chriſt is the Light, and Saints are the Children of the Light: What Communion hath Light with Darkneſs? 2 *Cor.* 4. 14. Darkneſs covers the Earth, till Chriſt the Light came, to give Light to them that ſat in Darkneſs, *Iſa.* 61. 12. *Luke* 1. 79. Who hath deliver'd us from the Power of Darkneſs, *Col.* 1. 13. Who hath call'd us out of Darkneſs into his marvellous Light, 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. The People that ſat in Darkneſs ſaw a great Light, and to them that ſat in the Region and Shadow of Death, Light is ſprung up, *Mat.* 4. 16. Ye were ſometimes Darkneſs, but now ye are Light in the Lord, *Eph.* 5. 8. The Chains of Darkneſs are not material Chains, but ſo call'd, becauſe they are faſt in Darkneſs, and cannot get out. The Law worketh Wrath; when that cometh into a dark and ignorant Soul, it cauſeth weeping and gnaſhing of teeth, *Luke* 13. 28. being ſad and comfortleſs.

### *Of burning the Tares*, Mat. 13. 30.

Is at the end of the World, *ver.* 39. The Tares are the Wicked, the Harveſt is the end of the World; by which it appears, the Wicked with the Earth ſhall be conſum'd by Fire, *ver.* 40, 42. 2 *Pet.* 3. 7. Is any ſo weak, as to imagine the Earth will ever burn, and never be conſum'd? I have ſeen one burnt to aſhes in an hour in our Coal-Fire: they ſay our Fire is but painted Fire to that in Hell; if ſo, then it will of neceſſity follow, that ſo much as that Fire is hotter than our Fire, ſo much ſooner ſhall the Body be burnt and conſum'd in that more fierce and terrible Fire.

*The Wrath to come,* 1 Theſſ. 1. 10.

The late Annotations on the Bible ſay, they were to fill up a full meaſure of their own and Fathers Sins, becauſe God intended to ſweep them away by the hand of the *Romans*, to cut them off by a temporal Death, which was the Wrath to come, to fill up their Sins; for the Wrath is (not ſhall) come upon them to the uttermoſt, 1 *Theſſ.* 2. 16. We are by nature the Children of Wrath, that is, liable to Wrath inward and outward: *Thy Wrath lieth hard upon me,* Pſal. 88. 7. The Wrath of God is the hiding of his face, *Iſa.* 54. 8. Outward Waath is temporal Deſtruction: he caſt upon them the Fierceneſs of his Wrath, *Pſal.* 78. 49. Deſtroy'd them, *Deut.* 7. 10. *Lev.* 10. 6. *Joſ.* 9. 20. & 22. 20. *Numb.* 19. 40. *Ezek.* 3. 7. 2 *Chron.* 19. 10. *Pſal.* 90. 6.

### *Of the word* Curſed.

It is to be barren: ſo the Earth and Figtree were curſed, *Mat.* 11. 2. It is to be a Servant of Servants, *Gen.* 9. 25. *Joſh.* 9. 23. to want Proſperity, *Deut.* 28. 16, 17, 18, 19. *Mal.* 22. to die a violent and diſgraceful Death, 2 *Kings* 2. 24. *Deut.* 21. 23. to be a Fugitive, a Wanderer, *Pſal.* 59. 12. to eat in Sorrow, *Gen.* 3. 17. to endure Pain and Hardſhip, *Lev.* 11. 42.

### *Of Eternal Damnation.*

The word *Damned, Mar.* 16. 16. *Rom.* 14. 23. in *Greek* is judged; Damnation is Judgment; eternal Damnation is eternal Judgment: a Judgment is a Sentence; the Sentence is to a ſecond Death, call'd eternal, becauſe it is not to be revers'd.

### *The word* Reprobate,

Is in the *Greek* of no judgment; a reprobate Mind is a Mind void of Judgment: ſee *Rom.* 1. 28. 2 *Tim.* 3. 8. *Tit.* 1. 16. See the Notes in the Margin.

### *Of the word* Fire.

Fire is put for fiery Trials, 1 *Pet.* 4. 12. Inward Troubles, Fire in my Bones, *Lam.* 1. 13. & 2. 4. The Tongue is a Fire, 2 *Sam.* 3. 6. & 5. 2. His Word is Fire, *Jer.* 23. 29. God's Spirit Fire, *Mat.* 3. 11. Baptiz'd with Fire, 1 *Cor.* 10. 2. God is a conſuming Fire, *Heb.* 13. *laſt.*

*Bellarmine* and *Bullinger*, and others, ſay the Fire of Hell is material Fire, kindled with Wood; and alledg for it *Iſa.* 30. 33. *Iſa.* 66. 24. The Fire of Hell is true and ſubſtantial Fire, kept under the Earth to puniſh withal, ſaith *Tertullian.*

The Fire of Hell cannot be corporal Fire, for theſe Reaſons.

1. Our Fire is corporal; they ſay our Fire is but painted Fire, a Shadow to that, therefore it is not corporal Fire.

2. Corporal elementary Fire is light, and enlightens the place where it is; in Hell they ſay is utter Darkneſs: If ſo, the Fire of Hell is not corporal Fire.

3. Corporal Fire conſumes ſpeedily all combuſtible Matter caſt into it; they ſay the Fire of Hell ever burneth, and never conſumeth that caſt into it: therefore it is not corporal Fire.

4. They ſay the Fire of Hell is inviſible; then it is not corporal: for that which is corporal may be ſeen.

5. Corporal Fire may be quench'd; the Fire of Hell, they ſay, is unquenchable, therefore it is not corporal.

6. Corporal Fire goeth out without Wood, theirs not; therefore not corporal.

7. They ſay the Fire of Hell is eternal; if ſo, it is not corporal: Corporal Fire is ſeen, things ſeen are not eternal.

8. They ſay the Abſence of God is the greateſt Torment in Hell,; corporal Fire is a greater Torment to the Body than the Abſence of God.

Laſtly, Corporal Fire cannot work upon a Spirit; the Devils are Spirits, therefore cannot be tormented with corporal Fire, ſaith *Willet Synopſ.* p. 1023. To ſay God is able to make corporal Fire work upon a Spirit, and able to make to live without Food or Refreſhment to Eternity, and to make Fire burn without Wood, is no proof that he will do ſo; and is as ſilly a kind of reaſoning, as to ſay God is able to do all things, with God all things are poſſible, therefore he will do all things. Men ſhould not build their vain Conceits upon God's Power, without his Word.

2. Others ſay, the Fire of Hell is not corporal, but ſpiritual Fire; but that it cannot be neither: for there is no ſpiritual Fire; if it ceaſe to be natural Fire, it ceaſeth to be true Fire. It cannot be ſpiritual, becauſe they ſay it is natural; it cannot be natural, becauſe they ſay it is ſpiritual; it cannot be neither of them, becauſe they ſay it is partly corporal and partly ſpiritual, the one to burn the Body, the other to burn the Soul. Hell-flames are material, yet not all material, ſaith *Willet Synopſ.* p. 1010. If ſo, there are two Fires in Hell. *Bernard* ſaith, Fire ſhall burn thy Fleſh, and a Worm thy Spirit, Conſcience accuſing. *Iſidore* ſaith, their Minds burn with Sorrow, and their Bodies with the Flame.

3. Others ſay, Hell-fire is neither material nor ſpiritual, nor mixt, but metaphorical, figurative; ſo *Auſtin* and ſome of the modern Preachers ſay. *Calvin* thinks that there is no true Fire in Hell; for, ſaith he, the Wood and Worm is to be

taken metaphorically; but ſaith another, that the Fire is ſo to be taken, I utterly deny.

### *Ten Opinions of the Learned of the Places of Hell.*

1. *Edw. Leigh*, *Hugo*, and others ſay, Hell is a bottomleſs Pit; but there is no place without a bottom, which is the Earth.

2. It is generally agreed, that Hell is in the lower parts of the Earth; but where theſe lower parts ſhould be, Mr. *Perkins* on the Creed ſaith, no man is able to define; the lower parts of the Earth is great Abaſement, ſaith Dr. *Fulk* on *Phil.* 2. 7. the loweſt Degree of Chriſt's Humiliation, *Eph.* 4. 10. One part of the Earth is not put in oppoſition to another part thereof, but to Heaven, *Pſal.* 103. 13. *David* ſaith, *Thou haſt faſhion'd me in the loweſt parts of the Earth*, Pſal. 139. 15. Was *David* born in Hell?

3. Biſhop *Bilſon*, Mr. *Wheatly*, and others, ſay, Hell is below; but how many miles it is to Hell, they do not ſay, nor cannot tell.

4. *Bellarmine*, *Lyra*, and others ſay, Hell is in the Earth near the Centre thereof; if ſo, ye may know how far it is to Hell, the Earth being round, the Circumference thereof being twenty one thouſand and ſix hundred miles; the whole conſiſting of 360 degrees at 60 miles a degree; the Diameter of the Terreſtrial Globe is ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty two miles, and one eleventh: ſo there to the Center or middle Point is three thouſand three hundred and ninety miles and half at length deep into the Earth to Hell: But in the Day of Judgment, when the Earth ſhall be conſum'd with Fire, as 1 *Pet.* 3. 7. where ſhall Hell be? Then it cannot be in the Centre of the Earth, when there is no Earth.

5. Mr. *Leigh* and others ſay Hell is a Lake; the Lake is a Sea, as appears *Luke* 5. 1, 2. where the Swine were chok'd, *Luke* 8. 33. whoſe common Depth is not half a mile. Men ſeek Hell in the bottom of the Sea, becauſe they know not where to find it: Hell cannot be the Lake, becauſe Hell was caſt into the Lake, *Rev.* 20. 14.

6. Others ſay Hell is in the Air, the Devil is the Prince that ruleth in the Air, *Eph.* 2. 6. The Air then is the Devil's Hell, ſaith *Willet, Synopſ.* p. 1018. If ſo, then all we that are alive are in Hell; we do find it not a Place of ſo great torment, for almoſt all Men like it well, for there they deſire to dwell.

7. Others ſay Hell is above, near the third Heavens, within the view of the glorious Saints, and alledg for it *Iſa.* 66. 42. *Rev.* 14. 10. If ſo, it is very far to Hell. Aſtronomers ſay, that there are three Heavens above the Firmament: where the fixt Stars are, is a hundred and ſixteen millions of miles above

the Earth; which is ſo high, that if a Stone or Weight ſhould fall from thence, and continue falling an hundred and fifty miles an hour, it would be eighty eight years, two weeks, four days, five hours, and twenty minutes a falling down to the Earth.

8. Some ſay the Abſence of God's Face is Hell; but that is not call'd Hell, but Wrath, *Iſa.* 54. 8. This was *Cain*'s Puniſhment; *From thy Face ſhall I be hid, my Puniſhment is greater than I can bear*, Gen. 4. 13, 14. The hiding of God's Face cauſeth Sadneſs, and the breaking of the Bones of Comfort, *Pſal.* 5. 81. *Behold his Eye-lids, try the Children of Men*, Pſal. 11. 4. If ſhut they are troubled, if open they are comforted.

9. Some ſay Hell is in this Life, and is a guilty accuſing Conſcience. Dr. *Willet* ſaith, a guilty troubled Conſcience is a Hell and Priſon of the Soul: What may rather be call'd Hell than Anguiſh of Soul? The Judges Tribunal is in the Soul, God ſitteth there as Judg, the Conſcience is the Accuſer, Fear is the Tormentor; Guilt in the Soul wounds the Spirit: *A wounded Spirit who can bear?* Prov. 18. 14. *They the Spirits in Priſon*, 1 Pet. 3. 1, 9. *This is the Wrath of God, that abideth upon him that believeth not in the Son*, John 3. 16. Heaven is God's Face and Preſence, and our greateſt Joy in this Life, *Exod.* 33. 15, 16. and ſo will be the next, Pſal. 17. 5. *Thou wilt fill me with the Joy of thy Face: In thy Preſence is Fulneſs of Joy*, Acts 2. 18. Pleaſures or Pleaſantneſs, that is, pleaſant Joys at thy right hand: in the full Enjoyment of thee are ſweet Delights eternal.

Some ſay Hell is a local Place, *Auguſtine* ſaith it is not a Place. Dr. *Willet* ſaith the Place of Hell maketh not the Torments: It is a queſtion, ſaith he, whether the Place make Hell, or the Abſence of the Preſence of God, *Synopſ.* p. 1056.

10. Another ſaith, it is in the other ſide of the blue Cloud that appeareth to us in the Air. Others ſay, where the Place of Hell is they cannot tell, whether it be in the Earth, or in the Water, or in the Air. It is not reveal'd, ſaith *Greenwood*; they that have taken pains to find it out, are as far from it as ever. Some of the Miniſters of *France* affirm, that Father *Cotton* the Jeſuit did enquire of the Devil for a plain Place of Scripture to prove Purgatory; ſo they are at as great a loſs to prove Hell, by a plain place of Scripture truly tranſlated, their Hell of Torments never to end. Alſo the Learned agree not which Scripture to ground their Hell-Torments upon; for that place one of them alledges to prove it, another of themſelves deny it. That it is ſo to be underſtood, Mr. *Ainſworth* on *Pſal.* 16. 10. ſaith, that Place thro cuſtom is taken for the Place of the Damned, but is not ſo to be underſtood,

the word being *Sheol.* *Marlorate* on *Apoc.* p. 282. ſaith, the Fire of *Gehenna* is the Place of the Damned, others of them deny it; Mr. *Leigh* ſaith *Dives* proves it, Dr. *Fulk* and others deny it.

See ye not the great Doubting and Uncertainty they are at among themſelves? They grope in the dark without light, *Job* 22. 5. by their reeling, ſtaggering, and ſtumbling, that they are ſo drunk they can find no ground to ſtand upon; they underſtand not whereof they affirm, yet each of them hugs his own Apprehenſion. It is very ſtrange, that in a thing ſo ſignal, of which they ſay they ſee it in the Word of God, they can no way agree concerning it. O ye learned in the ſeven liberal Sciences, tell us how to reconcile theſe things in point of Truth, or tell us, inaſmuch as ye ſpeak Contrarieties, as yea and nay, which of you we are to believe. Have we not all cauſe to ſay herein, *Where is the Scribe? Where is the Diſputer of this World? Hath not God made fooliſh the Wiſdom of this World?* 1 Cor. 1. 20. *He fruſtrateth the Tokens of Lyars, and makes Diviners mad, and turneth Wiſe Men backward, and maketh their Knowledg Fooliſhneſs,* Iſa. 44. 25.

*Edward Leigh* Eſq; and Maſter of *Magdalen* Hall in *Oxford,* preſents his Reaſons to prove Hell Torments, or Puniſhment after this Life, for ſome to endure, never to end; let them be conſider'd. *Prov.* 18. 17. Mr. *Leigh* ſaith, the Conſcience that Man hath a Fear of ſome Puniſhment after this Life, proves it.

*Anſw.* If they have, that doth not prove it; becauſe the Conſciences of Men are as they are inſtructed, according to the Proverb, *Such Doctor, ſuch Scholar.* Hence it is that the Conſcience of a Papiſt tells him it is not lawful to eat Fleſh in Lent, nor of a Friday. *And whoſo killeth you, will think he doth God good Service,* John 16. 2. that is his Conſcience. The Conſciences of ſome Men are almoſt, if not altogether, for ſome evil; therefore that proves it not.

Mr. *Leigh* ſays, the Heathen held there was a Hell, a Being and Place for wicked Men after this Life.

*Anſw.* Why did ye not ſay and prove that they hold they ſhall be in torment never to end?

The Heathens do not believe that there is to be ſuch a Puniſhment after this Life; for they deny the Reſurrection of the Body, therefore they burn the Body, and ſave the Aſhes in an Urn for a Memorial. They believe, as *Pythagoras* the Philoſopher taught, that the Soul goeth from one Body into another Man or Beaſt; that ſome of the Philoſophers grew ſo tender, that they would not kill any Beaſt nor Fowl, for they ſaid, it may be my Brother or my Siſter. Theſe Heathen

*Greek* Poets were long before the coming of Chriſt; in their treble Diviſion of the World they fain three Gods, *Jupiter* the God of Heaven, *Neptune* the God of the Sea, and *Pluto* the God of the Earth, in which they ſay he keeps his Court and Palace (no word of Torment, that would make it a poor Court and Palace) ſo *Homer* and *Noninus*, *Greek* Poets. *Homer* wrote of the Deſtruction of *Troy*, which was near a thouſand years before the Birth of Chriſt. *Homer* is one of the moſt antient Records extant; it ſeems in his time there was no mention of a Hell of Torments never to end: The ſaid Poets call *Pluto Summanus*, as being chief of the *Manes* or Spirits below. To pacify theſe ill Spirits, a Feaſt was kept in *February*, with Wax-Candles burning to *Pluto*, call'd *Candlemas* Day; ſo Mr. *Jeſs*, in his Almanack. *The* Cretians *are always Lyars*, *Titus* 1. 12. the greateſt Lyars in the world, that will fancy, fain, and ſay any thing. Is it a thing poſſible, that Wax-Candles above the Earth ſhould give light thouſands of miles into the Earth, to pacify thoſe ill Spirits there? It ſeems they are not in any great torment, if a little Light will pacify them. The Poets ſay, Hell is twice as deep as Heaven is high: Aſtronomers ſay, *Jupiter* the ſecond Planet is ſeventy two millions of miles above the Earth: if Hell be twice as deep, it is a hundred and fifty four millions of miles to Hell, which is fabulous; ſo are *Cerberus*'s three Heads, and *Charon*'s Boat to row Men to *Pluto*. So the Phantaſy of Purgatory did ſpring firſt from the Heathen Poets long before the coming of Chriſt, as appears by *Plato* and *Virgil*, who have deſcrib'd at large the whole Commonwealth and all the Orders and Degrees of Purgatory: Theſe, with their *Elyſian* Fields, and many other of their Barbariſms, by long uſe became venerable.

Your Opinion is fitter for Heathens than for Chriſtians; if the Heathens do hold as you do, are we to believe in Religion as the Heathen? I paſs not what they nor any elſe ſay, unleſs they can read it me in the Word of God. We cry, *To the Law, and to the Teſtimony, if they ſpeak not according to this Word, it is becauſe there is no Light in them*, Iſa. 8. 20. Mr. *Leigh* ſaith, clear Reaſon proves it, God is juſt; many abominable Sinners enjoy more Proſperity in this Life, than thoſe that live far more innocently, muſt be puniſh'd hereafter, according to the Multitude and Heinouſneſs of their Sins, *Pſal.* 73. 17.

*Anſw.* I ſee you are more bold to affirm, than able to prove. Doth Reaſon deny the Puniſhment to be juſt, except it never end? The Scriptures you alledg, ſay they have an end, and you ſay they ſhall never have an end; that is your clear Reaſon. To ſay ſome are worſe than others, therefore they are to ſuffer a Puniſhment never to end, ſo you exclude *Mary Magdalen* and the poor Prodigal; but it is but your bare Affirmation without proof. Your Reaſon is, that God ſhould ſhew mercy to little Sinners, but none to the great Sinners, they muſt not be ſaved: but this your clear Reaſon is clear againſt the Will and Wiſdom of God, who is pleas'd to ſave of the worſt of Sinners, as appears *Luke* 7. 47. 1 *Tim.* 1. 19. *Acts* 9. 13. If ſome enjoy more Proſperity than others, muſt they therefore ſuffer a Puniſhment never to end? Outward Proſperity is a great Bleſſing, and you make it a great Curſe. If that you ſay were true, there is no cauſe *in the day of Proſperity to rejoice*, *Eccl.* 7. 24. nor to ſay, *O Lord, I beſeech thee ſend me now Proſperity*, Pſal. 115. 25. In ſaying greater Sinners, you judg according to outward Appearances both for Sin and Puniſhment, and may be miſtaken in both, what they are in the inner Man, for Sin and Puniſhment: you know not the Heart of Unbelief and Rebellion of Spirit in others, nor how God puniſheth them in their Spirits: Sin is puniſh'd in this Life.

Mr. *Leigh* ſaith, it's juſt they ſhould ſuffer for ever, who if they had liv'd would have ſin'd for ever; *Caſt them out of my ſight*, Jer. 5. 1.

*Anſw.* If it be juſt we ſhould ſuffer for ever, it is juſt our Surety ſhould ſuffer for ever.

Do you conſider that *the Creature was made ſubject to Vanity, not willingly, but by reaſon of him that hath ſubjected the ſame in hope?* Rom. 8. 20.

*Caſt them out of my ſight*, is no proof that they ſhall ſuffer for ever, but rather that they ſhall be utterly deſtroy'd; for if they have any Being, wherever they be they cannot be out of the ſight of God.

Your Juſtice is not God's; his is a Death, yours is not a Death, but another thing.

Mr. *Leigh* ſaith, God's Intentions from everlaſting were to glorify his Juſtice as well as his Mercy, *Rom.* 9. 21, 23. fitted to Deſtruction.

*Anſw.* Know you any of the Intention of God that is not reveal'd in his Word? *Deut.* 29. 29. Or doth the Word ſay that God doth not glorify his Juſtice, unleſs he inflict ſo great a Puniſhment without end? You give neither Scripture nor Reaſon to prove what you ſay is juſt. The Juſtice of God was reveal'd and made known, in cauſing the Earth to ſwallow up *Corah* and his Company; they *were Veſſels of Wrath prepar'd, fitted to Deſtruction* (your Opinion denies the Word of God, that ſaith they are fitted to Deſtruction) you ſay they are never to be deſtroy'd, die, nor end.

Mr. *Leigh* ſaith, the Covenant under which unregenerate Men ſtand, and by which they are bound over to this Wrath, is everlaſting.

*Anſw.* There are but two Covenants, *Gal.* 4. 24. the old and new, *Heb.* 8. 13. & 12. 24. The old is no more everlaſting than the Prieſthood of it; the Breach of the Covenant of Works is Death, therefore not eternal Life in Miſery.

Mr. *Leigh* ſaith, in that torment they curſe and accuſe one another.

*Anſw.* When you write again, I pray tell us how you know that in Hell they do ſo; for the Word of God ſaith not ſo, nor have you been there to hear it, nor they that told you ſo. To affirm things in Religion not reveal'd in the Word of God, is to preſume above that which is written, and contrary to 2 *Cor.* 4. 8. *Rom.* 15. 4. *Socrates* an Heathen was more wiſe and modeſt in not affirming things he knew not; being ask'd what was done in Hell, he ſaid he never went thither, nor communed with any that came from thence: yet you and others affirm with great boldneſs and confidence things you know not. Some ſay in Hell the Eye is afflicted with Darkneſs, whereas Darkneſs is no Affliction to the Eye; alſo they ſay their Ears are afflicted with horrible and hideous Outcries, their Noſes with poiſonous and ſtinking Smells (of what I pray?) their Tongues with gally Bitterneſs, the whole Body with intolerable Fire. The Damned ſhall prize a drop of Water worth ten thouſand Worlds; Curſing ſhall be their Tunes, Blaſphemies their Ditties, Lamentation their Songs, and ſhrieking their Strains, they ſhall lie ſhrieking and ſcreaming continually. Ye ſee how Men ſet their Brains awork to invent Lies; for all they ſay is without warrant from the Word of God. One ſaith their Torment in Hell is ſo great, that they cannot forbear roaring; and you ſay they curſe and accuſe one another: ſo that one of their vain Imaginations contradicts another, and all of them the Word of God. They will not deny that thoſe in Hell are in the greateſt trouble, and they in leſs trouble cannot ſpeak; *I am ſo troubled I cannot ſpeak*, Pſal. 17. 4. therefore they cannot curſe and accuſe one another, as you affirm.

Mr. *Leigh* ſaith, Divines unanimouſly concur, *&c.*

*Anſw.* If they do, it is not binding to us; for we are ſatiſfy'd they are not infallible. *There muſt be Errors*, 1 Cor. 11. 9. they have the greateſt ſhare. The Prieſt, Popiſh and *Mahometan* Prieſts, *Baals* Prieſts, and all other ſorts of Prieſts concur; common Conſent is ſooner believ'd than naked Truth: it is high time to *ceaſe from Man, for wherein is he to be accounted of?* Iſa. 2. 22. Truth, and not Number of Men, is to be follow'd:

low'd: *Every one muſt give an account of himſelf to God*, Rom. 14. 3, 11, 12. *Luther* ſaid, he eſteem'd not the worth of a ruſh a thouſand *Auguſtines* and *Cyprians* againſt himſelf: all Churches err. *Panormitan* ſaid, More credit is to be given to one ſpeaking the truth, than to all Men in all Ages ſpeaking the contrary.

They are like to concur and agree, if they take the Counſel they give, as not to queſtion Principles: It ſeems we muſt take all upon truſt and hearſay, without trial; they all ſay it, therefore it is true: But the *Bereans* would and did ſearch the Scriptures, to ſee if things were ſo as the Apoſtles preach'd, ſee 1 *John* 4. 1.

Let it be certainly made to appear that God hath ſaid any thing contrary to any thing that I have ſaid, I deſire with all my heart to ſubmit to it; without that I cannot yield the Sovereignty of my Judgment and Conſcience to the concurring Conſent of blind Guides, ignorant and erroneous Men, tho in Sheep's clothing, and cover'd all over with the Title of Godly, Learned, and Holy Saints, or Presbyters, or Miniſters of Chriſt. The Papiſts call their Church Holy Church, and their Prieſts Holy Prieſts, and their Orders Holy Orders, and all Holy, if you will believe them.

Some ſay the Jews report that in *Tophet*, the Valley of the Son of *Hinnom*, there was a great Ditch which could never be fill'd, which they call'd the Mouth of Hell, and that the *Chaldeans*, when they ſlew the *Iſraelites*, threw them in there. If this Report be true, which hath been brought to prove Hell, then it will follow, that the Mouth of Hell is near *Jeruſalem*; and that God doth give to the wicked Power to caſt his People into Hell.

How much weight there is in your Reaſons to prove a Puniſhment after this Life never to end, let who will judg; I for my part profeſs I do not ſee how they ſerve to your purpoſe: your Nakedneſs appears, and that your Opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reaſon to ſupport it, and therefore it muſt needs fall, 2 *Tim.* 3. 9. You have done all you can, and can come to no ſurer bottom to reſt upon, than Suppoſals and Imaginations, wreſting Scriptures, and Conſent of others; your Glory is, that all are of your mind, tho without good ground or reaſon, as is ſhew'd. Alſo in that you alledg Reaſons to prove Hell-Torments, it giveth me occaſion to believe that in your own Judgment the Scriptures you alledg to prove it, prove it not; for if you believe the Scriptures prove it, to what purpoſe ſerve your Reaſons? Or do you think that thoſe that doubt of the Sufficiency of your Proof of it by Scripture, will be ſatisfy'd with your Reaſons as a full proof of it? if there be any ſuch, they may be to them of ſome uſe.

The Learned contradict themſelves: Mr. *Bolton* ſaith, Thou muſt live in endleſs Wo in Fire and Brimſtone, which thou mighteſt ſo often and eaſily eſcape, which overthrows the Doctrine of Election. Alſo they ſay, the ſenſe of loſs in Hell is greater than the ſenſe of Pain; ſo they make the ſenſible want of the Preſence of God the greateſt Torment in Hell, and that is in this Life; I am caſt out of thy ſight, *Pſal.* 31. 2. it followeth by their Doctrine, that the greateſt Torment of Hell is in this Life.

Mr. *Leigh* ſaith, in his *Body of Divinity*, the ſenſe of God's Wrath, rage of Conſcience, Guilt, Fear, Deſpair, the Soul cannot melt with greater Torment; if ſo, then there is not a worſe Torment in Hell than is in this Life.

Water is ſo ſcarce in Hell, that *Greenwood* ſaith, The damned prize a drop of Water above ten thouſand Worlds, and yet they affirm thoſe in Hell ſhall continually weep, *&c.* therefore their own Sayings agree not.

The firſt Author of the Opinion of the Torments of Hell never to end, was *Marcion* the Heretick, who held, That Chriſt was not a Man but in ſemblance, and that there were two Beginnings, two Gods, one good, one bad. That there were Torments for ſome in Hell, was firſt invented by him; he determin'd the Reward of the Creature, either in Torment or Refreſhment, to be laid up for them in Hell; he was the firſt Author thereof, by *Tertullian*'s Confeſſion, as ſaith Dr. *Fulk* in his Defence, *pag.* 83, 84. See and behold the Original of your Opinion of the Torments of Hell: *An evil Man, out of the evil Treaſure of his Heart, bringeth forth that which is Evil*, Luke 6. 45.

### *The Seven Pillars of Hell ſhaken and remov'd.*

The Greek Fathers were the firſt Pillars of Hell-Torments: This came to paſs by reaſon of the ignorance of the Fathers in the Hebrew Tongue, their not underſtanding the word *Sheol* deceiv'd them; ſo ſaith Dr. *Fulk* in his Defence, *pag.* 77.

The ſecond Pillar of Hell-Torments were the Writers of the Hebrew and Greek Copys of the Bible; their defect hath put us to a great Loſs: The original Copy the Apoſtles wrote is not only unknown to us, but to the Learned. We do not hear of any alive in *England* who can produce the New Teſtament the Apoſtles wrote; 'tis not enough that they ſay that we have Books in Hebrew and Greek, unleſs we cou'd certainly know that theſe Copys, as they call them, agree word for word with thoſe which were wrote by the Prophets and Apoſtles.

ſtles. Many boaſt of God's preſerving the Hebrew and Greek Bible amidſt ſo many Enemys: as God hath been pleas'd to deliver up Chriſt and his People, ſo alſo the Scriptures into the hands of Sinners, to be us'd at their pleaſure. It is wonderful to conſider, what adding and altering the Scriptures have been ſubject to: one Pope publiſhes what he pleaſes for Scriptures, as Pope *Urban* V. and within two years Pope *Clement*, who ſucceeded him, calls them in and burns them, and puts out what he pleaſes, and calls it the Holy Scriptures. If you will believe the Teſtimony of the learned and godly Proteſtant Writers, who have not been eſteem'd Blaſphemers nor Hereticks, as Dr. *Fulk*, Mr. *Beza*, Mr. *William Perkins*, Dr. *Ames* and others; Dr. *Fulk* ſaith, That ſome Greek Copys are alter'd, it is not unlike, in his Anſwer to the Rhemiſt to the Reader, *pag.* 43. And which is more, he ſaith, Corruption hath happen'd to all Copys this day extant, in his *Anſwer to Preface, pag.* 11, 15, 16. Whole Verſes omitted in ſome Copys; as 1 *John* 5. 7. is not in ſome Copys, (the Syriack, which is as antient as the Apoſtles, reading not this Verſe at all) but is extant in others; and that there are at leaſt ſixteen various Greek Copys of the New Teſtament, *Jus Divinum, pag.* 66. Dr. *Lightfoot* ſaith, Mr. *Beza* was a Man that always queſtion'd the Text; to ſee ſo many differing Copys would put any one to a ſtand which to believe. Mr. *Perkins* ſaith, It muſt not ſeem ſtrange that words in the Margin have crept into the Text. Dr. *Ames* ſaith, *Helps to Government*, in the firſt of the *Corinth.* 12. 8. are not in the Original, he ſuppoſes it to be done by the Prelates in favour of their Government. The Preachers, who call themſelves Divines, have aſſum'd and challeng'd Divine Authority to frame all Copys and Tranſlations, and to expound all Texts according to their own Minds, to maintain their own Doctrine and Practices, to uphold their Power and Standing. Hence it is that each differing Partys Tranſlation agree not: that Party that would have the Magiſtrate puniſh Idolatry, *&c.* have made a Text for it, *Job* 31. 28. to be puniſh'd by the Judges; but theſe words are not in the Hebrew, but are an addition of their own, as appears by the Bible printed in *London* by the Aſſigns of *John Bill*, in the year 1640. and the *Geneva* Bible differs from this, and from the Tranſlation printed by the Stationers, *London*. The *Engliſh* Tranſlation hath variety of differences, not without evident contradiction, among divers places that might be inſtanc'd: See *Daniel* 7. 9, 18. in the *Geneva* Tranſlation, *Ver.* 9. is, *I beheld till the Thrones were ſet up*; and in the King's Tranſlation, printed by the Company of Stationers, *London*, the ſame Verſe is, *I beheld till the Thrones were caſt down.* And

*Ver.* 18. it is, *But Saints of the moſt High ſhall take the Kingdom*; and in the *Geneva* Tranſlation the ſame Verſe is, *And they ſhall take the Kingdom of the Saints*: both cannot be true, which of theſe is an *Engliſhman* to believe? Some ſay, *Luther* added the word *only* to the Text: Being ask'd why he did it, ſaid, he did it to make the Apoſtle ſay more plainly, *Faith only juſtifieth.* Dr. *Fulk*'s Defence, *Engliſh* Tranſlation, *pag.* 80. ſaith, We follow in our Tranſlation as near as we can the Holy Scripture in ſuch ſenſe, if any thing be doubtful, as the proper Circumſtance of the place will lead us unto, that we may attain to the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt: So then it ſeems if the Tranſlator do think the Holy Ghoſt meaneth this or that, he may tranſlate it ſo. Is not this a large Liberty? The Jews take no ſuch liberty.

The Miniſters of *Lincoln* Dioceſs, in the Abridgment of their Grievances deliver'd to K. *James*, *pag.* 11, 13, 14. ſay, That the *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Bible is a Tranſlation that takes away from the Text, and adds to the Text, and that ſometimes to the changing and obſcuring of the Holy Ghoſt: And Mr. *Broughton*, the great Linguiſt, in his Advertiſement of Corruption, tells the Biſhops, That the publick Tranſlation of the Scriptures in the *Engliſh* is ſuch, as that it perverts the Text of the Old Teſtament in eight hundred forty and eight Places, and that it cauſeth Millions to reject the Old Teſtament. And Dr. *Featly*, Doctor of Divinity, in his *Dipper dipt*, *pag.* 1. ſaith, No Tranſlation is ſimply authentical, or the undoubted Word of God: In the undoubted Word of God there can be no Error, but in the Tranſlation there are and may be Errors. The Bible tranſlated therefore is not the undoubted Word of God, but ſo far only as it agrees with the Original, the Writings of the Prophets and the Apoſtles. And foraſmuch as our *Engliſh* Tranſlation, as he ſaith, is not the undoubted Word of God, what is that Preaching worth that is prov'd by it? The falſe Gloſſes and Interpretations which are put upon the Scriptures by Men learned in the Languages, who have made inconſiderate and bold aſſertions without proof, in not keeping to the true and proper ſignification of the words thereof, have caus'd many Errors, and great Trouble and Confuſion: They put the word *Lucifer* for the Day-ſtar, *Iſa.* 14. 12. They have forſaken the Fountain, and dig'd to themſelves Ciſterns, as *Jer.* 2. and we ſee the People are willing to give up themſelves to a Miniſtry of Fables, 2 *Kings* 4. 4. 2 *Pet.* 1. 16. that makes the Scriptures ſay and unſay, which being interpreted is to make them ſay juſt nothing. The force of Education, and the cuſtom the Countrymen live in, is ſuch, as ordinarily engageth them to a prejudice and evil Opinion againſt all Principles contrary thereunto, tho of divine Inſpiration. Hence the Papiſts, Turks, and ſeveral ſorts of Proteſtants cry down and cenſure each others Judgment and Opinion as abominable Error, Hereſy and Blaſphemy.

The third Pillar that upholds Hell-Torments are fond Expoſitors, who interpret *Sheol* for Hell-Torments; ſo Dr. *Fulk* calls them in his Defence, *pag.* 90. I would know why Interpreters underſtand and tranſlate a Hell of Torments from the Hebrew and Greek, which is not in them, as themſelves confeſs, as hath been ſhew'd. They will take *Sheol* figuratively, and ſay, by *Tophet* Hell is figur'd, which is a Fancy, a Fable and Deluſion that is ſtrong in many, who expound Scripture without ſenſe or reaſon; it is as improper to interpret *Sheol* for a place of Torment, as to interpret the word Houſe to ſignify a Horſe. The Scripture is not of private Interpretation; a ſenſe ariſing out of the brain of an Interpreter is a private Interpretation: and as the Scriptures are not of Man but of the Holy Spirit, ſo the Interpretation of them is not to be of Man but of the Holy Spirit. Oracles ſignify the Anſwer of God, *Rom.* 3. 2. ſee *John* 12. *And how readeſt thou?* Luke 10. 26. To interpret words figuratively which are to be underſtood literally, and words literally which are to be underſtood figuratively, is licentious and deſtructive to the Faith of the Goſpel. We are not to interpret any place figuratively, unleſs that figurative ſenſe be expreſs'd in a plainer place of Scripture. If a Man will have an erroneous Perſuaſion, and whatſoever the Scripture ſaith to the contrary he will have it to be a figurative ſenſe, he will be left in the Clouds of his own Perſuaſion: ſo inſtead of proving their Hell of Torments never to end by the Scriptures, *Ruffinus* and others ſay, They who will not believe it, ſhall feel it; which is no proof, but a mere ſhift, as very a Lie as Nurſes uſe to ſtill Children, by telling them of a great Bulbegger, and that a Man will come down the Chimny and carry him away; but not any but Children and Fools will be ſcar'd with ſuch Bulbeggers.

The fourth Pillar which upholds their Hell-Torments, is the conſent of their Preachers; their learned and godly Men agree herein: but their weak, and various, and uncertain grounds declare, that they have not ſtudied the Point. But when Teachers and Hearers are ignorant, any thing will ſerve and paſs for Truth; the Simple believe every word. All ſorts of Prieſts agree and abuſe the People: The *Mahometan* Prieſts blow a Pouder into their Eyes that come to ſee *Mahomet* hang, which maketh them ſo blind, that for ever after they are led; and the Prieſts ſay, That the glory of the ſight of *Mahomet* is ſo great, that it takes away their Sight for ever after: and about Eaſter-time for ten days there is great joy about a great Fire for their Prieſt *Mahomet*, and thoſe who caſt themſelves into the Fire, and are burnt to death, are counted Martyrs; and once a year the Tomb of *Mahomet* is carry'd abroad upon a Cart, and his Prieſts ſay, That thoſe who put themſelves under the Wheel of that Cart, and are cruſh'd to death, do die Martyrs; and ſome are ſo ſimple to do ſo, that ſo they may die Martyrs. So the Antichriſtian Prieſts, and all ſorts of Prieſts have greatly deluded and deceiv'd the People, blowing ſomething into their Ears, that for ever after they are not able to hear and receive the Truth. But as Mr. *Beza* did deteſt the Papiſts Limbus and Purgatory, ſo do I their Dreams of Hell; it being a Device of Man without Scripture, with all their uncertain brain ſick Fancys, for the Imaginations of Men have no end.

The fifth Pillar of Hell is their wreſting the Scripture to uphold their Hell of Torments: This cozens and deceives many under colour of Divine Authority, when 'tis but Human, tho they are not pleas'd publickly to ſay ſo, becauſe it ſeems not to their purpoſe; the Scriptures they alledg to prove it, are above conſider'd. If any ſay I wreſt Scripture, I appeal to the learned in the Languages, for to them concerneth the deciſion of the ſignification of words, who (as I have ſhew'd) teſtify with me.

The ſixth Pillar of Hell is their Arguments and Reaſons they bring to prove Hell-Torments, which have been conſider'd.

The ſeventh Pillar of Hell is a ſtrong Perſuaſion that is in Men, that the believing Hell-Torments is a great means to leave Sin, and to live a holy Life; and the not believing Hell-Torments is a means to commit all Sin with greedineſs, and to live as they liſt; for they ſay Men live as tho there were no Hell.

Carnal Hearts of Men take offence at every thing, as the Law of Works, and doing to be ſav'd: the Doctrine of Election, God's free Grace and Salvation only and alone by Chriſt, without Works, *Rom.* 4. 6. is charg'd to be one of the greateſt Doctrines of liberty to Sin that ever was, and is by the Ignorant made a ſtumbling-block and rock of Offence, and a cauſe of careleſneſs in many. *Lodowick* ſaid, If I be ſav'd, I be ſav'd; if I be damn'd, I be damn'd. The Papiſts ſay, If good Works ſave us not, to what purpoſe ſhall we do them? then we may live as we liſt; if we be appointed to Life we ſhall be ſav'd, tho we ſin never ſo much; *if we ſin we have* *an Advocate*, 1 John 2. 1. *Not any thing can ſeparate us from the Love of God*, Rom. 8. If we be not appointed to Life, we cannot be ſav'd, tho we ſhould do never ſo much good. Ye ſee how this Truth is turn'd into Wantonneſs; the Apoſtle exhorts not to turn this Grace of God into Wantonneſs, *Rom.* 6. 1, 15. The corrupt heart of Man is ready to do it. There are many things in *Paul*'s Epiſtles, which the ignorant and unlearned (who know not God in Chriſt) wreſt to their own Deſtruction: Will any therefore ſay, that the Doctrine of Election and Salvation by Chriſt alone is not a Doctrine fit to be taught nor come abroad? If ſo, the Scriptures muſt not come abroad.

Moreover, the Doctrine of the Proteſtant Miniſters is charg'd, not only to be a Doctrine of liberty to Sin, but a blaſphemous Doctrine: to teach that the Fall and Sin of Man was decreed, they ſay is to make God the Author of Evil. The Proteſtant Writers ſay, That the Sin of Man was determin'd of God. Dr. *Willet*, *Synopſ. pag.* 760. He alſo ſaith, the Proteſtants hold that the Fall of *Adam* was both foreſeen of God, and decreed to be, not permitted only: They alledg *Gen.* 45. 5, 8. 2 *Sam.* 24. 1. *Acts* 2. and *Acts* 4. 27, 28. *ſhould walk after their ungodly Luſts*, *Jud.*18. For the Creature was made ſubject to Vanity, not willingly, but by reaſon of him who hath ſubjected the ſame in hope, *Rom.* 8. 20. Dr. *W. Whitaker* againſt *Campion* the Jeſuit, ſaith, Now anſwer me *Campion*, Do you think that which any one doth, how wicked ſoever, is done whether God will or not? If you hold that any thing is done againſt God's Will, what Providence or Omnipotency do you leave him? For he that permitteth that to be done which he would by no means have to be done, it is certain, that he is not endu'd with ſo great power as that he can forbid that which he would not have done: Wherefore you muſt needs confeſs, that all things which are done, are done by the Will of God. And, *pag.* 196. all confeſs, God could have hinder'd Sin to be, if he had ſo pleas'd; but he would not hinder it, therefore it was his Will it ſhould be. The Will of God, and not Sin, is the cauſe of God's Decree, and the Being of all things; the Will and Pleaſure of God is the Womb from whence ſpringeth every Work of the Creature, *Rom.* 4. 11. God muſt firſt will his Creature to ſtand or fall, before he can do either, *Acts* 21. 14. *Phil.* 2. 13. *Prov.* 21. 4. The evil Actions of Men are not only foreſeen of God, but decreed, ſaith Mr. *Par*, in his *Grounds of Divinity.* We are not ſav'd from Sin, except we have committed Sin, therefore Salvation from Sin is not without committing Sin, ſaith *Fulk*, *pag.* 121. God willed and decreed his Glory and Man's Happineſs, therefore he willed and decreed the means to it. The end and moving cauſe of his willing Sin to be, is for his Glory, which cauſe it was neceſſary for Sin to be. If Sin had not been, how ſhould the Goodneſs of God in giving Man eternal Life in Glory appear'd, his Love in ſending Chriſt to die? If there had not been Sin, there had been no need of Chriſt's Coming, nor of his Death and Righteouſneſs. Moſt of the great Works of God in this World, and that to come, have dependence or reference to Sin; how ſhould we have liv'd by Faith, exercis'd the Fruits of the Spirit, or have any Happineſs or Glory in the World to come, if it had not been for Chriſt? and Chriſt had not been, if there had been no Sin. He who willeth the End, willeth thoſe things which are neceſſarily refer'd to that End: Taking away Sin was decreed before the World, therefore the being of Sin was decreed. Chriſt's Death was determin'd before the World, for the end of Chriſt was to reſtore *Adam*'s Fall; if *Adam* had not fallen, there had been no need of a Chriſt to reſtore him. The Saints were choſen to Life before the World: Choice hath reference to the Fall, therefore the Fall of *Adam* was decreed. If the Will of Man had been the firſt and chief Cauſe of the being of Sin, then the Will of Man ſhould be the cauſe of God's Will, and ſo Man ſhall be the original cauſe of the Salvation of himſelf, and ſo much the cauſe of it, that without his Will it could not have been; and ſo the determination of God what to do, ſhall not be from himſelf, but from the Will of Man, which is contrary to *Eph.* 1. 11. If Man ſhould will Sin before God willed it, then ſhall the Will of God depend and wait upon the Will of Man: as if God ſhould ſay, If Man will ſin, then I will will his Salvation; and if God ſhould firſt will to ſend Chriſt to ſave Man, and leave it to Man's Will and Power whether he ſhall fall or no, then it was poſſible for Man to ſtand, and ſo to fruſtrate the Decree of God; for if Man had not ſin'd, God's Decree of ſending Chriſt had been void and of none effect. Mr. *Perkins* ſaith, God decreed the Fall of *Adam*; if the Fall was decreed, if Man had power to ſtand, then he had power to fruſtrate God's Decree, which no wiſe Man will affirm. And then that Saying, That *Adam* had power to keep the Law, is without Truth; if he had, conſider *Ezek.* 18. 2, 3, 4. *Jer.* 3. 29, 36. God willeth all things well, he ſinneth not, nor can ſin, becauſe he is under no Law. God commands Men to keep the Law, that no Man can do; he commands Men to think no vain Thoughts, and not to ſin; we cannot but think ſome vain Thoughts, and in many things we ſin all. Chriſt ſaith, *No Man can come to me except the Father draw him*, John 6.

37, 44.

37, 44. If they be drawn they come; *Draw us and we will run after thee*, Cant. 1. 4. If I put ſufficient ſtrength to move the Earth, Motion muſt needs follow; when Men ſin they are beguil'd, entic'd, deceiv'd, drawn away, *They like Men have tranſgreſs'd*, Hoſ. 6. 7.

We are to diſtinguiſh between that which follows a Doctrine in its own nature, and that which follows by accident, or rather, that a corrupt Heart draws from it, and is not from the nature and working of the Doctrine it ſelf. It is ſtrange to conſider, Men are ſo ſet upon the Popiſh Principle to be ſav'd for their Works, that they count all Profaneneſs which croſſes their way. Some have burnt the Bible, and Dr. *Criſps*'s Book of *Salvation by Chriſt alone*; Mr. *Archer*, late of *Allhallowes*, *London*, his Treatiſe of *Comfort to Believers againſt their Sins and Sorrow*, was burnt by the Hangman: the ſame Spirit is alive to burn this alſo, I expect no better from ſuch as are not taught of God; they condemn thoſe things they know not, and think they do God Service when they perſecute the Truth and Profeſſors of it.

Take for inſtance, that the fear of the Torments of Hell is no ſuch Preſerver againſt Sin, is evident: for thoſe who ſin with the greateſt greedineſs, the greateſt Sinners, they do believe there are Hell-Torments; for tho they be never ſo wicked, they hope it doth not belong to them, or they hope to repent and lead new Lives before they die; tho they ſin for the preſent they hope to make God amends for all: as an *Arminian*, being drunk, ſaid, That he was now in the ſtate of Damnation; but he ſaid, he would be in the ſtate of Grace to morrow, ſo he comforted himſelf. The Lives of many Heathens, who have deny'd the Reſurrection of the Body, and therefore did not hold a Hell of Torment after, have been better than many who ſeek to eſcape Hell and get Heaven by their Works.

2. If fear of Hell were a Preſerver againſt Sin, then thoſe who are deliver'd from the fear of Hell, who believe they ſhall be ſav'd, they ſhould ſin more than others; but we find the contrary, that none are more free from Sin than theſe.

3. Experience teaches, that the fear of Hell, tho at firſt it ſtartles and frights Men, yet that is ſoon over, and is no Preſerver againſt Sin. I knew one ſet before him the Torments of Hell to keep him from Sin; and finding that would not do, he added Vows and Curſes to keep him from Sin. I knew another wiſh'd the Devil to take him Soul and Body, if he did not do the thing he ſpake of; and I knew he did it not. Another wiſh'd he might ſink into Hell preſently if he did the thing he ſpake of, yet did do it before he went from the

Place:

Place: The reaſon is, becauſe the Luſts of Men are ſtronger than the fear of Hell, Reſolutions and Curſes.

(2.) Becauſe Men are given up to their own Hearts Luſts, it may be that they may find that liberty to ſin is the greateſt Miſery and Bondage in the World; it hath all Miſery in it, whether they ſin with more or leſs fear: and could they enjoy all the pleaſures of Sin for a Seaſon, they will find they have made a bad Bargain of it. *What Fruit had ye of thoſe things whereof ye are now aſham'd?* Rom. 6. 21. *If I ſin, thou markeſt me*, Job 10. 14. *Be ſure your Sin will find you out*, Numb. 32. 23. *In keeping thy Commands there is great Reward*, Pſal. 19. 11, in breaking them a great Puniſhment, loſs of inward Peace and Comfort, a guilty accuſing Conſcience, Diſgrace, Affliction, Loſſes, Croſſes and Death: *The bloody and deceitful Man ſhall not live out half his days*, Pſal. 53. 23. *I will curſe your Bleſſings*, Mal. 2. 2. ſee Deut. 28.

(3.) Men ſin becauſe *they are led Captive by the Devil at his Will*, 2 Tim. 3. 6. & 2. 26. Alſo Men ſin becauſe they are under the Law; ſo long as a Man is under the Law, Sin will have Dominion over a Man: Rom. 6. 14. *Sin ſhall not have Dominion over them that are under Grace.*

(4.) Men ſin becauſe they have not receiv'd Power from on high againſt Sin; until they receive that Power they cannot but ſin; *Thou haſt led Captivity captive, and given Gifts for Men*, Pſal. 68. 18. Until Chriſt by his Spirit ſets the Soul at liberty, it is in Bondage, and enthral'd to baſe Luſts: *But if the Son ſhall make you free, ye ſhall be free indeed*, John 8. 36. but not till then, ſee *Eccleſ.* 8. 11. The Puniſhment of the Magiſtrates keeps Men from abuſing others more than the fear of Hell; Men would be exceeding diſſolute if under no Diſcipline of Superiours.

(5.) Men go to Sin for Comfort, Sweetneſs and Satisfaction; but when ſatisfy'd, they go not to Sin: To act for Life is no Love to God, nor Self-denial, nor any Spiritualneſs, nor will it do them good, it's not accepted of God, nor will it continue; ſuch ſo reſtrain'd oft-times do exceed all others in Sin. The ſpiritual Soul, which lives in the enjoyment of the Love of God, needs no ſuch weights to procure its Motion: he acts from a new Life and Principle to the Glory of God and good of others. And in this work and labour of Love is more ſweetneſs than is in all the pleaſures of Sin, which are but for a ſeaſon.

It is great ignorance for any to think, that it is in the power of any Man to ſin as much as he will. If this be prov'd, all Objections are anſwer'd; and this the Scripture proves, that without the Will of God Men cannot do any thing, not ſo much as go to a City, unleſs God will, *Jam.* 4. 13, 15. God worketh, governeth, and diſpoſeth all things after the Counſel of his own Will, *Eph.* 1. 11. 1 *John* 5. 21. *Acts* 18. 21. *Rom.* 9. 18. *Who hath reſiſted his Will? God's Will is done,* Luke 11. 2. *Heb.* 2. 4. *Eph.* 1. 5. *Acts* 13. 20. The meaſure of mens Sins are ſet; Men cannot do more nor leſs than their meaſure, they fill up their meaſure alway, 1 *Theſſ.* 2. 13. It was determin'd how oft *Peter* ſhould deny Chriſt, *Luke* 22. 31, 34. with ver. 61, 64. God ſaith, if you will believe him, *The Wicked ſhall do wickedly,* Dan. 12. 10. *They cannot ceaſe from Sin,* 2 Pet. 2. 14. *That which is determin'd ſhall be done,* Dan. 11. 26. He that reſtraineth the Clouds, that they drop not down Rain, *he made a Decree for the Rain,* Job 28. 26. and the Earth that it bring not forth Graſs, *Deut.* 2. 23. *He that ſtilleth the Winds and the Tempeſt,* Pſal. 107. 29, 30. that ſaith to the Waves of the Sea, *Hitherto ſhalt thou come, but no further, and here ſhall thy proud Waves be ſtaid,* Job 38. 11. he reſtraineth Men from doing their Wills when he pleaſes; they would go further, but he reſtraineth them, *Job* 18. that they cannot do the things they had appointed to do, *Gen.* 20. 6. & 31. 24. & 35. 5. & 30. 10. *Rev.* 20. 3, 12. *O Lord, I know the way of Man is not in himſelf; it is not in Man that walketh to direct his ſteps,* Jer. 10. 23. Pſal. 73. Prov. 4. 12. *A man's Heart deviſeth his way, but the Lord directeth his ſteps,* Prov. 16. 9. *The Preparation of the Heart, and the Anſwer of the Tongue is from the Lord,* Prov. 16. 1. *The Heart of the King is in the hand of the Lord; as the Rivers of Waters he turneth it whitherſoever he will,* Prov. 12. 1. *Man's Days are determin'd,* Job 7. 1. & 14. 5, 14. *And the Bounds of his Habitation,* Acts 17. 26. ſo are his Works and Sins. *Surely the Wrath of Man ſhall praiſe thee, and the remainder of Wrath ſhalt thou reſtrain,* Pſal. 76. 10.

Setting aſide the Opinions and Conjectures of Mens deviſed Fables, I am fully ſatisfy'd with the Teſtimony of the Word of God (beſides their own Teſtimony, which is ſufficient againſt themſelves) with which I ſee thro the thick Darkneſs of the Inventions and Traditions of Men.

### *Several Conſiderations that there is not to be a Puniſhment after this Life, that ſhall never end.*

1. We do not find the Place of Hell mention'd in any of the ſix Days Work of God; if it be a Place, it is a created Place, and ſo a part of the Creation of God. The Whale is mention'd in Scripture; if there be a Place of Hell, it is a greater thing, and in that it is not found in the Creation of God, it is a ground to judg that it is of the Creation of Man, a

vain Imagination of Man: for their Reaſons prove it not, nor do they agree amongſt themſelves of the proof of it, neither where it is, nor what it is.

2. *Solomon* was wiſer than all Men, 1 *Kings* 4. 36. yet he ſpake not any thing of the Torments of Hell, nor of any Puniſhment never to end: *He ſpake from the Cedar to the Hyſop, he ſpake alſo of Beaſts and Fowls, of creeping things, and of Fiſhes,* v. 33. If he had known of any Hell and Torments there, he would have ſpoken of that alſo.

3. The Jews, *unto whom were committed the Oracles of God, Rom.* 3. 2. to give unto us, they have deliver'd no ſuch thing to us, nor do they believe any ſuch thing; for the *Hebrew* Doctors underſtand, the ſeventh Day of ſeven thouſand Years, which is in the World to come, he bleſſed, becauſe in the ſeven thouſand Years all Souls ſhall be bound up in the bundle of Life in the World to come; *Ainſworth* on *Gen.* 2. *A Day with the Lord is as a thouſand Years,* 2 Pet. 3. 8. The Jews ſay, as the World was made in ſix days, ſo it ſhould continue ſix thouſand Years, and no more; and that the ſeventh Day is the ſeven thouſand Years in the World to come, in which all Souls ſhall be bleſs'd: Alſo they ſay a good Man and a bad Man died afterwards; one in a Viſion ſaw the good Man walking in Gardens among pleaſant Fountains of Water, but the bad Man near a River, and his Tongue reaching after Water, but could not reach it: *Talm.* Jeruſ. in *Chag.* fol. 77. col. 4. In that theſe things are receiv'd among them for Truth, tho they be but Jewiſh Fables, yet by them we ſee evidently that they do not believe the Opinion of a Torment after this Life never to end. The Jews and *Hebrew* Doctors were great Searchers of every tittle of Scriptures; and if it had been there to be ſeen, they or their Prophets ſhould have ſeen it.

4. The Saints recorded in Scripture did not believe that there was to be a Puniſhment for any to endure, never to end; this appeareth, becauſe when they made a Confeſſion of Sin, and the Puniſhment due to them for the ſame, they do not confeſs to have deſerv'd any ſuch Puniſhment: they confeſs, *To us belongs Confuſion of Face,* Dan. 9. 8, 11. *It's the Lord's mercy we are not conſum'd,* Lam. 3. 22. *Thou haſt deliver'd me from Death,* Pſal. 116. 8. 2 Chron. 8. 1, 10.

Nor do we find that they did ever give thanks for any ſuch Deliverance: If they had known of any ſuch Deliverance, it could not but appear the greateſt Deliverance any could enjoy, and that it did require the greateſt Acknowledgment and Thankfulneſs; nor doth it appear that ever they did pray for, or expreſs any Deſire of ſuch Deliverance. In that they expreſs neither, it is a ground to judg that they knew of no ſuch Puniſhment; and if there had been any ſuch Deliverance, they ſhould have known it, it ſhould not have been hid from them: They admir'd the Deliverance of ſaving their Lives from Death, as the greateſt Deliverance, *Ezek.* 9. 13, 14. *The Kindneſs of the Lord not to die*, 1 Sam. 20. 14.

Do you believe that if *Moſes* and *Paul* had believ'd that there was ſo great and exceeding Torment without end, that in the leaſt they would have wiſh'd or deſir'd *to be raſed out of the Book of Life*, Exod. 32. 33. and *to be ſeparated from Chriſt*, *Rom.* 9. 3. to endure the ſaid Torment without end? I do not believe that they were willing ſo to ſuffer.

5. Chriſt, when on Earth, ſpake of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, which was to come, and wept becauſe they were to ſuffer that, *Luke* 19. 42, 44. He would much more have ſpoken of a Puniſhment never to end, and wept for them that ſhould ſuffer that, if there had been any Puniſhment for any to endure.

6. Becauſe when God doth warn any from Sin, from the Conſideration of Puniſhment, there is no mention of any Puniſhments but of thoſe in this Life. See 1 *Cor.* 10. 1 to 11. *They ſhall die of grievous Deaths*, Jer. 6. 4. 2 Chron. 19. 10. 1 Cor. 4. 14. Death threaten'd, *Ezek.* 3. 18, 19. & 33. 3 to 14. *Titus* 3. 10, 11. Confounded that ſerve graven Images, *Pſal.* 98. A Puniſhment in this Life, *Jer.* 9. 19. Death for Idolatry, *Jer.* 44. 7. The Puniſhment of Idolatry ſet for an example, 2 *Pet.* 2. 6. *Be inſtructed, leſt my Soul depart from thee, and I make thee deſolate, becauſe of thy Sins*, Mich. 6. 13. See *Jer.* 9. 11. *Abomination that makes deſolate*, Dan. 3. 20. *He turn'd the Cities of* Sodom *and* Gomorrah *into aſhes, condemn'd them with an Overthrow, making them an example*, 2 Pet. 2. 5, 6, 7. He that threaten'd Death, would have threaten'd a Puiſhment never to end, if there had been ſuch a Puniſhment to be inflicted upon any.

7. Becauſe God's Puniſhment of Sin is not of ſo large an extent as his Mercy; for his puniſhing of Sin is but to the third and fourth Generation, *Deut.* 7. 9. *Thy Mercy is great above the Heavens, and thy Truth unto the Skies*, Pſal. 108. 4. By Truth in this place underſtand the Puniſhment of Sin, becauſe the word *Mercy* is put in oppoſition, which lieth in forgiving Sin. The Heavens are far above the Skies: Aſtronomers ſay the Clouds and Skies are not above fifty miles above the Earth, but the Heavens are above a hundred and ſixteen millions of miles above the Skies: *but the Mercy-Seat above*, Exod. 25. 21. His Name is his Glory; *His Glory above the Heavens*, *Pſal.* 8. 1. Why is it ſaid he puniſheth the Iniquity of the Father upon the Children to the third and fourth Generation, and not to the tenth and twentieth Generation; but to declare

that his Juſtice is ſatisfy'd therewith, and requireth not a further Puniſhment? God doth puniſh Sin in the Sinner, and upon his Children, to the third and fourth Generation, becauſe there is not to be a Puniſhment after this Life, never to end.

8. Becauſe Death and the Fear of it is call'd the *Terror of God*, Gen. 35. 3. *The King of Terrors*, Job 18. 11, 14. Therefore Death is the greateſt Puniſhment and moſt terrible: but if there were to be a Puniſhment never to end, not Death, but that were the King of Terrors; for Death is not terrible at all in compariſon of that.

9. Becauſe Sin is puniſh'd in this Life to the full; if you will believe God, he ſaith, *According to their Works and Doings I puniſh'd them*, Ezek. 36. 18. Hoſ. 12. 2. & 13. 11. Jer. 50. 25. & 56. 18. Jer. 9. 9, 11. Job 20. 28. *Every Tranſgreſſion receiv'd a juſt Recompence*, Heb. 2. 2. Would ye have it to be puniſh'd to the full in this Life, and after in the World to come with a Puniſhment never to end? That Sin is puniſh'd in this Life, ſee *Iſa.* 65. 3 to 16. *Deut.* 10. 17, 18. *Mich.* 6. 10. *Hag.* 1. 6. *Lam.* 4. 6. *I'll puniſh the World for their Iniquity, they ſhall fall by the Sword*, Iſa. 13. 11, 15 to 22. Outward Calamity and Death, the Puniſhment of Sin, *Lam.* 3. 39. 1 *Pet.* 2. 14. *Recompenſe their Sin to the full*, Jer. 16. 18. For the Violence of the Sin of Man, when all Fleſh had corrupted his way, God ſaith, *I will deſtroy them with the Earth; a Flood of Water to deſtroy all Fleſh*, *Gen.* 6. 11, 12, 17. To puniſh Sin twice, is as diſagreeable to Juſtice, as to receive the Payment of one Debt twice.

10. Becauſe there is not a worſe thing than the Dregs of God's Fury, Anger, and Wrath; and theſe are pour'd out in this Life. God doth not only begin to puniſh Sin in this Life, but alſo finiſh it in this Life: for it is ſaid, *He pour'd out all his fierce Anger, he caſt upon them the Fierceneſs of his Anger, Wrath and Indignation*, Pſal. 78. 49. (Death.) So *it was pour'd out*, Iſa. 42. 8. Ezek. 19. 22. *Accompliſh'd my Fury*, Ezek. 8. 7, 8. *It conſum'd them*, Ezek. 43. 18. *For yet a very little while, and mine Indignation and Anger ſhall ceaſe in their Deſtruction*, Jer. 10. 25. *Wrath paſt*, Job 14. 13. *Taken away all*, Pſal. 85. 3. *He hath pour'd out all his Anger*, Lam. 4. 10, 11. Zeph. 3. 3. *The Puniſhment of their Iniquity is accompliſh'd*, Lam. 4. 22. Ezek. 5. 13. & 7. 8. & 20. 21. *The Dregs of the Cup of my Fury accompliſh'd*, Ezek. 13. 14, 15. Therefore there is no continuance of it after this Life; for when *Achan* was dead, it is ſaid the Lord turn'd from the Fierceneſs of his Anger, *Joſh.* 6. 26. But if that they ſay were true, his Death was but the beginning of the Lord's fierce Anger.

*Many infallible Proofs that there is not to be a Puniſhment after this Life never to end.*

*Proof* I. Becauſe the Scriptures hold forth no ſuch thing, as hath been ſhew'd; we ought not to preſume above that which is written: Reveal'd things belong to us, *Deut.* 29. 29.

*Proof* II. Their Opinion of a Puniſhment never to end, is contrary to the Word of God, in that it doth maintain that the Wicked ſhall have eternal Life. If Man was to live for ever, why was the flaming Sword ſet to keep the way of the Tree of Life? Gen. 3. 24. *Leſt he put forth his hand, and take of the Tree of Life, and live for ever.* No eternal Life came by the firſt *Adam*, eternal Life came by Jeſus Chriſt, who is the Tree of Life, eternal Life promis'd and given by Jeſus Chriſt; *Eternal Life by Jeſus Chriſt*, Rom. 5. 21. and, *He that eateth of this Bread ſhall live for ever*, John 6. 58. *Becauſe I live, ye ſhall live alſo*, John 14. 19. *God ſent his Son, that we might live thro him*, 1 John 4. 9. Only Believers have eternal Life: *He that believeth on the Son hath eternal Life, he that believeth not the Son ſhall not ſee Life*, John 3. 36. *Whoſoever believeth ſhall not periſh, but have everlaſting Life*, John 3. 14, 15. *I give unto them eternal Life, and they ſhall never periſh*, John 10. 28. *The Wicked abide not for ever*, 1 John 2. 17. *If ye live after the Fleſh, ye ſhall die*, Rom. 8. 13. *Him will God deſtroy*, in the *Greek* it is *corrupt*, 1 Cor. 3. 17. The Preaching of the Croſs, is to them that periſh *Fooliſhneſs*, 2 Theſſ. 2. 10. *Utterly periſh*, 2 Pet. 2. 14. Luke 11. 3. *To their own Deſtruction*, 2 Pet. 3. 16. *Abideth in Death*, Rom. 6. 21, 23. *They ſhall be deſtroy'd for ever*, Pſal. 99. 7. John 4. 20. If they periſh and have not eternal Life, then they cannot live for ever. God ſaid, *Gen.* 2. 17. *If thou eateſt thou ſhalt ſurely die*; but the Serpent ſaid, *Gen.* 3. 4. *Ye ſhall not die.* So the Serpent, which is the Devil, hath taught Men to ſay as the Serpent ſaid, Now they have eaten they ſhall not die, but ſhall live for ever, and never die; which is to ſay, God is the Lyar, and that which the Devil ſaid is Truth. The Word ſaith, *Him will God deſtroy*, Mat. 21. 41. 1 Cor. 3. 17. & 6. 13. *They ſhall be deſtroy'd*, 2 *Pet.* 2. 12. *Swift Deſtruction, their end is Deſtruction*, Phil. 3. 13. Their Opinion ſaith, they ſhall never be deſtroy'd, die, nor end, which is no Deſtruction. The Word ſaith, *The laſt Enemy is Death*, 1 Cor. 15. 26. Their Opinion ſaith, that is not the laſt, there is one after that is much worſe, never to end: It ſaith, God's Anger is for ever, he will never turn from it; contrary to *Jer.* 3. 12. *Pſal.* 50. 5. & 89. 5. & 78. 18. Mr. *Bolton* ſaith, they ſhall ſuffer ſo long as God is God: if ſo, then they have eternal Life (tho in Miſery) whereas the Scripture doth not declare eternal Life to be for all Men, *John* 6. 45, 47. *Promiſ'd us eternal Life,* 1 John 2. 17. 25. *I give unto them eternal Life, to as many as thou haſt given him,* John 17. 2, 3. *In hope of eternal Life,* John 3. 15. *As many as were ordain'd to eternal Life believ'd,* Acts 13. 48. *They that have done good unto the Reſurrection of Life,* John 5. 29. If it be granted that the Wicked have not eternal Life, as hath been prov'd, it will follow that they cannot ſuffer for ever, ſo long as God is God; and therefore all their Building of a Puniſhment never to end falls: grant the firſt, and the latter muſt needs follow.

If *Adam* had not ſin'd, he ſhould have died; this is prov'd, firſt becauſe *Adam* in his Creation had a natural Body, 1 *Cor.* 15. 44. that which is natural is not eternal, *v.* 46. He was of the Earth earthy, *v.* 57, 58. therefore mortal and corruptible, *v.* 53, 54.

Secondly, Man in his firſt Being was corporal and viſible to be ſeen; things ſeen are not eternal. Mr. *Bolton* ſaith, if *Adam* had ſtood, he could not have convey'd to us a Body immortal or not dying; in his Treatiſe of Heaven, *p.* 131. *Baſil* ſaith, If God had given *Adam* an immutable and unchangeable nature, he had created a God, and not a Man. *Auguſtine* in his Book of Confeſſions ſaith, Becauſe the Lord created Man of nothing, therefore he left in Man a Poſſibility to return into nothing, if he obey'd not the Will of his Maker.

Thirdly, Man in Innocency needed Food, *&c.* That which depends upon mutable and earthly things, is earthly and mutable: we ſee it in all other Creatures that live upon periſhing things, at laſt periſh: and herein Man by the firſt *Adam* hath no Preeminence above a Beaſt. Heaven and Earth were created, therefore had a beginning; and altho they have a much longer Life than Man, are to have an end: *Heaven and Earth ſhall be diſſolv'd,* 2 Pet. 3. 12.

If *Adam* had not died (*Rom.* 5. 12.) he ſhould have continu'd in this World, he ſhould not have gone to the World to come; therefore by his Fall he loſt no Happineſs nor eternal Life in that World: for he could not by that Fall loſe more than he had, and was to have. Death is according to Nature, but to attain Immortality is above Nature. *Adam* being Earth, and from the Earth, his Enjoyment, Life, and Loſs, and Puniſhment, muſt of neceſſity be earthly: How cometh he then by his Fall to be capable of a Puniſhment never to end, unleſs by his Fall he could purchaſe eternal Life, which none will affirm? Eternal Life cannot be by the firſt Man, much leſs by Sin.

I deny not but the *Wages of Sin is Death,* Rom. 6. 23. There is a difference to be put between a natural Death and judicial Death; the firſt is from Nature, the ſecond is from Sin. If the common Death that all die, *Heb.* 9. 27. were the Puniſhment of Sin, as moſt Men think; then Chriſt by freeing his from the Puniſhment of Sin, by bearing Death for them, of neceſſity muſt free them from dying a natural Death: but Chriſt freeth not his from a natural Death, yet freeth them from the Puniſhment of Sin. Therefore to die the common Death is no part of the Puniſhment of Sin; for where Sin is ſatisfy'd, or pardon'd, or forgiven, the Puniſhment is not inflicted: if it be, how is it forgiven? Even Men when they pardon, inflict not the Puniſhment. All confeſs ſome Mens Sins are pardon'd, how then comes it to paſs that they die for Sin, whoſe Sin is pardon'd? *He that keepeth my Sayings, ſhall not ſee Death*, John 15. 21. is not to be refer'd to a natural Death, but to periſh a judicial Death, *John* 3. 16. The Scripture declares that there ſhall be a Reſurrection of the Dead, the Juſt and Unjuſt, *Acts* 24. 15. The Unjuſt would enter into Life, but ſhall not, *John* 5. 20. *Unto whom I ſwore in my Wrath, that they ſhould not enter into my Reſt*, Pſal. 94. 11. Heb. 4. 7. *And your ſelves thruſt out*, Luke 13. 28. When they riſe to Judgment at the laſt Day, they ſhall be conſum'd with the Earth by Fire, that's their end; ſo that not to enter, to be thruſt out, the ſecond Death, and to periſh, is one thing. If they live for ever, and have eternal Life, how do they periſh? And how is the end of thoſe things Death? *Rom.* 6. 21. If there be no end, to be carnally minded is Death, *Rom.* 8. 6. How is this true, if they live for ever, and not die?

Sin being a Tranſgreſſion of the Law, is a legal Sin, and ſo is to have a legal Puniſhment; for ſome Sins is Death, *Rom.* 6. 23. inflicted by God, as *Gen.* 38. 9, 10. and by Man. A legal Death is not from Nature, but from Sin, and is a ſecond Death: If a Man for Murder be put to death, in dying he dieth the firſt and ſecond Death; for in dying he dieth a natural Death and a judicial Death: This latter is a ſecond Death, in that it is not from Nature, but from Sin.

Men put the ſtreſs of the Puniſhment of Sin upon the ſecond Death; but what that ſecond Death is, they cannot agree among themſelves. The Miniſters, in their late Annotations on the Bible, on *Rev.* 20. 9. *On ſuch the ſecond Death hath no Power*; interpret it not to be deſtroy'd by Antichriſt, nor by the Turk, *v.* 9. So then, according to their Interpretation, it is not a Puniſhment never to end. Mr. *Perkins* ſaith, the ſecond Death is a total Separation from God: if ſo, it is not a Puniſhment without end; and in that God is every where, *Pſal.* 139. 7, 8. if they be any where, how are they abſent from God?

If the ſecond Death be a Death, it is not a Life of Miſery never to end: that is not a Death, unleſs eternal Life be a Death. They confeſs eternal Life in Miſery is worſe than Death; if ſo, then it is not a Death, but another thing.

The firſt Death is the Deſtruction of the Body, a Separation of Soul and Body; the ſecond Death muſt be like it: the ſecond Death is an Image of the firſt, elſe how is it a Death, and a ſecond Death? The ſecond *Adam* being Man, was an Image of the firſt; the Scripture ſaith, *The ſecond Death is like the firſt*, Luke 6. 1. The ſecond is like to it, *Mat.* 22. 39. therefore as the firſt Death, ſo the ſecond is a Separation of Soul and Body, elſe how is it a Death, or a ſecond Death?

*Reuben*, by going into his Father's Bed, deſerv'd a judicial legal Death, but did not die for it, *Gen.* 49. 3, 4. & 35. 22. 1 *Chron.* 5. 1. *Let* Reuben *live, and not die*, Deut. 33. 6. A judicial or ſecond Death. The Jews *Onkelos* read Deut. 33. 6. *Let* Reuben *live, and not die the ſecond Death.* And *Jonathan* on *Iſa.* 65. 6. *I will deliver their Carcaſes to the ſecond Death.* Ver. 17. *The Lord will ſlay them with the ſecond Death.* By which it appears, the Jews count the ſecond Death is to be ſlain; and if ſo, it is not a Life of Miſery never to end, as ſome ſay. The Book of the Revelation ſpeaks of the ſecond Death: Dr. *Featly* and Dr. *Lightfoot*, and others ſay, that Book treats of the Church, and things done in this World; and if ſo, then the ſecond Death is a Puniſhment of this Life. They alſo interpret Heaven in that Book to be the Church; and the late Annotations on the Bible, and Mr. *Brightman* and others on *Apoc.* 20. 10. ſay, that the Devil in that place is the *Great Turk*.

It is their Opinion that ſay the Wages of Sin is not Death, they ſay it is a Life of Miſery never to end, which is worſe and more than Death: therefore their Opinion is contrary to the Word that ſaith it is Death. Fill'd with all Unrighteouſneſs, Haters of God, deſpiteful, proud, Inventers of evil things, they that commit ſuch things are worthy of Death, *Rom.* 1. 31, 32. Theſe are great Sinners, yet the Word ſaith, not that they are worthy of more than Death; and therefore why ſhould any ſay they are worthy of more than Death? And if the end of theſe things are Death, *Rom.* 6. 21. therefore there is not any thing to come after Death, 2 *Kings* 7. 4. The Soul that ſinneth ſhall die, *Ezek.* 18. 14, 26 that is, all that Sin doth bring forth. God in giving his Law did expreſs the Puniſhment of the Breach of it, ſaying, *In the Day that thou eateſt of that Tree thou ſhalt ſurely die*, Gen. 2. 17. Dying thou ſhalt die, that is, naturally and judicially. Not touch it leſt ye die, *Gen.* 3. 3. To bear Iniquity, is to die for it, *Lev.* 22. 9. *Numb.* 18. 22. That one Man die for the People, *John*

18. 14. The Body is dead becauſe of Sin, *Rom.* 8. 10. He that is dead is freed from Sin, *Rom.* 6. 7. Neither Sin nor Puniſhment hath any thing to do with a dead Man. This Iniquity ſhall not be purg'd from you till ye die, then it is purg'd from them; if this Iniquity be purg'd from you till ye die, we learn that Death acquitteth, *Talm. Jeruſ. Sanched.* fol. 27. col. 3.

After Man had ſin'd, God expounded the Puniſhment of the Breach of his Law, *Gen.* 3. 14 to 20. It is evident that the Puniſhment of the old Serpent the Devil, and of the Woman and of the Man for their Sin, are only Puniſhments of this Life; there is not the leaſt word of any Puniſhment after this Life, much leſs of a Puniſhment never to end. So that by that which is ſaid, we may judg of what Mr. *Bolton* and others ſay, of being everlaſtingly in a red hot ſcorching Fire, depriv'd of all Poſſibility of dying, or of being ever conſum'd in Torment eternally. They ſay the Fire of Hell burneth far hotter than ten thouſand Rivers of Brimſtone; how know they it, ſeeing they never felt it, nor they that told you ſo? Three Drops of Brimſtone will make one ſo full of Torment, that one cannot forbear roaring out for pain: yet it muſt be born ſo long as God is God. O Eternity, Eternity, Eternity! If ſo, they ſhall have eternal Life, which is contrary to the Scripture, as hath been ſhewn, and is therefore to be rejected. Alſo they ſay that the Soul of the Wicked goes immediately at death to Hell to the Devils, contrary to *Eccleſ.* 3. 21. & 12. 7. *Gen.* 2. 7. *Heb.* 12. 9. *Ezek.* 43. 13, 14, 15. *Zach.* 12. 1. If the Devils are in Hell in Torment, as they commonly and vainly imagine, Hell is in the Wicked; the Devil's evil Spirits are there, and rule there in the Children of Diſobedience, *Eph.* 2. 2. 1 *Pet.* 5. 8. *Mat.* 8. 28. *Jude* 14. *Mat.* 25. 29, 30, 31.

*Adam* in Innocency being a natural Man, he had the Law of Nature written in his Heart; the Breach of that natural Law caus'd a temporal Curſe and Puniſhment, and not any eternal. They that think eternal Life is to be had for our Works, our Well-doing, are prone to think eternal Life may be loſt for our not Well-doing; but the way of the Goſpel places not eternal Life and eternal Death in Miſery upon our doing, *Rom.* 4. 2, 3, 4, 5. Alſo the Scripture ſpeaketh not of an eternal Death, and therefore there is no ſuch thing.

*Proof* III. Their Opinion of a Puniſhment after this Life never to end, makes not Sin, but Chriſt to be the Cauſe of their ſo ſuffering: This is evident, becauſe if Chriſt had not come, there had been no Reſurrection; and if no Reſurrection, there could be no ſuffering of any Torment after this Life: for if no Reſurrection, they ſhould have periſh'd in the Grave, there had been their end; *If Chriſt be not riſen, they which are fallen* *aſleep are periſh'd*, 1 Cor. 15. 17, 18. That the Reſurrection came by Jeſus Chriſt, is alſo evident; for Chriſt ſaith, *I am the Reſurrection*, John 11. 75. *By Man*, that is Chriſt, *came the Reſurrection*, ver. 21. therefore it is call'd the *Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt*, 1 Pet. 3. 21. *His Reſurrection*, Rom. 6. 5. Phil. 3. 16. 1 Pet. 1. 21. Chriſt is call'd the Firſt Fruits, becauſe he firſt roſe from the Dead, after him others: If Chriſt had not riſen, no Man ſhould ever have riſen from the Dead; therefore it is ſaid, *They came out of their Graves after his Reſurrection*, Mat. 27. 5. And in that Chriſt is the Reſurrection, and the Cauſe of it, in that it came by him, ſure none will deny, that if there had been no Reſurrection from the Dead, there could be no Suffering after death, ſo long as God is God: therefore it follows, if any ſhall ſo ſuffer, Chriſt is the Cauſe of it, for without him they could not have liv'd for ever, and therefore not ſuffer for ever. And is it not very hard and unreaſonable, and contrary to the Word, to charge Chriſt to be the Cauſe of their ſo ſuffering? ſeeing Chriſt came *in love to the World*, John 16. 36. *To ſave, not to deſtroy*, Luke 9. 59. & 19. 10. Not to make any miſerable: *He came to ſave Sinners*, 1 Tim. 1. 15. Luke 4. 18. *He roſe again for our Juſtification.* Therefore if none can ſo ſuffer, unleſs Chriſt be the cauſe of it, there is no ſuch Puniſhment for any to endure, never to end.

*Proof* IV. The Scriptures declare what Chriſt came to do, namely, to deliver us from the hand of our Enemies, *Luke* 1. 74. *to taſt Death for every Man*, Heb. 2. 9. See *Luke* 4. 18. *The laſt Enemy is Death. He aboliſh'd Death*, 2 Tim. 1. 10. He hath promis'd Deliverance from Death and Grave: *I will redeem thee from Death*, Hoſ. 13. 14. *He that keeps my Sayings, ſhall not ſee Death*, John 8. 51, 52. *O Death, where is thy Sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory?* 1 Cor. 15. 55. *I will ranſom thee from the Power of the Grave*; he ſaith not, from the Torments of Hell, nor from the Puniſhment never to end. *O Death, I will be thy Plagues! O Grave, I will be thy Deſtruction!* Hoſ. 13. 4. So that if there be a Puniſhment after Death and Grave, there is no mention of Chriſt's delivering us from that. And in that the Scripture ſaith, *He is able to ſave from Death*, Heb. 5. 7. is as much as to ſay, Salvation from Death is ſufficient, and that there is no farther thing to be deliver'd from than Death and Grave; if there were, Deliverance from them had not been ſatisfactory, becauſe not ſufficient: for if there is to be a Puniſhment after Death, who ſhall deliver us from that? Chriſt delivereth from Death and Grave, no further Deliverance from any thing is mention'd, therefore he hath not deliver'd his from more, and therefore there is no further thing to be deliver'd from. So that ye may ſee that their Opinion makes void Chriſt's Suffering, and the Saints Comfort; for if a Puniſhment for ever be due to Man for Sin, Chriſt muſt for ever ſuffer that Torment to free us from it, or we muſt ſuffer it. Proteſtant Writers confeſs, that the way and means that Chriſt frees us from the Puniſhment of Sin, is by his ſuffering that Puniſhment we were to ſuffer. To this the Scriptures agree, *Gal.* 3. 13. *Iſa.* 53.4,5,6,7. So that if Chriſt our Surety hath not ſuffer'd the ſaid Torments for ever, then hath not Chriſt ſuffer'd enough; namely, that which we were to ſuffer, and ſo not deliver'd us from the ſaid Puniſhment. That Jeſus Chriſt hath not ſo ſuffer'd, is evident and confeſs'd by the Proteſtant Writers. Some of the Proteſtants ſay, the Reprobates in Hell ſuffer the want of Viſion or Sight of God for ever, final Rejection. 2. They ſhall be perplex'd with the Horrour of a guilty Conſcience. 3. Depriv'd of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit. 4. Inſtead of Vertues, they are defil'd with Wickedneſs, Indignation, Deſperation: Chriſt ſuffer'd none of theſe, ſaith *Willet*'s *Synopſ.* pag. 1010. Far be it from us ſo to conceive, *p.* 1014. Alſo they ſay, in Hell is inward and outward Darkneſs. 2. A Lake of Fire and Brimſtone. 3. Fire unquenchable. 4. Worm and Prick of Conſcience. 5. Malediction. 6. Deſperation, ſecond Death. Chriſt ſuffer'd none of theſe, therefore Chriſt ſuffer'd not the Torments of Hell to be ever in theſe, in that place they will not ſay Chriſt is now. If Chriſt had ſuffer'd the Pains of the Damned, yet unleſs he ſuffer them without end, Chriſt ſuffer'd not the Puniſhment of the Damned in Hell, which they ſay we were to ſuffer. Alſo they ſay, they ſuffer not thoſe Torments without Sin and Deſperation; Will any ſay Chriſt ſo ſuffer'd alſo? They ſay, in Hell they ſhall ſee the Story of their Sins before their eyes, the Wrath of God lying upon them for their Sins, cruel Indignation, horrible Outcries, Blaſphemies, fretting for horrible Torments, endleſs Pains, without all Hope or Comfort; Who dare ſay Chriſt ſuffer'd any of theſe? Some that are for the Torments of Hell, confeſs [illegible] it ſtands not with the Dignity and Worthineſs of Chriſt's Perſon, nor with the Holineſs of his Nature, nor the Dignity of his Office, to ſuffer in that local place eternally: Final Rejection with Deſperation, with the Worm of Conſcience, agreeth not to the Holineſs of his Perſon; final Rejection Chriſt ſuffer'd not, nor eternal Flames, nor the ſecond Death: for Chriſt to ſuffer theſe, were to deſtroy the Work of our Redemption. Chriſt could not be ſubject to Deſtruction, *Willet*'s *Synopſ.* p. 1009. Chriſt ſuffer'd none of theſe Puniſhments, therefore he ſuffer'd not the Torments of Hell. *Chriſt was heard in that he fear'd.* Chriſt did not fear the Torments of Hell, therefore he did not partake with us, nor deliver us from them. Chriſt did not deliver us from any thing which he ſuffer'd not: eternal Fire in Hell he ſuffer'd not, nor are the Pains of this Life the Pains of Hell; therefore if there be any ſuch Hell or Puniſhment, Chriſt ſuffer'd it not, and therefore we muſt ſuffer it. See ye not whither this their Doctrine tends? to overthrow the Sufficiency of Chriſt's Suffering and our Comfort, in leaving us to ſuffer the ſaid Torments our ſelves: *Chriſt leaving his Suffering an Example, if we ſuffer with him*, &c. *Rom.* 8. 17. Muſt we ſuffer the Torments of Hell? I believe Chriſt hath born the whole Puniſhment of Sin; in it I am ſatisfy'd, and deſire no more: but how Chriſt ſuffer'd the Torments of Hell, I nor themſelves ſee not. They ſay Chriſt being God, made an infinite Satisfaction, paying at once upon the Croſs, that which we ſhould have been ever a paying. I grant Chriſt is God; but the Godhead did not, nor could not ſuffer. If the Godhead of Chriſt was to make ſatisfaction to God, 'tis to ſay, God ſatisfieth God; and if Chriſt as God was to make Satisfaction, to what purpoſe was Chriſt to be made Man and die? If ye ſay Chriſt was to make Satisfaction in both, his Godhead and Manhood, doth the Godhead need the Help of the Manhood to make Satisfaction? It is not proper to ſay, God was to be ſatisfy'd, for he was never unſatisfy'd: God is perfect, infinite, happy, unchangeable; How is he ſo, if he were ever unſatisfy'd? To ſay God is, or ever was unſatisfy'd, is in effect to deny the Being of God, to ſay he is not happy; for Satisfaction and Content belong to Happineſs; where there is no Satisfaction, there is no Content, becauſe no Perfection. *God is one, to us there is but one God*; *God was in Chriſt reconciling the World to himſelf*, 2 Cor. 5. 21. that is, Father, Word, and Spirit. *God is one*, not one Divine Nature in Chriſt ſatisfying, and another in the Father ſatisfy'd, but the Father in the Son, *God in Chriſt*. The Eſſence of God is one and the ſame, *reconciling the World to himſelf*: God was never unreconcil'd to the World, it's only Man that is at enmity and unreconcil'd; therefore it is ſaid, *He reconcil'd them to him*: The Change is in the Creature, not in God, *Mal.* 3. 6. If the Manhood of Chriſt was to make Satisfaction to God, how can Man that is finite ſatisfy that which is infinite, unleſs you will affirm the Godhead of Chriſt did ſuffer? There was not any thing to ſuffer, but the Manhood of Chriſt; Can the Suffering of Man ſatisfy God? Man is finite, ſo is all he doth; *Sin is a Tranſgreſſion of the Law*, Sin is a Diſorder of the Creature's firſt and chief Being, which ſtands in Righteouſneſs, and is an Eclipſe of the Glory of Man. Sin is a Defect and Diſcovery of the Weakneſs and Mutability of the reaſonable

Creature; Sin cannot impeach God: *If thou ſinneſt, what doſt thou againſt him? Or if thy Righteouſneſs be multiply'd, what doeſt thou unto him? If thou be righteous, what giveſt thou unto him, or what receiveth he at thy hand? Thy Wickedneſs may hurt a Man as thou art, and thy Righteouſneſs profit the Son of Man.* Job 34. 6, 7, 8. God hath all Satisfaction in and from himſelf, not from any thing without or beſides himſelf. God gave not a Law to himſelf to ſatisfy, but to Man; the Law belongs only to the human Nature, therefore Chriſt was a Man: *He took on him the Form of a Servant, and became obedient to Death, the Death of the Croſs*, Phil. 2. 7, 8. *A Body*, Heb. 10. Obedience belongs to the human Will; *The Man Chriſt made a Curſe for us: he was bruiſed for our Iniquities, and with his Stripes we are heal'd*, Iſa. 53. 5, 10. It was Blood that waſh'd away our Sins, *Rev.* 1. 5. Therefore it is ſaid, *By the Obedience of one* [Man] *we are made righteous*, Rom. 5. 10. The Word ſaith not, by the Obedience of God, nor of God-Man, God is ſatisfy'd; but *by the Obedience of one Man we are made righteous, the Man Chriſt Jeſus*, 1 Tim. 2. 5. The Worthineſs of Chriſt's Perſon did not aboliſh the Equity of the Law of God, and exempt him from ſuffering that he *ought to ſuffer*, Luke 24. 25. Some ſay the Suffering of Chriſt was infinite, but the Word ſaith not ſo; the Puniſhment of Sin is Death, he taſted Death, he died for us: It is no infinite thing to die. They reply, the Sin of Man is infinite, becauſe againſt an infinite God. To ſay Sin is infinite in a ſtrict ſenſe, is to attribute too much to Sin, and too little to God; to give that to Sin which is proper to God: To equal Sin with God, is in effect to deny the Being of God, becauſe there can be but one Infinite. Alſo to ſay Sin is infinite, is to make all Sin alike equal; for there are no degrees in that which is infinite; Sin not being infinite, needs not an infinite Satisfaction. They ſay, infinite Majeſty offended, infinite Puniſhment impos'd; but it's but their ſay-ſo, becauſe it is without and beſides the Word of God. The Puniſhment of Sin is not to be taken from the Infiniteneſs of God, but from the Penalty expreſs'd in his Law for the Breach of it, which is Death, *Gen.* 3. 3.

*Proof* V. The Word ſaith, God's Fury is like Fire: *In the Fire of his Jealouſy he ſhall make a ſpeedy riddance of all them in the Day of the Lord's Wrath*, Ezek. 1. 18. But to continue in torment for ever, is no ſpeedy riddance; therefore there is no ſuch Puniſhment to be. The pouring out of the fiery Anger of the Lord is *a Day*, *Zeph.* 1. 15, 18. *Rom.* 6. 17. *Ezek.* 13. 14. & 22. 22. *James* 2. 21. *Iſa.* 13. 9, 13. *The Day of the Lord is at hand*, Deut. 33. 34, 35. Job 20. 28. A Puniſhment never to end, no way agrees to a Day; therefore there is no ſuch Puniſhment to be.

*Proof* VI. The Opinion of the Torments of Hell never to end, hath and doth daily cauſe much Sin: For,

Firſt, It cauſeth Fear: *Fear hath Puniſhment,* 1 John 4. 8. *He that feareth is not perfect in Love,* 1 John 4. 18. A ſervile and a ſlaviſh Fear is Sin.

2. It cauſeth many evil and hard Thoughts of God.

3. Fear troubleth the Hearts of many of the Lord's People, and makes them ſad with their Lyes: This God complains of, *Ezek.* 13. 22. *Their Lyes cauſe them to err, after which their Fathers walk'd,* Amos 2. 4. Chriſt ſaith, *Let not your Hearts be troubled,* John 14. 1. The Fear of Hell doth greatly trouble the Hearts of many: It is God's Will to comfort the ſad, to releaſe thoſe that are bound, *Iſa.* 61. 1, 2, 3, 4. & 40. 5, 9. *A Word fitly ſpoken, is like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver,* Prov. 25. 11.

4. Fear diſtracts, and greatly diſcourageth the Soul, hinders Faith: that which freeth the Soul from Fear, fits the Soul to ſerve *God without Fear, in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs, all the days of our Lives,* Luke 1. 74.

5. Fear unfits and diſables the Soul to every good Work to God or Man; Fear unfits for any outward occaſion; Fear is a weight that depreſſes the Soul, and makes it weak; it ſtraitneth the Heart, but Hope comforteth and enlargeth it.

6. The Opinion of Hell-Torments provokes the Soul to Envy and Unbelief, and hinders Subjection to God: If the Soul apprehends it ſelf liable to ſo great and everlaſting Puniſhment, it cannot ſubmit to God, nor be quiet. This caus'd *Francis Spira* to wiſh he were above God: The Light of this Truth cauſeth the Soul leſs to ſin, and leſs to be troubled, to have leſs hard Thoughts of God, and leſs to fret againſt the Lord.

7. Their Opinion cauſes an exceeding and unreaſonable Trouble of Mind and Melancholy. Such Trouble is Sin, John 13. 1. *A merry Heart doth good,* Prov. 17. 22. The Knowledg of the Truth herein eaſeth the fearful Mind, and cauſes, as it were, a Heaven upon Earth.

8. Their Opinion hath caus'd many to murder themſelves, in taking away their own Lives by Poiſon, Stabbing, Drowning, Hanging, Strangling, and Shooting themſelves, caſting themſelves out of Windows, and from high Places, to break their necks, and by other Deaths, that they might not live to increaſe their Sin, and increaſe their Torments in Hell.

9. Their Opinion provoketh to the greateſt Sins, as Deſpair; alſo to the Wickedneſs that the World lieth in, namely,

working for Life, to do Duties to eſcape Hell, and get Heaven, which is to *tread under foot the Blood of Chriſt as an unholy thing*, Heb. 10. 29. in ſeeking to be juſtify'd by the Law of Works, and not alone by the perfect Righteouſneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, *Rev.* 1. 5. *Jer.* 23. 6. *Heb.* 10. 10, 14.

10. Freedom from Fear cauſeth Love; Love cauſeth Service; *The Love of Chriſt conſtraineth:* It tends to the Comfort of many, that thro Weakneſs of Faith give way to Satan's Temptations. To fear the Torments of Hell, cauſeth a feeble Mind: *Comfort the feeble Mind*, 1 Theſſ. 5. 14. It's a Comfort to many whoſe Children and Friends die, and leave no Teſtimony of their Converſion. The Fear that they are to ſuffer ſo great and endleſs Torment, hath greatly ſadned and troubled the Heart of many a Parent and Friend.

*Proof* VII. The Reaſon that God gives, that he *will not contend for ever, nor be always wrath: for the Spirit would fail before me, and the Souls I have made*, Iſa. 57. 16. *Man is not able to dwell with everlaſting Burning*, Iſa. 33. 14. To be in ſo great a Torment as they ſpeak of, without End, Eaſe, and Refreſhment, the Spirit muſt needs fail (a ſmall thing will make the Spirit fail) if ſo, then the Reaſon is the ſame againſt the Being of a Puniſhment never to end.

*Proof* VIII. It is not agreeable to the God of Nature, to go contrary to the Law of Nature, that he hath written in Mankind. There is planted in Man an univerſal Love to Man, eſpecially to their Offspring, be they obedient or diſobedient: What Bowels of Love are there in Parents to their Offspring, when in Miſery, and to others in Miſery and Want? Sure no Man doth deſire any Man or Creature to indure the Torment they ſpeak of one year, much leſs their own Offspring; how then may I, or can I, think ſo of God, to be leſs pitiful, leſs merciful than cruel Man (*Jer.* 50. 24. & 6. 23. *Hoſ.* 4. 1.) to his Offspring? We are all his Offspring, *Acts* 17. 28. Sure God exceeds Man in Goodneſs; *If ye which are evil know how to give good things to your Children, how much more ſhall your heavenly Father give good things to them that ask him?* Mat. 7. 8, 9, 10, 11. *Thou, Lord, art good and doſt good*, Pſal. 119. 68. Mat. 5. 45. *Tho they were evil, and did evil, God did good, and gave Rain*, Acts 14. 17. They ſay the Fire, *Dan.* 3. 21. is nothing to Hell, and that the greateſt Torment Man can deviſe, is ſcarce a ſhadow to that in Hell, by which they declare God to be more cruel than Man.

*Proof* IX. If Man had deſerv'd ſo great Puniſhment, why may not God ſhew that Mercy as not to inflict it, as well as to let his Sun to ſhine, and his Rain to fall on them that no way deſerve it, ſeeing he could (if he ſo pleas'd) hinder it? We ſee Men ſhew more kindneſs to a rebellious and diſobedient Child than he deſerveth; may not God do the ſame? So much as God is greater than Man, ſo much greater is his Mercy, Love and Goodneſs, than that in Man, yea than that which is, or ever was in all Men. All that came from him, and all is but the leaſt Drop to that great Sea and Ocean of Mercy and Love that is in him; How little a Portion is heard of him? *Job* 24. 14. All Nations before him are as nothing, and they are counted to him leſs than nothing, Vanity, *Iſa.* 40. 12, 15, 17, 22. O how great is he that hangeth the Earth upon nothing! *Job* 24. 7. He can and will do for the worſt Creature far above that which it is able to ask or think.

*Proof* X. Becauſe God's general Goodneſs in the Creation of the World is to all his Creatures, and alſo in his ordinary Diſpenſation is towards and for the whole Univerſe of Mankind: He hath provided room enough for all Men and Creatures, and all good things for all; the Profit of the Earth is for all, *Eccleſ.* 5. 9. God hath commanded us to do good to all; he that hath two Coats is to impart to him that hath none; and he that hath Meat, muſt do ſo likewiſe, *Luke* 3. 11. All which doth hold forth God's Good-will and Care to Mankind; he that would not have them ſuffer the Torment of Miſery and Want, that taketh care to prevent that little and ſhort Miſery, will not impoſe a far greater never to end.

*Proof* XI. Their Opinion leſſeneth the Goodneſs of God, and limits it to a few, whereas the Scripture declares it to be to all, *Rom.* 5. The Creature it ſelf ſhall be deliver'd from the Bondage of Corruption, into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God, *Rom.* 8. 21. The whole Creation, and every Creature, Angels and Men, Jews and Gentiles, *ver.* 20. *Mark* 16. 15. in bondage to Corruption, ſubject to Vanity, Idolatry, and Deluſion of the Devil, that know not, nor partake of the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God, ſhall be deliver'd from this Bondage into the ſaid Liberty; for God was in Chriſt reconciling the World to himſelf, 2 *Cor.* 5. 19. This is ſpoken to perſuade them to be reconcil'd to God, *ver.* 20. which ſhews it to concern Mankind. The Proteſtants in *Poland* underſtand by every Creature, Angels and Men; they ſay there will come a time when the Angels and wickedeſt Men ſhall be freed. *Origen*, one of the Fathers, held, that at laſt all ſhould be ſaved, Men and Devils. The generality of the Fathers held, that all Souls ſhall be purg'd by the Fire of the laſt Judgment, and ſo paſs to Salvation, *Moulin* pag. 135. See *Rom.* 11. 22, 23, 27. *All Fleſh ſhall ſee the Salvation of God*, Rom. 8. 19. See 1 *Tim.* 2. 3, 4, 5. *Iſa.* 47. 17. *The Glory of the Lord ſhall be reveal'd, and all Fleſh ſhall ſee it*, Iſa. 40. 5. The Times of the

Reſtitution of all things, God hath ſpoken of by the Mouth of his holy Prophets ſince the World began, *Acts* 3. 21. They ſhall in time be deliver'd from their Bondage, for which Deliverance they groan. Are not all, Angels and Men, Obedient or Diſobedient, the Creation of God? If ſo, the worſt ſhall partake of the Liberty of the Sons of God. As the whole Creation came from God, or rather is in God, for in him we live; it ſhall be taken up into the ſame Glory. A Good, the larger it is, the better: If it be good to ſhew Mercy to ſome, is it not more good to have Mercy on all? *Rom.* 5. 18. *Plato* could ſay, God being a Supreme Good, there was no Envy in him to any of his Creatures, but rather a Deſire that all might be made like him. This is ſo great and glorious a Diſcovery of God, and that all Men are in God: *For in him we live, and move, and have our Being; as certain alſo of your own Poets have ſaid, For we are all his Offspring,* Acts 17. 28. I have wonder'd how the Heathen Poets came to know this Truth; ſure God did manifeſt it to them. If all Men are in God, all Men are in Chriſt; for Chriſt ſaith, *I and my Father are one,* John 10. 30. Alſo if all Men are in God, for *in him we live and move,* &c. if ſo, then all Men are in Chriſt; for *God was in Chriſt reconciling the World to himſelf,* 2 Cor. 5. 9. All confeſs that all that are in Chriſt ſhall be ſaved: *As in* Adam *all die, ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made alive,* 1 Cor. 15. 22. I ſee God is good, and doth good, and that it is ſutable to the Being of God to do good to all, and that no ſuch Torment of ſuch continuance any way agrees to the Mind and Will of God.

*Rom.* 5. puts the ſecond *Adam* in oppoſition to the firſt, his Saving to his Sinning. If all Nations be bleſſed, as *Gen.* 22. 18. every Particular is comprehended in the general word *All.* It is a great leſſening of the Greatneſs and Glory, of the Fulneſs and Riches of God's Grace, to ſay that God hath made this World for all, who are many, and the beſt World to come but for a very few. Shall the Fruit of Chriſt, the Son of Righteouſneſs, be more narrow and confin'd than the Sun in the Firmament, whoſe Excellency is, that its bright Rays and Beams are diſpers'd into every corner of the Univerſe?

*Proof* XII. It doth no way agree to the Spirit of a Saint: We may know the Mind of God by the Mind of a Saint; *We have the Mind of Chriſt,* 1 Cor. 2. 16. He that is turned to the Lord, is one Spirit, 1 *Cor.* 1. 17. *God is in them of a truth,* 1 Cor. 14. *Chriſt in us,* Col. 1. 27. *Stephen,* when ſtoned, cry'd, *Lord, lay not this Sin to their charge,* Acts 7. 58. *Saints, they are ever merciful,* Pſal. 36. 17. *The Deſire of the Righteous is only good, Prov.* 11. 22. Such Torment, of ſuch continuance, in the leaſt agrees not to the gracious Mind and merciful Heart of a Saint; he deſires not any Man or Creature to be in ſuch Torment an hour; therefore it doth no way agree to the Mind of God. We find the more the Lord manifeſts himſelf in any, the more their Minds and Spirits are humbled, the more loving and merciful they are, even to their Enemies, and can do them good for evil.

*Proof* XIII. Such Torments do not in the leaſt agree to the Mind and Will of Chriſt. Chriſt is full of Love and Mercy to the worſt Men; it was truly ſaid of Chriſt, *He was a Friend to Publicans and Sinners:* He, the beſt Friend to them that ever was. When they crucify'd him, he ſaid, *Father forgive them*, *Luke* 23. 34. When the Diſciples would have had Fire to come down from Heaven to conſume Chriſt's Enemies, he rebuk'd them, *Luke* 9. 54. He that will by no means ſuffer his Enemies to ſuffer a ſhort Death by Fire, will not inflict upon them a more terrible Fire never to end. Ye may know the Mind of God by the Mind of Chriſt, for Chriſt is God, alike equal, *Acts* 28. *Heb.* 1. 3. and as one; *I and my Father are one*, John 10. 30.

*Proof* XIV. Such Puniſhments agree not to the Fruits of the holy and bleſſed God; *The Fruit of the Spirit is Love, Joy, Peace, Goodneſs*, &c. *Gal.* 5. 22, 23. *The Fruit of the Spirit is in all Goodneſs*, Eph. 5. 9. *The Words of the Lord are pure Words*, Pſal. 12. 6. *The Words of the Pure are pleaſant Words*, Prov. 15. 25. Good Words, comfortable Words. The Holy Spirit is call'd a Comforter, not a Tormenter; The pure Spirit of Love ſends forth only Love and Sweetneſs.

*Proof* XV. No ſuch Torment any way agrees to the Nature of God; *God is Love*, 1 John 4. 16. It is his Nature; there is no Anger nor Fury in Love: *Fury is not in me*, Iſa. 27. 4. God wills us to love Enemies that abuſe, wrong, and hate us; God will do ſo much more, love his Enemies, *Luke* 6. 35. If God ſhould only love them that love him, do not the Publicans the ſame? *Mat.* 5. 46. All that is in God is God, is infinite; God is Love, Love is infinite without Bounds and Limits; tho we in our Shallowneſs and Narrowneſs, have often ſet Bounds and Limits to Infiniteneſs. There was never any Beginning in God, therefore no Beginning of his Love: The infinite bleſſed God is one and ever the ſame; *I am the Lord, I change not*, *Mich.* 3. 6. This Love delights in Mercy and Love, and not in puniſhing of Sin; that is his ſtrange Act, *Iſa.* 28. 21. Chriſt died to anſwer the Law we brake.

Chriſt did not purchaſe the Love of God; he lov'd us before the World began, and ever will, *John* 13. 1. God was never without his Love, nor is ever out of that Love. Chriſt ſaith, *Thou haſt loved them, as thou haſt loved me*, John 17. 23.

At what ſhall God be angry or unſatiſfy'd? For God was never angry with Chriſt nor his People, nor at the Being of Sin, nor at Chriſt taking our Sins upon him; for he laid them on him, the Iniquity of us all, *Iſa.* 53. 6.

*Proof* XVI. It is not ſutable to the Mercifulneſs of a Father to his Child, of a Creator to his Creature, the Work of his Hands, to impoſe ſo great a Puniſhment without end, upon any of them; that were worſe than to forſake the Works of his Hands, and is contrary to *Pſal.* 148. 8. *Your heavenly Father is merciful*, Luke 6. 36. *Rich in Mercy*, Eph. 2. 7. *The Lord is gracious, of great Mercy; the Lord is good to all, and his tender Mercies are over all his Works. All thy Works ſhall praiſe thee, and thy Saints ſhall bleſs thee*, Pſal. 145. 8, 9, 10. *He is good to all, he deſpiſeth not any*, Job 36. 5. *No Reſpecter of Perſons*, Acts 10. 34.

*Proof* XVII. Sin cannot overcome his Love; where Sin hath abounded, Grace abounds much more, *Rom.* 5. 20. This declares the Mercy of God to be greater than Sin: if ſo, the Grace of God is to all, to the worſt, for Sin abounds in them moſt; and where Sin abounds, Grace abounds much more: if ſo, then all their Sins ſhall be forgiven. And if any were ſo to ſuffer, how hath Grace abounded to them much more, where Sin hath abounded? Anſwer this if ye can. *With the Lord there is Mercy*, Pſal. 130. 7. The Lord is good to all, therefore to the worſt of Men: His tender Mercies are over all his Works, therefore to the worſt of Men alſo, for they are *the Work of his Hands*, Job 34. 14. Iſa. 64. 8. Therefore there is no Puniſhment for any to endure never to end. He that bids us not to be overcome with Evil, but to overcome Evil with Good, he will not be overcome with Evil, but will overcome all Evil with his infinite Goodneſs: That which is finite, cannot poſſibly overcome that which is infinite.

*Proof* XVIII. God is juſt, therefore he will not do any thing but that which is juſt and right. The greateſt Puniſhment of the Breach of his Law is Death. He will not inflict another, much leſs a worſe Puniſhment than he hath expreſs'd in his Law. Juſtice is in Number, Weight, and Meaſure: God requires things equal: Ye may ſee the Mind of God in his Command, in forbidding any thing to be done, but that which is equal and ſutable to the Fact, as Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Foot for Foot, Stripe for Stripe, *Exod.* 21. 24, 25, 26. *How much ſhe hath glorify'd her ſelf, and lived deliciouſly, ſo much Torment and Sorrow give her*, Rev. 18. 7. *What meaſure you mete to others, ſhall be meaſur'd to you again.* Murder, an horrible and grievous Sin, yet it is puniſh'd with an equal Puniſhment in this Life, Life for Life; *He that ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed*, Gen. 9. 6. Life for Life is equal; but to loſe Life for Life, and alſo to ſuffer ſo great Torment never to end, is not equal.

*Proof* XIX. It is no Profit nor Pleaſure to God for any to ſuffer ſuch endleſs Torment; *He hath no pleaſure in the Death of any*, Ezek. 18. 31, 32. Much leſs can it be any pleaſure to him for any ſo to ſuffer; *He deſires Mercy, and not Sacrifice*, Mich. 6. 6. If ſo, he deſires not any ſhould be ſo ſacrific'd in a Torment never to end. God abhors Cruelty, *Amos* 1. 3, 6, 13. and caſting off Pity.

*Proof* XX. It is not for the Glory of God to impoſe ſuch a Puniſhment upon any. Glory lieth not in impoſing great and terrible Puniſhments; that belongs to Cruelty, is abhor'd by the Light of Nature: Glory lieth in great Mercy and Forgiveneſs, *Exod.* 34. 6, 7. The greater Mercy and Forgiveneſs, the greater is the Grace. and the more is it to the glory of God. *Love covereth all Sins*, Prov. 10. 12. *He that covereth Tranſgreſſion, ſeeketh Love*, Prov. 17. 9. If Man's Glory is to paſs over Tranſgreſſion, *Prov.* 19. 11. it is for the Glory of God to do ſo much more. God made all things, and doth all things for his Glory; he ſeeketh his Glory in his exceeding Greatneſs and Riches of his Grace, *Eph.* 2. 7. It is more for his Glory to ſave all, than to ſave a few: *By the Righteouſneſs of one, the free Gift came upon all Men unto Juſtification of Life*, Rom. 5. 18. Sin could not hinder *Manaſſes*, *Mary Magdalen*, Perſecutors and wicked Prodigals, to find Mercy. I cannot admit a thing that is cruel to be in God, in Love, whoſe Goodneſs is unſearchable, paſt finding out, far above all we can ask or think. There is ſuch a confuſed noiſe among Men of the Grace and Love of God, ſo many ſeveral Voices, that we are in confuſion, and know not what to make of it. Look above, and hearken to the ſweet Voice above in the Region of Love. What is the Voice in Heaven? they agree in one; there is no Voice comes from Heaven, but Love, Peace, and Good-Will to Man. Let Men ſay what they will, I reſt ſatisfy'd in the Voice above, that is only a Voice of Love and Good-will; it's enough to ſatisfy any in this Doubt: *And ſuddenly there was with the Angel a multitude of heavenly Hoſts, praiſing God, and ſaying, Glory be to the Higheſt, on Earth Peace, and Good-will to Men*, Luke 2. 13, 14. not only to ſome Men, but to all People, *v.* 10. This is glad Tidings indeed, good News from Heaven, the beſt News that ever was, that God hath Good-will to Men; there is no Ill-will, all is Good-will to Men: this cauſeth Peace and Praiſe. Glory be to the Higheſt for his ſweet Peace and Good-will to Men, to all People.

To conclude: In reading the Scriptures we are not to underſtand any Text in ſuch ſenſe as is not plain in Scripture, or contrary to Scriptures, or contrary to the Law of Nature, or againſt the general Goodneſs of God to Mankind, or to leſſen the Goodneſs of God, or contrary to the gracious Spirit and Mercifulneſs of a Saint, or contrary to the Mind of Chriſt which he declar'd when on Earth, or contrary to the Fruits of the bleſſed Spirit, the Nature of the Love, Goodneſs, and Mercy of God; or that ſhall tend to contradict or leſſen the Glory of God, or leſſen the Greatneſs and Riches of his Grace: for it is not to be imagin'd that God, who is only wiſe, ſhould do and teach contrary things.

Sure I am, from hence ariſes no Inconveniency to the Goſpel, nor is it any diſhonour to God, nor any grief, nor hinders Faith and Love in any good Man, nor any diſcouragement to any in ſerving of God, that there is not to be a Puniſhment for any to endure that ſhall never end. There is not any thing more plain than that which hath been ſaid, to him that will agree to Truth. Some will not agree to any thing, tho ever ſo plain and certain, if contrary to the Tradition of their Fathers: This their way is their Folly, and their Poſterity approve their Sayings, *Pſal.* 49. 13. *Who hath believ'd our Report, and to whom is the Arm of the Lord revealed?* Iſa. 53. 1. *Some believ'd the things that were ſpoken, and ſome believ'd not,* Acts 28. 29. *They make a Man an Offender for a word, and lay a Snare for him that reproveth in the gate, and turn away the Juſt for a thing of nought,* Iſa. 29. 21.

*O God the Lord, the Strength of my Salvation, thou haſt cover'd my Head in the Day of Battel,* Pſal. 140. 7. So be it.

# Phenix XXVI.

## *The Reſurrection reſcued from the Soldiers Calumnies: In two Sermons preach'd at* St. Mary's *in* Oxford, *about the Year* 1619.

### By Robert Jones, D. D.

### To the Reader.

I*T being the conſtant Cuſtom to uſher all ſorts of Books into the World with a Preface, I thought good to give this ſhort Account of the two following Sermons. Their Author, Dr.* Robert Jones, *(a Man ſufficiently eminent for his extraordinary Parts) was appointed to preach a Reſurrection Sermon on* Eaſter *Day in St.* Mary's *Church in* Oxford; *which he perform'd with very great Applauſe and Satisfaction. Yet having deliver'd ſomething in the Repetition-Sermon, which did not pleaſe the nicer Palates of ſome of his Auditors, he was oblig'd by the Principals of the Univerſity, to make a Recantation Sermon; which how ingeniouſly he perform'd, I leave the intelligent Reader, after a ſerious Peruſal, to judg and cenſure.* Farewel.

The

# The Repetition-Sermon.

## MAT. xxviii. 13.

*His Diſciples came by Night, and ſtole him away while we ſlept.*

WHAT's the beſt News abroad? So we muſt begin: 'Tis the Garb (*les novelles*) the grand Salute, and common Preface to all our Talk. And the News goes not as things are in themſelves, but as Mens Fancys are faſhion'd, as ſome luſt to report, and others to believe: The ſame relation ſhall go for true or falſe, according to the Key wherein Mens Minds are tun'd; but chiefly as they ſtand diverſe in Religion, ſo they feign and affect different News. By their News ye may know their Religion, and by their Religion foreknow their News. This Week the *Spaniſh* Match goes forward, and *Bethlem Gabor*'s Troops are broken; and the next Week *Bethlem Gabor*'s Troops go forward, and the *Spaniſh* Match is broken. The *Catholick* is for the *Spaniſh* Match, and the *Proteſtant* for reſtoring the *Palatinate*; and each Party think that the Safety of the Church and Succeſs of Religion depends upon the Event of one or other, and therefore they croſs and countertell each others News. *Titius* came from *London* yeſterday, and he ſays that the new Chappel at St. *James*'s is quite finiſh'd: *Caius* came thence but this Morning, and then there was no ſuch thing on building. Falſe News follows true at the Heels, and oftentimes outſtrips it.

Thus goes the Chronicle-News, the Talk of the Factious and Pragmatick; but the Chriſtian News, the Talk of the Faithful, is ſpent *in Evangelio*, in hearing and telling ſome good News of their Saviour: and now all the Talk is of his Reſurrection. The Chriſtian Current goes, *News from Mount* Calvary, the ſixteenth day of *Niſan*, in the Year Thirty Four, Old Stile, as the three holy Matrons deliver it at the eighth Verſe of this Chapter. But ſince there are certain Soldiers arriv'd, and they ſay there was no ſuch matter as the Reſurrection, 'twas but a gull put upon the World by his Diſciples; for it fares with ſpiritual News as with temporal, it is variouſly and contrarily related, till the falſe controuls the true.

And as our modern News comes neither from the Court nor the Camp, nor from the place where things are acted, but is forg'd in Conventicles by Prieſts, or in ſome *Paul's* Aſſembly, or ſuch like place, and the Divulge committed to ſome vigilant and watchful Tongue: So it is with the News of the Non-reſurrection; it came not from Mount *Calvary*, but the Prieſts are the Authors of it, at the eleventh Verſe; and at the twelfth, they frame and mold it to the mouth of the Watch. The Divulgers, Men of double Credit, they know the Truth, for they are of the Watch; and they will not lie, for they are Soldiers; nay, they will maintain it, for they are Knights, *Milites*, Knights of the Poſt, they are hir'd to ſay, ſaying, and they did ſay, *His Diſciples came by night, and ſtole him away whilſt we ſlept.*

The Words are ſo plain, they need no opening. May it pleaſe you that I make three Curſorys over them; one for the Soldiers, another for the Diſciples, and the third for our Saviour. In the two firſt we will beat the Point *Pro & Con*, and in the latter reconcile it, for that's the faſhion alſo. No Error ſo abſurd but finds a Patron, nor Truth ſo ſound but meets with an Adverſary, nor Point controverted but the oppoſite Tenet may be reconcil'd. Be they diſtant as Heaven and Hell, as incompatible as Jew and Chriſtian, yet they ſhall meet with a Moderator, and a cogging diſtinction ſhall ſtate the Queſtion on the abſurder ſide.

Firſt then for the Soldiers, whoſe Curſory hath no Parts, that's not the Soldiers manner, but yet is ſprinkled with Abſurditys, that's the manner of the Watch. They ſpeak partly as they fight, voluntarily, and partly as they watch, ſupinely; and thus they begin their Talk:

Ye Men and People of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, this Jeſus of *Nazareth* was a very Jugler, a neat Compiler of Impoſtures, pretended Title to the Crown of *Judah*, made himſelf the Meſſias and the Son of God, brought ſuch ſtrange Opinions as would turn the whole World out of Bias; having no proof from Senſe or Reaſon for his Noveltys, he would needs confirm them by Miracles; and in the world's eye he ſeem'd to do Wonders, tho his Works were indeed but mere Deluſions, wrought by ſlight of Hand, *Hocus Pocus*: All which was ſo manifeſtly diſcover'd, that to ſtop the current of ſuch falſe Coin, my Lord Preſident was forc'd to nail him to the Croſs for a Counterfeit. His Maſter-trick was that of the Reſurrection, whereof he fore-ſpake in his Life-time; for he was no ordinary Dealer, but would make his Cunning to ſurvive his Perſon, and durſt foreſay ſo. To put this piece in Execution, he entertain'd a Rabble of Ruffians, whom he term'd his Diſciples, as all Plotters have Partners: Theſe he inſtructed in the Game while he liv'd, and they were to play it when he was dead. The Liſt of his Diſciples conſiſted of Men and Women; for in all crafty Carriages there lies a Woman's Part. The Men were to perform all manner of fact; and the Women, whoſe activity lies in their Tongue, were to report the Miracle.

The High Prieſts and ſome of the Sanhedrim being wiſe to apprehend, and wary to prevent the dangerous Conſequences hereof, procur'd a Warrant from the Preſident to ſeal up the Tomb, and place a Watch there, and we were the Partys appointed to guard it. The Charge we underwent requir'd good Service, for his Diſciples were common Night-walkers like their Maſter, notable Cutters, and carry'd as much Courage as Cunning; ſuch tall Fellows with their Weapons, that they made it but a ſleight either to withſtand or aſſault a whole multitude, and durſt do any thing in their Maſter's behalf. The other Night, when we apprehended him in *Gethſemane*, we were moſt of the luſtieſt Fellows in *Jeruſalem*, and pretty well appointed, yet they ſtood to it ſtoutly, made a tall fray, and ſometimes put us to the worſt. At the firſt Onſet we were all knock'd down, and at our Recovery Rabbi *Malchus*, a Follower of the High Prieſt's Company and our Captain, was ſingled out by one of their ſide, a Sailor he ſeem'd, who with his Whinyard lopt off one of his Ears, and had the Blow hit right, it would have cleft him down to the Twiſt. Nay they were all Bravoes, and their bloody Mind was ſeen upon *Judas Iſcariot*, one of their own Company, who becauſe he was our Bloodhound to ſcent their Maſter out, they perſecuted the poor Wretch till they had paunch'd him; for not far from their Walk he was found hang'd with his Guts about his Heels. And for their bloody Pranks that way, the place begins to bear the name of *Aceldama*, the bloody Field.

For the Exploit of his Reſurrection, they had the Aſſiſtance of their Fellow She-Diſciples, night Houſe-Wives too; for they were hovering about the Sepulcher from the dead of the Night till the Morning, and were as the Counter-Watch to give notice of ſome Advantage to the Diſciples, who lay not far off, ſomewhere above Ground, while their Maſter was under it. All the day-time they ſtir not for fear of Paſſengers, frequenting to and fro in the Gardens and Walks about Mount *Calvary*, it being both Sabbath and Paſſover; but in the night they took their Opportunity by this means. We had been extremely over-travel'd, both to apprehend and guard him, firſt to the High Prieſt, next to the Preſident; from him to *Herod* and back again; then to his Arraignment, then to his Execution, and ever ſince at his Grave: ſo turbulent the Man was, that his very dead Body would not lie ſtill and be quiet. This Over-watching, ſeconded with the Darkneſs of the Night, and Coldneſs of the Air, caſt us into a heavy Sleep; thereupon the Women gave the Watch-word to the Diſciples, who immediately do exhumate his Body; and while they tranſlate and bury it elſewhere, the Women trot into the Town, and bruit it abroad that their Maſter is riſen.

And the credulous City is partly inclin'd to believe the Legerdemain; they are willing to frame their Faith and build their Salvation upon a flying Gull, rais'd by three way-going Women, gadling Goſſips that came from *Galilee*; one of them notorious, ſo deviliſh, that there came ſeven Devils out of her, how many ſtaid behind God knows; it is like ſhe was ſo full, there was room for no more; and by her ye may gueſs at her Companions. Conſider of it; the matter is of moment, a main point of State, that concerns your own Nation: We are but Strangers, and no further intereſted than for the Truth's ſake to ſpeak it; and therefore be adviſ'd whether ye will rely herein upon the word of a Woman, or upon the faith and reputation of a Soldier. And here the Soldier puts up, he ſheaths his malicious and blaſphemous Tongue, more ſharp and deadly than his Sword, and gives our Saviour a Wound more mortal far than thoſe upon the Croſs; they did but put him in a Trance, ſuſpend his Life for a day or two, at the moſt but kill his Humanity; but this would murder his Divinity, and dead his Immortality, it would nullify the Goſpel, and fruſtrate all our Faith: *for if Chriſt be not riſen* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *then is our Preaching vain, and your Faith is alſo vain.* And therefore I come to my ſecond Curſory; *For his Diſciples ſtole him away by Night.*

Herein we will deal chriſtianly and civilly, not give the Lie to the Soldiers, foul Words to the Watch. But yet we may ſay, that their Tale hath no Truth in any point of it, but a mere Saying; *Saying*, ſay ye. They ſay not of themſelves, but as the Prieſts taught them; they knew they ſaid falſe, and therefore our ſaying to the contrary will eaſily obtain. And therein we follow not the random of their roving, but take the ſum of their Saying, as 'tis here ſet down by the Holy Ghoſt, giving it Order and Parts. The words then may eaſily be taken judiciarily, in form of an Accuſation, and then morally they are Calumny: The Soldiers either not heard, or not practis'd the Doctrine of *John Baptiſt*, *Accuſe no Man falſly.* Or they may be taken popularly, in form of a Report or Rumour, and then morally they are a mere Gull or Slander. In what ſenſe ſoever, there are three Partys wrong'd in them; the Diſciples, our Saviour, and the Soldiers themſelves. The Diſciples here are tax'd of Theft, that they ſhould come by Night, and ſteal away their Maſter; our Saviour of Impotency and Impoſture, that he neither could nor did riſe from the Dead, but was convey'd away by his Diſciples; and the Soldiers of capital negligence, that they were aſleep.

In the Curſory then for the Diſciples, may ye pleaſe that I lay down three plain Contradictorys to the words of the Text, as they lie in order.

First, The Diſciples came not hither by Night.

Secondly, He was not ſtole away.

Thirdly, The Soldiers were not aſleep.

For proof of each whereof there are no cogent Demonſtrations in Nature, *quod ſint*; ſingle voluntary Actions that leave no evident Effect, admit it not. We preach not before Jews and Infidels, to whom this Doctrine is ſcandalous and fooliſhneſs; but the ſimple-hearted Chriſtian, the willing Hearer ſhall have rational Probabilitys and perſuaſive Arguments, ſufficient to convey Belief into a Heart illuminated, and prepar'd by Grace for it.

For the firſt then, *His Diſciples came not by Night.* The Body moves not voluntarily, unleſs the Motion be grounded upon the Will; ſo that when the Influence of the Will upon the external Members is either intercepted or fruſtrated by any foreign Accident, the Body hardly admits of going and coming. The Heart, and firſt Mover of the Diſciples, was now mated and ſet up by a Leaſe of impetuous Paſſions: All thoſe Violents of the Soul which have Miſchiefs for their Objects, and are immediately diſtractive to the Patient that endures them, as Sorrow, Fear and Deſpair, did now wholly poſſeſs them: Extreme Sorrow for their Maſter's preſent Sufferings, as much Fear for their own future Danger, and their like Deſpair for their fore-hop'd Happineſs. Their Senſes feel the Sorrow, their Fear torments their Fancys, and their Memory maintains their Deſpair; their whole Soul ſo aſſaulted, that there wanted nothing but a Fever to make them quite frantick. And *Peter* came near to that, ſo diſtracted, that for his Maſter's ſake firſt he will needs fight, then he flies away; anon again he follows after him, at length he forſwears him, and in the end goes out and crys. In this mode he is carry'd up and down, till he lays a clog on his Conſcience, that would hold him work enough without coming to Mount *Calvary.* The Caſe of his other Fellows might be as bad, or worſe, altho the Scripture be therein ſilent. Thus far they go all with *Peter*, that they ſleep, and fly, and follow afar off.

But when their Maſter was paſt all Recovery, then each Paſſion play'd his Part to hinder all humour from coming to Mount *Calvary*. Their Sorrow contracts, and cloſes them up in *Jeruſalem*: Sorrow loves to be private and lurk in a Corner; Fear kept them within Doors; Fear dare not go abroad, eſpecially in the Night; if ſhe do, it is to fly a danger, not to invite it. And to Deſpair all Buſineſs muſt yield; Deſpair will not ſtir in her own behalf, unleſs to do her ſelf a Miſchief, but of any other ſhe is quite careleſs. To ſay then they came by Night, makes it but the more unlikely. They could not watch one hour with him in *Gethſemane*, when it concern'd his Life, while there was yet hope to vindicate him from the Croſs; and can they now watch with him a whole night when he was dead and bury'd? If they were for a Night's Exploit, they wou'd have done it in the Night before, when there was a fairer Opportunity, and greater Security. They now had no more means this Night, but more Danger. When they went to *Gethſemane*, they had but two Swords in all, and were there diſarm'd of them: but one Coat apiece, and ſome ſtrip'd of that; no Weapon to aſſault, nor Armour to defend. Fit Furniture, and fair Voyage for poor Fiſhermen to make to Mount *Calvary* in a dark Night, to affront the *Roman* Watch. And to what end? If their Maſter cou'd riſe again, what need they come hither? if not, they did him no wrong to abandon him.

But why mention we the Reſurrection? they came not thither, not to a thought of it. He had indeed foretold them of it, but they underſtood it not: they could not proſecute what they never apprehended; Cou'd they hope to make others believe what they could not imagine? Could others grant that feaſible, which they eſteem'd impoſſible? Or had they once Belief, yet forſook it when they forſook their Maſter? They were beaten from it in *Gethſemane*, where but one of the *Jews* receiv'd any Loſs, and he but of one of his Ears, and that reſtor'd again; but they all loſt every one his Faith, they loſt their Saviour, and their Souls to boot. They were now as faithleſs as their Fellow *Judas*, as faithleſs in their Maſter as he was to him. The Reſurrection quite forgot, not only the thing it ſelf, but their Maſter's mention of it; and therefore they embalm his dead Body, and do entomb it as forlorn. The Prieſts themſelves believ'd more than the Diſciples; they fear'd it, and therefore fortify'd the Sepulcher, but the Diſciples did not ſo much as hope. And when he was riſen *de facto*, they could not believe it, tho the Woman avouch'd it, ὡσεὶ λῆρος τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν. The Womens Talk ſeems an old Wive's Tale, when they tell the Diſciples of the Reſurrection: *Thomas* will not truſt his own Eyes tho they ſee, and his Ears tho they hear him. Had they any By-intent, they would have been very forward to report and ſpread the Fame, but they ſtood mute at it, and began to ſpread themſelves each Man what way his Fancy led him; the Fame of the Reſurrection did not fright them. And how came the News abroad? Who told it to the High Prieſt? not his Diſciples, nor the Women, but the Soldiers here themſelves. But why ſtand we to defend the Diſciples in a fact never committed? no ſuch thing done as they objected. He was not ſtole away at all; my ſecond Contradictory.

Nor by the Diſciples, nor by any elſe, unleſs Men were mad, or weary of their Lives. The advantage of the Act could no way recompenſe the Danger: The Laws are ſo ſtrict for medling with Sepulchers, that they could expect no leſs than to incur the Crime of Sacrilege; which may be ſeen at large in the Digeſts *de Sepulchro violato:* which Laws, tho ſince compil'd, yet for the moſt part were then and there in force, the *Jews* being under the *Roman* Juriſdiction. And tho they ſhould plead that they did only tranſlate the Body, not abuſe it; yet they could not avoid the Objection of *dolus malus*, and ſo incur an arbitrary Cenſure, which would be laid very heavily upon them, things running as they did againſt our Saviour. What fair Interpretation could they look for on his behalf, when he himſelf was charg'd with Treaſon, for asking a Penny to pay Tribute? Or if ſome had the Will to ſteal him, yet none had the Power or Means to perform it. The Watch there, term'd Soldiers, were of a middle nature between Soldiers and Hangmen, *Spiculatores*; they carry'd a Spear in their Hands, but a Halter at their Girdles, always ready for any deadly Service. They were σωματοφύλακες, *Satellites*, a Guard to the Governor; and *Cuſtodes*, Jailors, Wardens for Priſoners; and *Vigiles*, Watchers for their Bodys who ſuffer'd: the common Executioners of corporal Puniſhment, whether it reach'd only to Senſe, or forward to Life. To expreſs their *Roman* Nature home, the *Eaſtern* Nation borrow'd Language from the *Weſtern*, the *Greeks* from the *Latin*, *Cuſtodia*; and the *Syriack*, as Mr. *Fuller* obſerves, from *Quæſtionarii*, Officers *ad Quæſtionem & Inquiſitionem*, Queſtioners or Inquiſitors, Tormentors or Serjeants of the Rack, to extort Confeſſions in criminal Examinations. At the peril of their Life it was, if the Party under their Execution did not endure the extremity of the Law. If the Priſoner eſcap'd with no Puniſhment, or with leſs, or *in ultimo ſupplicio* recover'd by his Life, or his dead Body otherwiſe diſpos'd than the Laws ordain'd or permitted, then were thoſe Soldiers to take the room of the Priſoners, to be waſted and ſpent out upon the ſame Puniſhment whereto the Priſoner was liable; *Ejuſmodi pœna conſumendi*, the very words of the Law. Could any Man now imagine the Watch could now be either ſo careleſs, or ſuch Cowards as to let our Saviour be ſtole away? Men durſt as well have fetch'd him from the Croſs as from the Grave.

But ſay that they were ſuch maim'd Soldiers, as that they had neither Eye to watch, nor Heart to ward; yet the Sepulcher it ſelf was ſo impregnable, that it alone would ſecure the Body. There could be no Burglary, nor breaking it up, no undermining; the Soil was Pickax proof, a firm Rock ſpread out of the Roots of *Golgotha*, gabion'd and rough-caſt with Flint. No removing of the Tombſtone, that beſides its weight and ſullenneſs to give way, was rib'd and claſp'd down with Iron Bars and Bonds; the Cloſure ſodder'd with the Seal of the Sanhedrim. Their ἠσφαλίσαντο τ̃ τάφον, and σφραγίσαντες τ̃ λίθον, their fortifying the Sepulcher, and ſealing up the Stone, ſays it was ſo, in the latter Verſe of the former Chapter. For tho he ſhould revive, yet the High Prieſts never meant he ſhould riſe more, either by his own, or by the ſtrength of others. The Watch was but a ſtale to colour their pretence, and to lead their requeſt to *Pilate*. The Womens, *Who ſhall roll us away the Stone?* was a matter more than they imagin'd, a Task above the ſtrength of a Man. A whole ſet of Leavers could not lift it; no rolling it away but by the force of an Angel.

And now look into the Grave, ſee the remains of the Reſurrection, the impartial Witneſſes and ſilent Sayings that he was not ſtole away. The Linen and Grave-Clothes wherein he was involv'd, lin'd and loden with a compound of Myrrh, Aloes and Maſtick, Gums and Spices *Arabick*, Unguents and Balms of *Gilead*, a Searcloth both coſtly and maſſy, ὡσεὶ λίτρας ἑκατὸν, to the worth or weight of an hundred Pounds, ſomewhat unweildy to be handled: the Kerchief ſo wrapt and diſpleited, as tho yet it had not been us'd; and yet ſo laid aſide, as tho he would have come again. What manner of Men would leave theſe things thus? His Friends would not for ſhame have ſtript him, and carry'd him away naked. His Foes would have eſteem'd the Linen and embalming Compounds far beyond his Body. Friend or Fo, or Neuter, they durſt not ſtay to flea the glewy Searcloth from his Skin, and give a diligent folding to the Kerchief. But if notwithſtanding he was ſtoln away, why was not ſearch made to recover his Body? No Hue and Cry to purſue the Malefactors? No Proclamation out for their Attachment? Why were not the Women apprehended, or taken up on Suſpicion? Why not ſo much as queſtion'd? Queſtion'd! about what? The Soldiers knew well enough he was not ſtoln away; for they ſat by, and mark'd it; they were the Watch, and they did watch, they were not aſleep; which is my laſt Contradictory.

Hitherto they talk like Soldiers, of coming by Night, and ſtealing away; now like Watchmen, in ſaying they were aſleep. So ſottiſh and unreaſonable is Malice, that to burn his Neighbour's Houſe, he will ſet Fire on his own; to bring in an Accuſation on Chriſt and his Diſciples, they make Confeſſion of a Crime in themſelves; they gull and befool themſelves, and ſay that the Watch was aſleep. It may be as Watchmen they durſt ſleep, 'tis ordinary; but they durſt not ſo as Soldiers, their Diſcipline too ſtrict, and the Penalty thereof too ſevere. He that forſakes the Watch, *capite punitur*, 'tis Death (ſaith *Paulus*) in Law 9. *in Excubias*, §. *de re militari*; and ſome good Captains interpret Sleep equivalent to Abſence. Whatever were the Letter of the Law, Practice made it ſo; and *Polybius* tells us it was ſo put in execution. If any Man of the Watch be found aſleep (ſaith he) ξυλοκοπεῖ, he is put to the Baſtinado, a capital Puniſhment, and reach'd to the Head: For the then Baſtinado was *Fuſte cæditur*; and as they now paſs the Pikes, a thouſand to one but the Party died under it. A whole Squadron of Men being to do execution, one back Friend or other would daſh out his Brains, as now one Pike or other would broach him thro. The *Roman* Diſcipline was extreme dogged, and ſo profeſt it ſelf, eſpecially toward the Watch. The Ban-dogs of the Capital, becauſe they bark'd not that Night when the *Gauls* ſurpriz'd it, had their Legs broken, and were ſplit alive upon a two-fork'd Stake ſet up in publick; and in memory thereof (ſaith *Livy*) ſome Dogs were yearly ſo us'd, for examples ſake to make Watchmen beware.

And the *Rounders* are ſo impartial herein, that they would make execution *ipſo facto*. *Epaminondas* walks the Round, and finding one Soldier aſleep, ſome of the Corrounders intreat for him: Well, ſaith he, for your ſakes I will leave him as I found him, and therewithal he ſtakes him to the Ground with his Halberd; he found him in a dead Sleep, and ſo he left him. Some dim Prints of that Diſcipline are ſeen to this day in our modern Wars, where ſometime the Rounder will clap a Musket-ſhot thro a ſleepy Head. But antiently they durſt do no other; for to wink at the fault, or delay the Puniſhment, was in the Governor, *Patrimonii & æſtimationis damnum*, a loſs of Lands and Honour; and in Under-Officers, *Ca-*

*pitale Supplicium.* They durſt not then ſleep wilfully, and they had no need to ſleep, they were not over-watch'd. How the Day-watch ſtood I have not yet read; but for the Night-watch, all the World knows it was divided into four equal Parts, each containing three Planetary Hours, or one quarter of the Night, how long or ſhort ſoever. And the turn came about but every third night, and then every third Hour they were reliev'd by putting in a freſh Watch. It was now paſt the Vernal Equinoctial, no one Night-watch ſat full three modern Hours; ſo three Hours over in above threeſcore would bring no Over-watching. Seeing then they neither durſt nor did, why yet do they ſay they were aſleep? The reaſon is, they are of the ragged Regiment, mercenary Soldiers, hir'd to it by the Prieſts with a large piece of Mony. The Provantman will undertake to ſay any thing, yea to do any thing for Mony; for ten Groats a Week tug at a Wheelbarrow, and for a Stiver more ſerve the Enemy, and for a Piece piſtol a Prince; ſuffer any thing for Mony, for a Dollar take the Strappado, for a Brace draw at a Decimation. Thus the Prieſts dealt with the ſilly Soldiers, as they did with *Judas*, only put them upon Hanging. An old Trick of the Prieſts, and much in uſe at this day, ſaving that now they practiſe it one upon the other, and ſo let them; good ſpeed may they have.

But for all this they might be aſleep, whether our Saviour were ſtole away or no. Somewhat the begging Soldiers would have, and they ſhall; his ſtealing away we can by no means grant. The Reſurrection, an Article of our Creed, the very Groundſel of all our Faith; his Reſurrection the Pattern and Pledg of ours, the Tenure whereby we hold our Title to Salvation. But for their being aſleep we will not much contend; it is credible they were ſo, the contrary being neither imply'd, nor expreſs'd in the Scripture. But yet their Sleep is no proof of their Saying. They know the things were done juſt as they ſay, for they were aſleep the while. A right *Roman* Reaſon, a proof put from a Prieſt to ſerve a ſleepy Soldier. If they were aſleep, how could they ſay he was ſtoln rather than riſen? or if they ſuppoſe him ſtoln, how knew they his Diſciples did it rather than other Men? This muſt needs argue in them either Calumny to accuſe a Party without Cauſe, or Levity to lay the Cauſe upon a wrong Party; either way folly to alledg ſo ſenſleſs a Reaſon. All our Knowledg is either from Senſe or Reaſon; from Reaſon they could not have it, that hath made againſt them all this while; from any Senſe they could not, for they were aſleep, in Sleep all Senſation is intercepted. They could neither hear, ſee, ſmell, taſte nor feel the Diſciples Coming, or their Stealing; if they did, they were not aſleep. If ſome one were awake, and perceiv'd it, why did he not give an Alarm to the reſt? If they underſtood it afterwards from others, why do they not produce authentick Witneſſes? If the Diſciples themſelves confeſs'd it, why were they not puniſh'd, and order taken to ſtop the Rumour of the Reſurrection? There is no way now left, but to pretend the Spirit, as our Enthuſiaſts do, and to ſay, that while they ſlept they had it in a Dream by Revelation. But that is refuted by retortion of the ſame, for by Revelation every Chriſtian knows the contrary, God reveals it unto him.

But why do the Soldiers produce this Reaſon? The Reaſon is, they took it upon truſt from the Prieſts. It is an old Error (let us not contend for the Age) to believe that the Prieſt cannot err. But why are the Soldiers got thus to argue againſt themſelves? the reaſon is, no Body elſe durſt do it. In thoſe times the Soldiers bore all the ſway, aſſum'd all power to make Kings and Emperors; but ſince the Prieſt hath done the like, putting the Soldier by. And now the Peaſant thinks 'tis come to his turn, under pretence of his Privilege in Parliament: He would diſpoſe of Kings and Commonwealths, and rather than return it to the Prieſt from whom he hath taken it, would caſt the courſe back again upon the Soldiers. Nothing now contents the Commonalty, but War and Contention: he hath taken a ſurfeit of Peace, the very Name of it grows odious.

Now to give the Soldier his Paſsport, we ſum up four Exceptions againſt his Saying: 1. It is not *veriſimile*, the unlikelihood of it hath appear'd in every Contradictory. 2. They were *ignari rerum*, had no Information of what they affirm; neither Eye nor Ear-witneſs of what they ſay, for they confeſs themſelves aſleep. 3. Their Saying is contrary to what they had ſaid before, in the Morning they told another Tale, at the eleventh Verſe of this Chapter; if that were true, this is falſe; if that were not true, why ſhould we believe this, or who will truſt Men in contrary Tales? Laſtly, The Partys were corrupted, hir'd with a large ſum to utter their Saying, at the twelfth Verſe. Theſe two latter lie without the Text, and therefore I wholly forbear them, eſpecially for the point of Corruption; 'tis a crafty Crime, and commonly hard to prove. We alſo forbear the Lie to the Soldier, becauſe he abhors it: But to the Prieſts, who put this Lie in their Mouths, and to their Diſciple-Prieſts, who at this day practiſe Lying, and allow it to be lawful, we would mend the old ſaying, *A Liar ſhould have a good memory*, and rather require in him a good Wit. His Memory ſerves but to avoid Contradictions of himſelf, but his Wit to prevent the Contradictions of others, that an Untruth ſeem not alſo unlikely. If therefore the Prieſts would have lied wiſely, and with credit, like Satan himſelf, the Serpent whom they ſerv'd, they ſhould, as they did formerly, have laid our Saviour to Satan's Charge, and have ſaid, That the foul Fiend came by Night, and fetch'd him away; leaving out, *whilſt the Watch ſlept*, and inſtead thereof have argu'd from the Deſcent of the Angel, and the Earthquake: This could not ſo eaſily have been diſcover'd; but it might even as eaſily, where Faith had a Fortification. Human Reaſons urg'd againſt it are but as Paper-ſhot. Carnal Wiſdom working againſt God is but Dirt and Rottenneſs. Our Counſels are confounded, when carry'd againſt Chriſt. And ſo I come to my third and laſt Curſory, upon the word of our Saviour.

Hitherto we have clear'd the Diſciples, but we muſt alſo give the Soldier content. There is no ſuch difference, but the matter may be reconcil'd, and the queſtion ſtated on the Soldier's ſide. Said I not, it was the faſhion? The Soldiers then are in the right, their Saying very ſound and Chriſtian; a Diſciple of his did come by Night, and ſtole him away, and the Soldiers were aſleep. A Diſciple of his, and his moſt belov'd Diſciple, his human Soul, came by Night, was united to his Body, rais'd it, and withdrew it from the Sepulcher by ſtealth, while the Soldiers were ſo between ſleeping and waking that they perceiv'd it not. Of this Curſory very briefly, as the words lie in order, declining all emergent Controverſys, for that our preſent Quarrel lay only with the Soldier.

We term him a Diſciple, who receives knowledg and chaſtiſement from another. As our Saviour was God, his Soul was ὅ *μαθητὴς*, the trueſt and moſt proper Diſciple that ever was: it had receiv'd both knowledg and chaſtiſement, as never Man had, knowledg of all manner, both Divine and Human, infus'd and acquir'd; but whether it had no Ignorance, we leave it to the Catholicks; and all manner of chaſtiſement, both exemplary and ſatisfactory, for all Mankind, the chaſtiſement of our Peace was upon it; but whether it ſatisfy'd for Reprobates, we leave it to the *Arminians*. His Soul came, it could move, for it was ſeparate; the Soul was from the Body, tho neither from the Godhead: as all the reſt of the Diſciples, it forſook him on the Croſs, and now it came again: but it came not as it went, it went by Violence and foreign Force, the *Jews* expel'd it from him, altho he was alſo willing it ſhould go; but it came purely voluntary, by a domeſtick Agent: but whether by virtue of the

Godhead, or its own motive Faculty, we leave to the Schoolmen. It came then, not as poor *Lazarus*'s Soul came to *Abraham*'s Boſom, carry'd by Angels, but ſingle, upon its own force, and without any help of others: But whether attended and waited upon by Troops of Angels, we leave it to the Fathers. For the time, it came by Night, not for fear of the *Jews*, as *Nicodemus* came to him, but for love of his Promiſe, that he might riſe the third day. He came the ſecond Night, the Night ſecond to his Paſſion, but third to the day of his Reſurrection, ſometime between Midnight and Morning; but at what time we leave it to the Chronologers. The *Unde* of its Coming was from ſomewhere elſe, from a diſtant *Ubi*, for it was not come before it came; but from whence definitively, whether from Heaven or Hell, we leave it to the *Calviniſts*. The *Quo* or Term of its coming was the Grave, he ſubſiſted there; but the end of the Comer, was the Reunion to the Body, to make his real Preſence there: but whether thereby he became Omnipreſent, to be every where while he was in the Grave, we leave to the *Lutherans*. His final Intent, not to organize the Body, it was not diſmembred, nor any way corrupted, not ſo much as *in fieri*, no not diſpoſitively, but to animate thoſe Members, and to raiſe the Body from the Grave, in which action both the Body and the Soul had their mutual Efficiency, each co-elevating other to make up the Reſurrection; but whether theſe two Agents imply ſeveral Operations really diſtinct, we leave it to the *Nominaliſts*.

The manner of his Reſurrection is ſo miraculous and ineffable, that bad words expreſs it beſt. In a moral relation to the *Jews*, it is here term'd ſtealing; not to ſhew what our Saviour did in his riſing, but to intimate what the *Jews* had committed by their Crucifying. Things of a ſupereminent nature are fain to borrow words of an inferior ſignification, when they are related to a low capacity; ſo God gives himſelf Attributes, not as he is, but according to the weakneſs whereby Man apprehends him. And here the Action of our Saviour is ſet down, not as it is done, but according to the wickedneſs that the *Jews* had done. The active ſignification of ſtealing belongs to our Saviour, but the moral Evil of it reflected upon others. The Law ſaith, he ſteals who fraudulently takes away ſomething of another's, with intent to get the thing it ſelf, its uſe or poſſeſſion: If this Definition be true, his Reſurrection was ſtealing. His Body was now *cadaver puniti*, the Carcaſe of one that had publickly ſuffer'd, and thereby forfeit to the State; no Man might meddle with it further than to bury it, nor that without ſpecial permiſſion;

it was now none of his, his right and poſſeſſion of it both gone; *tradiderat*, he had made delivery of it, diſpens'd and paſs'd it away to *Pilate*: *Pilate* diſpos'd his Right to bury it, to the Watch to detain it, and now it was theirs. When therefore he took it from the Grave, he ſtole it; his Repoſſeſſion of it defrauded all the Predetainers. Said they not alſo he was a Deceiver? But whether the Angel that roll'd away the Stone, was neceſſary or miniſterial, we leave it to the *Hermoniſts*. By natural relation his Body was his own, as being the eſſential and proper Counterpart of his Soul, precoexiſtent with it in one Perſon; but morally it was not ſo, or if it were, yet he might ſteal it for all that. A Man may ſteal that which is his own, by interverting that right in it which has been transfer'd to another; and what kind of Theft this was, we leave it to the Lawyers. God forbid we ſhould lay other Theft to our Saviour, than that he attributes to himſelf, in ſaying, *He came like a Thief in the Night*, *i. e.* ſecretly and unawares; ſo was his conveyance from the Grave, cloſe, without the conſent and notice of thoſe that were preſent; ſuch a carriage we commonly call Stealth. We ſteal away from a Room, when we depart without the knowledg of the Company; but whether he could convey himſelf ſo cloſely, as to paſs thro the Tombſtone, we leave it to the Philoſophers.

Yet ſo cloſe it was, that the Watch perceiv'd it not, for they were aſleep; they were ſet to watch it, but they did not. Not to watch, is all one with not to be awake, and that with to be aſleep. We commonly call him ſleepy who is negligent or careleſs of what paſſes, as the contrary we term vigilant; ſo the Watch was faſt aſleep, they never gave heed to the Reſurrection; that ſo far from their Belief, that they had no Opinion of it. But if Death be a kind of a Sleep, he is ſoundly aſleep that lies for dead, and ſo did the Watch, in the fourth Verſe of this Chapter, ἐγένοντο ὡσεὶ νεκροὶ, for fear of the Angel they fell a ſhaking, and became as dead Men. His Preſence gave them a ſtrong Dormitive, it wrought beyond Sleep. Sleep reaches but only to a Ligation of Senſe, but in them all Motion ceas'd, they were exanimate; but whether that Fit held them only by way of *Syncope*, or did determine in a *Cataphora*, or ſoporiferous Paſſion, we leave it to the Phyſicians. Fearful and cowardiſh Soldiers, more Womaniſh than Women! At the preſence of the Angel the Women ſtand upright, but the Soldiers fall in a Sound. Help them good Women, unbutton the Soldiers, ye need not fear their Halberds. There's work for you and your Spices, your Odours to comfort and recal their Spirits. Beſtow that Charity on the dying Soldiers which you intended on your dear Saviour, for he is riſen and needs them not, but they may benefit the Soldiers. The Soldiers us'd to ſuch Fits, they had one of them the other Night in *Gethſemane*; but whether theſe Dejections were Sins in the Soldiers, we leave to the *Caſuiſts*. Thus they were κοιμώμενοι, laid as Men aſleep; for it ſignifys rather the Reclination or Poſture of one aſleep, than the Affection of Sleep it ſelf. He that lies ſtill without Senſe or Motion, whether he be in a Sleep, or Trance, or Dead, we ſay κοιμώμενος; and we call the Church-yard κοιμητήριον, becauſe the Dead lie there as if they were aſleep, they ſtir not: And ſo we muſt all be laid; there's no Dormitory. Our Caſe ſomewhat like the Soldiers: We are appointed here to watch our Saviour; and as we do it, we are ſubject to the Soldier's Infirmity, apt to be caſt aſleep, and become as dead Men. Yet let us not be ſubject to their fear, our Death is but like their Swooning, that's the worſt. We are liable to riſe again, and our Reſurrection ſhall be like our Saviour's: His and ours make a mutual Aſpect; his the Specimen, and ours the Complement. What he practis'd on himſelf, he perfects in us: He will come again by Night, and ſteal us to Glory, while we lie ſleeping in the Grave, ***Even ſo come Lord Jeſus.***

# The Recantation-Sermon.

## *The* Preface *before the* Sermon.

PErſonal Prefaces are commonly unpleaſant, mine is to me: It is *nomine pœnæ*, it requires my Patience, it intreats yours. I never came here *Sponte*, ſometimes upon Requeſt, but now upon Command; to which my Obedience is very voluntary, as willing to give Satisfaction, as any to receive it. I never ſtood here to ſhew my ſelf but now, and now not for Worth, or Wickedneſs, but yet for Weakneſs, in not diſcerning the three vital Circumſtances of a well-order'd Action, Perſon, Time and Place. For it I am now Priſoner, to cenſure, the Spectacle of Submiſſion, and Petitioner for Pardon. It is good to be humble, I like it very well, and uſe it more than ſome Men think I do. My preſent Buſineſs is not to repeat that Sermon which the Repeater condemn'd, and left unrepeated

repeated in the Forenoon. I call it that, for now it is none of mine: It hath been cenſur'd publickly and juſtly; and ſo let it ſuffer, the Whole for ſome bad Parts: as uſually the Pravity of one Member is deſtructive to the whole Body. If ye will pleaſe to let it die, I will ſubſtitute another in the room; whereto (tho enjoin'd by Authority) my ſelf doth moſt willingly condeſcend. My Text was alſo impos'd, and deliver'd in theſe words, ἦσαν ἅπαντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. In proſecution whereof I humbly crave a fair Conſtruction, and a favourable Acception: Firſt, for my Offence paſt, that my Readineſs to acknowledg it may go for one degree of Satiſfaction, and ſudden Recantation for another. What it wants in Ripeneſs is ſupply'd in Sincerity, tho in this the more mature, becauſe the more timely. Secondly, for my preſent Memory, I have had no time to furniſh it: it is a dull and drowſy Faculty, a great deal of do to make it ready; and beſides, it is ſomewhat cowardly in point of Danger. It dares not ſhew it ſelf; the leaſt Agitation makes it run away, and my ſelf hath partly ſpar'd it for your ſake and the Univerſity. My preſent Sermon is but a Brief, I would deſire you to hear it read. You may pleaſe to return to the Text; It's written,

> *Acts* 2. 1. the latter part, *They were all with one Accord in one Place.*

Man ceaſeth to be Man, if we conceive him All-ſufficient; God only is ſo: He, he only is All-ſufficient, who is only Almighty. Man's Being and his Good is Indigency and Want: his chiefeſt Buſineſs is to contend againſt it, and his Happineſs to aboliſh it. Private Want is an Occaſion of Difference and Diſſent; but common Want the common Cauſe of Concord, the Parent and Procurer of moral Unity, and all human Societies. So all our Aſſemblies are grounded upon Want, ſometimes to give thanks that the paſt hath been ſupply'd, but commonly to ſupply the Wants preſent. The reaſon is, that when a Plurality of Agents are united in their Efficacy, the Operation is far more effectual than if each wrought ſingle: and what the ſingle Members cannot obtain apart, they may acquire jointly, being incorporate into one Body. This alſo is the caſe of Chriſt's Diſciples, the Want of their Maſter collects and imbodies them in together. They want him twice, once on Mount *Calvary*; there they want his Soul: this gathers them cloſe in *Jeruſalem*; and the door is ſhut on them, but the Place not ſpecify'd.

The ſecond time he forſakes them on the Mount *Olivet*, at the *9th* Verſe of the former Chapter: then they want his Perſon; that puts them together again at the 13th Verſe, in the upper Room; there they conſider of another want, Means to perform their Miniſtry. *Judas* the Traitor hath hang'd himſelf, at the 18th Verſe, his Biſhoprick is void, and they will chuſe another in his room, at the 22d Verſe; there they prick two, then pray and draw Lots; and at the laſt Verſe *Matthias* is elected and conſecrated. All this being finiſh'd, they yet find another Want, Variety of Languages to utter their Embaſſy to ſeveral Nations, where they were to be employ'd. For this there is another Meeting upon a ſet Day, the fifth from the Reſurrection, and the tenth from the Aſcenſion; and then, as it is in my Text, *They were all with one accord in one place.*

In which may it pleaſe you to obſerve three Circumſtances:

1. The Plurality or Number; *They were all.*
2. Their Unanimity or moral Union of Soul; *With one accord.*
3. The Unipreſence, or local Union of Body; *In one place.*

Of theſe in their order, as the time hath ſcanted, and God ſtrengthen'd by weaken'd Thoughts. We begin with the Plurality or Number; *They were all.*

The Expoſitors run much *pro* and *con*, about the Perſons of theſe *All*, whether therein the Virgin *Mary* and other Women were included: But for the moſt, they go by conjecture, and either affirm or deny it to ſerve their own purpoſe; and ſeeing the Scripture declares neither, we may exclude them to ſerve ours. They might be in preſence, but not as part of the Aſſembly, and Partakers of the Benefits. The reaſon of this Conjecture is, Tho the Women otherwiſe might receive many Gifts and Graces, yet they were not fit Veſſels to be fill'd with the Holy Ghoſt in this kind, to ſpeak with divers Tongues. The ſub-reaſon is, They might not exerciſe the Functions for which theſe Tongues were ordain'd; they were for *propheſying in the Church*, from which St. *Paul* debars the Women, 1 Cor. 14. 24. *Let your Women keep ſilence in the Church, for it is not permitted unto them to ſpeak.* Let us not be thought overweening for caſting now and then a Conjecture diverſe from the common current. We are free Denizens of *Chriſtendom*, and may challenge the Liberty of our Thoughts, as well as out-landiſh Men. Let their Learning not out-look us; for where the Scripture leaves us, all Learning lies lame, and her two Truths are Criticiſms and Conjectures. What Perſons ſoever excluded, the Diſciples will not: they are order'd in this *All*; for the Conſiſtory Cardinals will be in no order; for they make the Canons hold, that the Clauſe, *All manner of Perſons*, doth not include a Cardinal.

The Number is univerſal; not collective, but repreſentative for the whole primitive Church, who was *all* there, not in their own ſingle, but in the Perſons of theſe (*all*:) who were there for the Acceptation of the Holy Ghoſt, according to the gracious Promiſes of our Saviour; or haply, all relatively too, the Number ſpecify'd in the Aſſembly for the Election of *Matthias*. The total Sum of that All was about 120, at the 15th Verſe of the former Chapter: the major part was the 12 Apoſtles. 12 the major part of 120, not in Number, but in Power, and therefore the better part; tho ſome think otherwiſe, and thereupon infer, that every ordinary Man is as good as a Biſhop. The Number here is 12, not inſignificant; the 12 Diſciples anſwering the 12 Patriarchs: for ſo it pleas'd God, that both the Teſtaments, the New and Old, ſhould be founded upon *Dodecadies*; as the Church of the Jews under the Law ſprung from the twelve Patriarchs, ſo the Church of the Gentiles under the Goſpel from the twelve Apoſtles.

The Fathers and After-Divines, both antient and modern, do much deſcant upon the Number of the 12 Apoſtles, in relation to the 12 Fountains in *Elim*, and 12 Stones in *Aaron*'s Breaſt-plate, the 12 Stones of the Altar, the 12 Loaves of Propoſition, the 12 Levites that carry'd the Ark, the 12 Spies ſent to ſearch the Land of Promiſe, the 12 Gates of *Jeruſalem*, the 12 Signs of the Zodiack, Months of the Year, and Hours of the Day, with many more the like, ſome whereof are pious, others but Fancies. Yet in each they frame out a Reſemblance, as ye may ſee at large in *Palmeron*, and divers others. With the twelve Apoſtles the reſt of the Diſciples made up one hundred and twenty.

Hereon St. *Auſtin* morals in his one hundred and ſixteenth Sermon *de Temp.* that the Holy Ghoſt was given ten-fold to the 12 Apoſtles, becauſe that ten multiply'd by 12 makes up the Product one hundred and twenty. But the Moral of St. *Gregory*, in his 35th Moral, and 3d Chapter, is too myſtical, if not merely *Pythagorical*: He would have 120 partly to ſignify things temporal, partly eternal, by this Deduction; An hundred and twenty by Arithmetical Progreſs ariſeth from one to fifteen; and becauſe the Components are ſeven and eight, things temporal are conceiv'd by ſeven, and eternal by eight: of this I conceive not the ground, nor find it approv'd in Arithmetick. If thus to break Numbers were rational, a Man might deduce 600 Myſteries from the number 120. St. *Jerom* prefigures this Number in the Age of *Moſes*, whoſe Years were full one hundred and twenty. With modeſty be it ſpoken, St. *Jerom* might have pretyped it by the Age of Man in general, *Gen.* 6. 3. when God ſaith of Man, That *his Years ſhall be one hundred and twenty*. Then put *Moſes* and *Man* together, and the Reſemblance will be rational: *Moſes* a Type of Chriſt, the Scriptures both ſay and ſhew it.

As the Law deſcended firſt from God upon *Moſes* alone, and after him to the People; ſo the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, firſt from God upon Chriſt alone, and after from Chriſt upon all the Diſciples, whoſe utmoſt number was about one hundred and twenty Men, and from them communicated to the utmoſt of Mankind, whoſe utmoſt Age is but 120 Years. But for the purpoſe, this Number is more preciſely typed in 2 *Chron.* 5. 15. at the latter end of the Verſe, by one hundred and twenty Prieſts ſounding on Trumpets, whereas it came to paſs that the Trumpeters and Singers were all to make one Sound: ſo here the Diſciples, tho 120 in number, yet but one in accord; which is my ſecond Circumſtance, the Unanimity or moral Union of the Soul, *With one accord*.

Ὁμοθυμαδὸν: what the word means is ſhew'd in the fourth Chapter following, at the thirty ſecond Verſe, *ἦν ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία, They were of one Heart and one Soul*; not phyſically, but morally, an Union and moral Identity of Souls, not the apprehenſive Soul, Underſtanding or Senſe. Accord conſiſts not in Aſſent of Opinions, or Points of Speculation; for to him that affirms the Sun bigger than the Earth, my Aſſent or Diſſent neither makes nor mars one Accord: the reaſon is, for that the Judgment in ſuch caſes proceeds from natural Reaſon, and by conſequence from Neceſſity; but in Accord it ſprings from the Will, from a voluntary Choice and free: for true Accord is an Union of the motive Soul, *ὁμοθυμαδὸν*, an Union of the Will and Affections; not the Faculties themſelves, tho much at diſcord, but in unanimous Actions and Operations reſulting from the Faculties, when our *Velle's* and *Nolle's* are one and the ſame, either concerning the End it ſelf, in the ſame Fruition or Intention, or concerning the Means that led us to that End. In the Sum, Counſel, and Conſent, they ſavour Choice and Uſe: and all this not in matters trivial, but things of moment, where there lies a ſenſible Commodity to a good Community.

Thus was the Unanimity and Accord of the Diſciples; Firſt, for the End, they have *one Accord* for the Fruition of the Goſpel, and Intent to publiſh it; eſpecially the Point of Reſurrection. Secondly, for the Means, *one Accord* for Counſel and Conſent, and *one* for Choice and Uſe of them. And yet their *one Accord* ſtands not here, but deſcends *ad Cor:* it ſignifies a Co-heartedneſs, an Unanimity or concurring in Affection; *one Accord* in Love and Hatred, in Deſire and Diſlike, in Joy and Sorrow, and ſo in other Paſſions iraſcible; yea, there moſt of all, for where there lies a ϑυμὸς, there's moſt properly ὁμοϑυμαδὸν: where all theſe agree in one, there's truly one Accord. To this if we ſuperadd a quantity of *Impetus*, a Vehemency to conquer all Impediments or Difficulties of the Action, we hit juſt on the Nature of the thing; for then we are ὁμοϑυμαδὸν, when our Agreement is the ſame, and hath the ſame degrees in Operation; where we have a propenſe and earneſt Concurrence jointly to proſecute the ſame Good, or ſhun the ſame Evil, doing either Action the ſame way. And thus were the Diſciples in their Affections ὁμοϑυμαδὸν, the ſame Love, Deſire, and Joy concerning the publiſhing of the Goſpel, and good News of Salvation; and the ſame Hate, Diſlike, and Sorrow for any Evil that might oppoſe it. Their Affections, which before were irregular, and caſt on Infirmities, as Ambition, Incredulity, Apoſtaſy, were now rectify'd and directed to their right Object. It was not any rude *Accord*, where the worſt do rule; neither was it a diſſembling *Accord*, with a League in the Mouth, and Diſcord at the Heart; neither was it a wicked *Accord*, as of the *Epheſians* for their Idolatry, but of *good Men*, with a *good Mind*, and to a *good End*. Thus were the Diſciples to receive the Holy Ghoſt. This *Accord* had God to its Efficient; for as God only makes the Heart, ſo he only ſeaſons it, and gives it Grace. It had God for its Author, and God for its End, and therefore brings to *one place*; which is my third Circumſtance.

*In the ſame place*; not the ſame Place numerically, but relatively, in the ſame Room. This Place was a high Place, it was an upper Room and comely. We ſhould do all religious Exerciſes in a decent place; the paring away of Ceremonies doth but take away the Church's Ornaments. Then it was a high Room. At all ſpiritual Exerciſes we ſhould aſcend. Now it is call'd in Latin *Cœnaculum*, a Room to ſup in: All religious Exerciſes ſhould be begun with the Supper of the Lord; and that muſt be common too, not for one only: this Room (ſome ſay) was belonging to *Nicodemus*; yet this proves not for *Conventicles*: for if we have the like Authority, we will releaſe our Canon. What if we ſay, this is *Solomon*'s Porch? for there were ſix ſcore Perſons, and it was nois'd about by and by, yea by nine of the clock *Peter* was in his Sermon. This therefore is like not to be in a private Chamber: but were not this, yet the other was, *Verſe* 46.

God would have them join together, to receive the Holy Ghoſt; for where the Hearts are together it is much, but where they are together, and their Body in one Place, there is all the good Place can afford. Thus we came from the Plurality to the Unanimity, and from the Unanimity to the Unipreſence; the firſt without the ſecond is but confus'd, and the ſecond without the third is but Singularity; but theſe altogether make a compleat Parliament.

And now for Application of what hath been ſaid to our Parliament: In the Diſciples a ſpiritual Want was the Cauſe of their Aſſembly, in the Parliament a temporal Want. The Event in the one was good; God grant it be ſo in the other. The time of that was after the Reſurrection, and ſo is it of this. The Perſons are all alike, Men all, no Women, they are too talkative. The Number alike, *thoſe*, all the Primitive Church; *theſe*, all the Commonwealth. Of them both our Opinions are alike; the one we honour, and the other too, as true Lawgivers. They were unanimous and unipreſent, and ſo alſo is the Parliament; they had one Counſel, ſo have we; their Accord was good, and ſo is ours; perfect, to cut off all bad Accord. Their Accord reſolves a ſpiritual Welfare, and ſo is our Accord, to maintain our ſelves by War. So of theſe our Opinions are alike; the one would be without War, were they not provok'd thereto, but now 'tis needful; ſo is our War alſo. That was an upper Room, high and ſtately, ſo is the Parliament; that was in the Suburbs of *Jeruſalem*, this of *London*. Now let us praiſe God for them, and pray for them, that there be not Oppoſition between them. Let the King be the Head, they the Heart, we the Members. Let it be like the Parliament in Mount *Sinai*, the King and Subjects as God and *Moſes*, and we like the *Iſraelites*. Let God ſay to the King, that he will help him, and deſtroy his Enemies: Let the King ſay to the People, as *David* to the *Gibeonites*; and let the People ſay to him as *Iſrael* to *David*, *We will ſerve and obey thee only, and do what thou commandeſt us:* and let me pray for them, that they may ſtand faſt in the Faith: and let's all ſay of them, all that be of *Iſrael*, as a Congregation of one Mind, that this Union may be ruled by Order; and that like this ſpiritual one, let's pray there may be *one God*, *one Mind*, *one Spirit*; and let all the People ſay, *Amen*.

Here remains as yet a perſonal Concluſion. If I heretofore ſeem'd to deliver any Doctrine contrary to this I now deliver, I utterly renounce it. The laſt time I had theſe words, *Now the Peaſant thinks*, &c. I had alſo theſe words, *Nothing contents the Commonalty, but War and Contention*. I confeſs there I did very ill, forgetting that of *Solomon, There is a time for War, and a time for Peace.* For any other erroneous thing I require your pardon. A Word once ſpoken cannot be recall'd, it may be ſtopt. In the ſame place where the Blot was made, I am come to wipe it out. My laſt Petition to you is for Patronage from further Trouble.

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# Phenix XXVII.

## *A Brief Account of the new Sect of* Latitude-Men *: Together with ſome Reflections upon the New Philoſophy.*

### By *S. P.* of *Cambridge.*

### *In Anſwer to a Letter from his Friend at* Oxford.

> *Quod verum, id antiquiſſimum.*
> *Fama vix vero favet,*
> *Pejus merenti melior, & pejor bono.*

For my Worthy Friend Mr. *S. P.* at *Cambridge.*

S I R,

*THAT Averſation which I perceive to be no leſs in you than in my ſelf, from the impertinent Exchange of mere Words and Complements, would ſoon put a period to our formerly more frequent Intercourſe; but that I have a certain Itch of Curioſity, to know what News there is abroad, which tho it may be is as impertinent, yet it ſerves to correct the Severity of that other Humour, which* *if too much indulg'd, would make the Friendſhip of thoſe that live at diſtance too dull and ſtupid, and no better than what may be between the Living and the Dead. Which Conſideration, advantag'd by that natural Inclination of mine, as it hath formerly created you ſome trouble about matters of no great importance, ſo it is likely to ſupply me with frequent Occaſions of the ſame kind for the future; but at preſent I ſhall not need to ſeek for that which obtrudes it ſelf upon me, whether I will or no. I can come into no Company of late, but I find the chief Diſcourſe to be about a certain new Sect of Men call'd* Latitude-Men: *but tho the Name be in every man's mouth, yet the explicit Meaning of it, or the Hereſy which they hold, or the individual Perſons that are of it, are as unknown (for ought I can learn) as the Order of the* Roſycrucians. *On the one ſide I hear them repreſented, as a Party very dangerous both to the King and Church, as ſeeking to undermine them both: on the other ſide I cannot hear what their particular Opinions or Practices are, that bear any ſuch dangerous Aſpect; to ſay the truth, I can meet with nothing diſtinct concerning them, but that they had their riſe at* Cambridge, *and are Followers for the moſt part of the new Philoſophy, wherewith they have ſo poiſon'd that Fountain, that there are like to iſſue out very unwholeſom Streams throughout the whole Kingdom. I ſhould be very glad from your own mouth to be reſolv'd of the Meaning of this myſtical Name, and the Sect it denominates, which all of a ſudden is become ſo formidable, if we have any Act this Year to invite you to* Oxford; *if not, pray fail not to do it in as ample a manner in writing: To which if you will add your Thoughts alſo concerning the* New Philoſophy, *you will not a little gratify the reſt of your old Acquaintance here, as well as,*

Oxford, *May* 15. 1662.

*Sir, Yours, &c.*
G. B.

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## *For Mr.* G. B. *at* Oxford.

*SIR,*

YOURS of the 15*th* of *May* I lately receiv'd, wherein when you deſire to ſee me at *Oxford* next Act (if you have any), it is, I ſuppoſe, rather of courſe than out of any ſuch Expectation; I having been twice already there, and yet could never be ſo happy as to get you over to our Commencement. Truly it is as far from *Cambridge* to *Oxford*, as it is from *Oxford* to *Cambridge*; and therefore you muſt hold me excus'd, if you ſee me no more there, till you have repaid me with a Viſit here: but to ſay the Truth, I muſt preſently after the Commencement prepare for my Journey into the *North*, where my Friends are ready to fall out with me, for neglecting them ſo long.

2. As for the Queſtion you deſire to be reſolv'd in, it is more than I dare undertake to do; for tho this Name of *Latitude-Men* be daily exagitated amongſt us, both in Taverns and Pulpits, and very tragical Repreſentations made of them, yet we know as little what it means, as you at *Oxford* do; and I verily believe, the Men of that Sect are as little able to give in a Liſt of their Fraternity, and are as free from any Plot againſt King or Church, as King *Arthur*'s Knights, or the *Roſy Brotherhood*, which you have very happily compar'd them with. And truly it is to be ſuſpected, they fly in the Air too, when they meet in their inviſible Conventicles, to promote their unheard of Machinations. A *Latitude-Man* therefore (according to the beſt Definition I can collect) is an Image of Clouts, that Men ſet up to encounter with, for want of a real Enemy; It is a convenient Name to reproach a Man that you owe a ſpite to; 'tis what you will, and you may affix it upon whom you will; 'tis ſomething will ſerve to talk of, when all other Diſcourſe fails.

3. But you would think I had a mind to ſhuffle with you, if I ſhould give you only this general Account; for you will not imagine I can be ſo ſhort-ſighted, but that I may be able to ſee farther into the matter than ſo. That I may not therefore fruſtrate your Expectation, I will tell you all that I am able to underſtand or conjecture concerning it. The greateſt part of the Men that ſeem to be pointed at under that name, are ſuch, whoſe Fortune it was to be born ſo late, as to have their Education in the Univerſity ſince the beginning of the unhappy Troubles of this Kingdom, where they aſcended to their Preferments by the regular Steps of Election, not much troubling themſelves to inquire into the Titles of ſome of their Electors. They are ſuch as are behind none of their Neighbors, either in Learning or good Manners, and were ſo far from being ſour'd with the Leven of the Times they lived in, that they were always lookt upon with an evil eye by the ſucceſſive uſurping Powers; and the general Outcry was, that the whole Univerſity was over-run with *Arminianiſm*, and was full of men of a Prelatical Spirit, that had apoſtatiz'd to the Onions and Garlick of *Egypt*, becauſe they were generally ordain'd by Biſhops: and in oppoſition to that hide-bound, ſtrait-lac'd Spirit that did then prevail, they were call'd *Latitude-Men*; for that was the firſt Original of the Name, whatever Senſe hath ſince been put upon it. This was a certain Bar to their Preferment, as they were ſure to find, if any of them came be-

fore the Committee of Tryers, who (as it was reported) had gotten a Liſt of all thoſe that were ordain'd by the Biſhop of *Norwich*. And truly if they that were turn'd out of their Preferments, were eſteem'd Martyrs, I know not why theſe that were debar'd thereof upon the ſame grounds may not be call'd Confeſſors.

4. And now this being the State of the Univerſity, can it be wonderful, if upon the happy Reſtitution of the Church, there were a general Readineſs in moſt Men to conform to the Commands and Injunctions thereof? And yet I am ſorry to hear ſome Men, even in thoſe Diſcourſes wherein they ſhould be careful to deliver nothing but the ſacred Oracles of God, talk at ſuch a rate, as if they were offended to ſee ſo general a Conformity. It ſeems very ſtrange, that any Son of the Church ſhould be diſpleas'd to ſee the Number of her Children to encreaſe beyond expectation. I hope it is not becauſe they will be the more likely to claim a ſhare in the Patrimony; nay, I am well aſſur'd it is far from any of her genuine Offspring, that are faithful to her Intereſt, to be ſo affected: or if at any time ſome leſs-becoming Expreſſion ſhould drop from them, it hath only proceeded from Miſinformation and Want of a right Underſtanding of things, which upon better Thoughts it is likely they could wiſh unſaid. But it cannot be expected, but the Proſperity of the Church will occaſion the flocking in of many leſs worthy Perſons, who will be very ambitious to be accounted in the Number of her Children, who for want of ſomething elſe to render them more conſiderable than their Neighbours, muſt make uſe of an unmeaſurable Oſtentation of their Zeal and Forwardneſs, which they think is beſt expreſs'd by ſlandering and reproaching thoſe whom they have outſtrip'd, not in Sincerity, but in Shew and Appearance: and it may be ſome of them may hope to expiate their former Diſaffections by their preſent over-doing, and think to recommend themſelves by calling others Hypocrites: It were, I ſay, a thing to be wonder'd at, if there ſhould not ſome ſuch Men as theſe creep into the Church, ſince it is become a profitable way, who by ſuch unworthy Acts will endeavour to compaſs their Deſigns, and by breeding and fomenting publick Differences, will hope to ſerve their private turns. But I am confident their Number is very ſmall, and that the moſt part are Men of more noble and generous Spirits, that hate ſuch Unworthineſs, however their Names may ſometimes be abus'd by ſome few unquiet Spirits, that make all this noiſe and ſtir. For I muſt tell you, I do not find that the grave Heads, or other prudent Perſons of the Univerſity, give any countenance to this peeviſh Talk of ſome few,

who for diſtinction-ſake (if *Latitude* be a Name of Reproach) will not, I hope, be offended to be call'd *Narrow-Men*, notwithſtanding. But that there may remain no Suſpicion of their Diſaffection to the Church in any reſpect, I will give you a brief account of what I conceive to be their Sentiments in each point relating thereunto; which are the Liturgy, the Ceremonies, the Government, and the Doctrine of the Church. As for the firſt, they conceive there ought by all means to be a ſettled Liturgy, it having always been the Practice both of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian, and more or leſs retain'd by all reform'd Churches; that there can be no Solemnity of publick Worſhip without it; that it is the greateſt Check to Devotion that can be, to hear Men mix their private Opinions with their publick Prayers, which are for the moſt part falſe, and have an evil influence on the Lives of Men; yet this hath been almoſt the univerſal Practice for theſe twenty years. The like may be ſaid of thoſe abſurd, ridiculous, blaſphemous Expreſſions that do ſo frequently occur in extempore Prayers, under the pretence of being familiar with God Almighty; to ſay nothing of thoſe ſeditious and traitorous Principles, craftily thereby inſinuated into the Minds of People, with greater Authority than in their Sermons could be done, foraſmuch as there is a greater Awe and Solemnity in the one above the other: which alſo ſhews how uncomely a thing it is for Men to oſtentate their Parts and Abilities therein, as they were wont to do by their empty Rhetorications and tedious Prolixity. Our *Latitudinarians* therefore are by all means for a Liturgy, and do prefer that of our own Church before all others, admiring the Solemnity, Gravity, and primitive Simplicity of it, its Freedom from affected Phraſes, or Mixture of vain and doubtful Opinions: In a word, they eſteem it to be ſo good, that they would be loth to adventure the mending of it, for fear of marring it.

As for the Rites and Ceremonies of Divine Worſhip, they do highly approve that vertuous Mediocrity, which our Church obſerves between the meretricious Gaudineſs of the Church of *Rome*, and the ſquallid Sluttery of Fanatick Conventicles. Devotion is ſo overclad by the Papiſts, that ſhe is oppreſs'd and ſtifled with the multitude of her own Garments. *Pars minima eſt ipſa puella ſui.* Some of our modern Reformers, to make amends, have ſtrip'd her ſtark naked, till ſhe is become in a manner cold and dead; the Church of *England* only hath dreſs'd her, as befits an honourable and vertuous Matron. There are few Men ſo abſtractedly intellectual, but that their Devotion had need to be advanc'd with ſomething that may ſtrike upon their outward Senſes, and engage their Affections;

and therefore while we live in this Region of Mortality, we muſt make uſe of ſuch external Helps, and recommend Religion to the People by thoſe Ornaments, which the Church hath, according to her Prudence, thought fitteſt for thoſe Ends. The Church of *Rome* is a luxuriant Vine, full of ſuperfluous Branches, and over-run with wild Grapes, from whence many a poiſonous and intoxicating Potion is preſs'd forth. But the greateſt part of Reformers have done like the rude *Thracian* in the Apologue, who inſtead of moderate pruning and dreſſing his Vines, as his more skilful *Athenian* Neighbours did, cut them up by the roots; but the Church of *England* is the only well-order'd Vineyard.

In like manner they have a deep Veneration of her Government, which they ſtedfaſtly believe to be in it ſelf the beſt, and the ſame that was practis'd in the Times of the Apoſtles. They did always abhor both the Uſurpation of *Scottiſh* Presbytery, and the Confuſion of Independent Anarchy; and do eſteem it one of the Methods which the Prince of Darkneſs uſeth, to overthrow the Church and Religion, by bringing the Clergy into Contempt, which Experience tells us will neceſſarily follow upon the removing the ſeveral Dignities and Pre-eminence among them; for when the Biſhops are once level'd with ordinary Presbyters, the Presbyters will ſoon be trampled on by the meaneſt of the Laity: and when every Preacher would needs be a Biſhop, every Ruſtick and Mechanick took upon him to be a Preacher.

Laſtly, for the Doctrine of the Church, they do cordially adhere to it, as doth ſufficiently appear by their Willingneſs to ſubſcribe to the thirty nine Articles, and all other points of Doctrine, contain'd either in the Liturgy or Book of Homilies; and particularly (whatſoever may be privately whiſper'd to the contrary) they do both devoutly adore the bleſſed Trinity in the Litany, and make ſolemn Profeſſion of their Orthodox Faith, both concerning it and other Points, in the three Creeds, not excepting that which is commonly aſcrib'd to *Athanaſius*: nor is there any Article of Doctrine held forth by the Church, which they can juſtly be accus'd to depart from, unleſs abſolute Reprobation be one, which they do not think themſelves bound to believe.

5. Nor is it credible they ſhould hold any other Doctrine than the Church, ſince they derive it from the ſame Fountains, not from the *Spinoſe* Schoolmen, or *Dutch* Syſtematicks, neither from *Rome* nor *Geneva*, the Council of *Trent*, nor Synod of *Dort*, but from the Sacred Writings of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts; in interpreting whereof, they carefully attend to the Senſe of the antient Church, by which they conceive

the modern ought to be guided: and therefore they are very converſant in all the genuine Monuments of the antient Fathers, thoſe eſpecially of the firſt and pureſt Ages, not to gather out fine Phraſes and quaint Sentences, but that they may diſcern between the modern Corruptions, and antient Simplicity of the Church; to diſtinguiſh between the Doctrines receiv'd in theſe latter Ages, and thoſe which the primitive Chriſtians receiv'd from Chriſt and his Apoſtles. For thoſe Opinions in Religion, how ſpecious ſoever, are juſtly to be ſuſpected, whereof there are no Footſteps to be diſcern'd in that golden Age of Chriſtianity, that was try'd and purify'd in the Fire of Perſecution. We are not ſo ſecure of the ſucceeding ſilver Age of Peace and Proſperity, but that there might be ſome droſſy Mixture, inferior to the golden, but better than the brazen that trod upon its heels,

*Sævior ingeniis, & ad horrida promptior Arma*;

when the Chriſtians had taken up the Swords formerly of their Perſecutors, and drew them one upon another: but,

*———De duro eſt ultima ferro,*
*Protinus erupit venæ pejoris in ævum*
*Omne nefas; fugere pudor verumque, fideſque,*
*In quorum ſubiere locum fraudeſque dolique,*
*Inſidiæque, & vis, & amor ſceleratus habendi.*

And by this time ſure there was need of Reformation, to bring all things to the primitive Pattern, to purge out the Droſs and Tin, and all baſer Metals, which the Church of *England* hath moſt happily atchiev'd.

And now let no Man accuſe them of hearkning too much to their own Reaſon, ſince their Reaſon ſteers by ſo excellent a Compaſs, the antient Fathers and Councils of the Church. For Reaſon is that Faculty, whereby a Man muſt judg of every thing; nor can a Man believe any thing except he have ſome reaſon for it, whether that Reaſon be a Deduction from the Light of Nature, and thoſe Principles which are the Candle of the Lord, ſet up in the Soul of every man that hath not wilfully extinguiſh'd it; or a Branch of Divine Revelation in the Oracles of Holy Scripture; or the general Interpretation of genuine Antiquity, or the Propoſal of our own Church conſentaneous thereto, or laſtly the Reſult of ſome or all of theſe: for he that will rightly make uſe of his Reaſon, muſt take all that is reaſonable into conſideration. And it is admirable to conſider how the ſame Concluſions do naturally flow from all theſe ſeveral Principles; and what in the faithful Uſe of the Faculties that God hath given, Men have believ'd for true, doth excellently agree with that Revelation that God hath exhibited in the Scripture, and the Doctrine of the antient Church with them both. Thus the Freedom of our Wills, the univerſal Intent of Chriſt's Death, and Sufficiency of God's Grace, the Conditions of Juſtification, and many other Points of the like nature, which have been almoſt exploded in theſe latter degenerate Ages of the World, do again begin to obtain, tho with different Perſons upon different accounts: ſome embrace them for their Evidence in Scripture, others for the concurrent Teſtimony of the primitive Church for above four hundred years; others for the Reaſonableneſs of the things themſelves, and their Agreement both with the Divine Attributes, and the eaſy Suggeſtions of their own Minds. Nor is there any Point in Divinity, where that which is moſt antient doth not prove the moſt rational, and the moſt rational the antienteſt; for there is an eternal Conſanguinity between all Verity: and nothing is true in Divinity, which is falſe in Philoſophy, or on the contrary; and therefore what God hath join'd together, let no Man put aſunder.

But theſe Men are generally ſuſpected to be for Liberty of Conſcience, and that's a Principle of dangerous conſequence, that will undermine the very Foundations of any Church whatſoever. A Church cannot be without Unity and Uniformity: An unlimited Diſcord of Opinions and Practices will as much obſtruct the Edification of God's Temple, as the Confuſion of Languages did the building of the Tower of *Babel*. Verily this is true; and the moſt part of them, who while they are under the hatches deny it, do by their Practices confirm it, whenever they get power into their hands. But how far the Men charg'd with it are concern'd therein, remains to be inquir'd. Tho in the firſt place I cannot but take notice, that this very Objection confutes the vulgar Calumny caſt upon them, as if they were Men of no Conſcience; for I dare ſay, by how much the leſs of Conſcience any Man hath, by ſo much the leſs will he care what Impoſitions are laid on it: tho for my own part, I ſhall always think him moſt conſcientious who leads the moſt unblamable Life, tho he be not greatly ſcrupulous about the Externals of Religion; and for their Lives I think the *Latitude-men* were never tax'd by their greateſt Enemys. And now let us ſoberly conſider what was before ſaid; They ſincerely embrace all the Articles of Doctrine held forth by the Church, they cheerfully uſe and approve her Liturgy and Ceremonies, they cordially love and obey her Government: How then can they purſue any Liberty that can be dangerous to her? For in all other things the Church her ſelf leaves them to their liberty, and who ſhall blame them for uſing it? But there are ſome Men, it may be, are offended that the Church is ſo indulgent a Mother, that will not unneceſſarily impoſe upon the Judgment or Practice of her Children; they would have all things bound up, and nothing free; they would fain be adding ſome Cyphers to their ſignificant Articles ſhe now propounds, and inſtead of 39 would make 39000. And 'tis well if they would content themſelves with Cyphers, and not add Falſities to make up the Tale. They have, it may be, an ambition to out-do the Aſſembly's Confeſſion; they would be content that *Aquinas*'s Sums were put into the Creed, and all the Janglings of the Schools into the Prayers of the Church; that ſo by their *Longitude*, they might be even with their Neighbours of the *Latitude.* Others, it may be, think we have not Ceremonies enough; and if they can find any antiquated Rite in ſome moth-eaten Author, they have an itch preſently of bringing it into the Church, without conſidering whether there be the ſame reaſon or uſe of it now, that may have been in other times and places: and then if their Neighbours will not follow their Example, but think it enough to do what the Rubrick and Canons require, they ſhall be cry'd out on for diſaffected. This is all that Liberty of Conſcience they can juſtly be accus'd of, unleſs I ſhould add that they are ſo merciful as not to think it fit to knock People on the head, becauſe they are not of our Church. The Church of *England* hath never yet embrued her hands in Blood; and I hope the Zeal of none of her Sons will ever kindle ſuch Flames, as her Stepmother of *Rome* delights to warm her hands at.

And now having taken an impartial View of this ſo much exagitated Company of Men, we find them ſo far from being any ways dangerous to the Church, or fit to be diſown'd by her, that they ſeem to be the very Chariots and Horſemen thereof: for by their ſober and unblamable Converſation, they conciliate Reſpect and Honour to her; by their Learning and Induſtry they defend her; by their Moderation they are moſt likely to win upon the Minds of Diſſenters, who are too many to be contemn'd; by their accommodating themſelves to the People, who (as is too too palpable) are poſſeſs'd for the moſt part by the Presbyterians, they may in time bring them over to the Church, and prevent her becoming a Society of Shepherds without any Sheep. For really I fear, if the Fathers of the Church were not wiſer than ſome of their angry Sons, who muſt needs be thruſting ſome of their younger Brethren out of doors; if, I ſay, all that have been reproach'd with the Name of *Latitude*, ſhould be diſown'd by the Church, they that remain would be the leaſt Party of Men of any one Denomination in *England*. And to leave themſelves ſo naked, were to tempt Providence for their Preſervation; eſpecially conſidering they ſtand ready to be aſſaulted on each hand, by two potent Enemies, the Papiſts and the Presbyterians, both of them numerous, wealthy, ſubtle, and induſtrious, who watch all opportunities of ſubverting the beſt Church in the World. And therefore certainly this is no time for her to mutilate her ſelf, or to bleed with inteſtine War; but let her embrace thoſe that are ſo ready to ſerve her, with both her Arms, and let all her Children with joint Affection and Conſent oppoſe the common Enemies.

5. But it will be ſaid, No man is angry that Men conform, but that they have no greater Zeal for what they conform to; they are as Men indifferent, and could be as well content with the contrary. Truly, Sir, either I am miſtaken in the Men, or the Charge is very unjuſt; for I find as many as it hath been my fortune to converſe with, that they do very ſincerely eſteem Epiſcopal Government, both as in it ſelf the beſt, and of Apoſtolical Antiquity. They were always Approvers of a Liturgy, and think that of our own Church may eaſier be marr'd than mended: That Religion would loſe that due Awe and Veneration that ought to be preſerv'd in it, if it were not attended with outward Rites and Ceremonies: That private Perſons are not the Judges of that Decorum, whereby theſe things are to be meaſur'd, but only the Governours of the Church; and that the Church of *England*, as well in theſe as all other things, is the beſt-conſtituted Church in the World. But they preſume, no man would have them to think the whole Weight of Religion lies in Externals, or that they are of greater account than the eternal and indiſpenſable Laws of Good and Evil, but that Eccleſiaſtical Laws are, as the Jews were wont to ſay, a Hedg about the Laws of God; theſe ought ſtifly to be obſerv'd, and therefore the other not to be neglected: That they do not conſiſt ſo indiviſibly, but that if it ſhould ſeem meet to the Fathers of the Church to make any Alterations, they were equally bound to ſubmit thereto. This is that Latitude they are ſo tragically accus'd of.

6. But there is another Crime which cannot be deny'd, That they have introduc'd a new Philoſophy; *Ariſtotle* and the Schoolmen are out of requeſt with them. True indeed it is, that *ipſe dixit* is an Argument much out of faſhion; and *fortaſſe Philoſophus non loquitur ex ſua Sententia, ſed ex Mente aliorum*, would be accounted as impertinent an Anſwer. It will ſcarce

paſs for a Philoſophical Reſolution of any Problem, to ſay, it is the Nature of the Beaſt, it is done by virtue of its Form or Quality; They love to ſearch ſome more particular Cauſe than the Influence of the Heavens, nor will they be put off with *Complementum Univerſi.* They embrace a Method of Philoſophy, which they think was as much antienter than *Ariſtotle*, as you conceive *Oxford* was before *Cambridge*; and was as great a Bugbear to the Presbyterians as a Croſs or Surplice, and therefore methinks the Church of *England* ſhould have leſs reaſon to be offended with it. For my own part, I never had any great ſkill in it, and am now too old to learn; yet I am far from that Humour reprehended by the Poet:

*——Turpe putant parere minoribus, & quæ*
*Imberbes didicere Senes perdenda fateri.*

And I ſuppoſe it is this Freedom and Unconcernedneſs of mine that makes you think my Opinion worth knowing in a matter that I am ſo little converſant in, of late years; wherefore I will not undertake to compare the new Philoſophy with the old, but inſtead thereof will tell you a Tale.

7. There was a certain Husbandman, who occupy'd a Farm with an antient Manſion-Houſe, ſtanding in the fields remote from any Town, where there was an old iron Clock in a large wooden Frame, which had been a long while out of kelter; and becauſe he was much troubled to know how the Time paſs'd, that he might order his Buſineſs accordingly, he reſolv'd to get this Clock repair'd: and while he was conſidering where to find a Man able to do it, it fortun'd that a certain Peripatetick Artificer, ſomething above the degree of a Tinker, came that way, who undertook to mend it; but after he had beſtow'd a great deal of work, in oiling the Wheels, filing the Teeth, and hanging on more Weight, and all to no purpoſe, at laſt gave it up for nought, and told him it could not be mended. The Farmer, partly out of curioſity, and partly in hope to find out the Defect, deſir'd this Artificer to ſhow him the Nature of Clockwork, and what was requiſite to make up a perfect Clock. He, tho he knew very little what belong'd to it, yet being a talkative Fellow, and very loth to confeſs his Ignorance in any thing, began a long Story, that the Nature of Clockwork in general was, *A Principle and Cauſe of Motion and Reſt, by means of an inward Device, of its own Accord, and not by Chance;* but this Clock having no ſuch Nature, it was indeed no Clock, and could not move. He told him alſo, that there are three things go to the making of a Clock, *the Materials, and the Shape, and the Want of that*

*Shape before it was made*; for it was not a Clock before it was made. Now the Materials of a Clock are four, Iron, and Wood, and Cords, and Lead; and beſides theſe there is a Bell at the top, that is of a fifth kind diverſe from the other four, and hath a trick of ſounding when the Hammer ſtrikes upon it. Iron is a Material very black, and ſomewhat hard; Wood very hard, and ſomewhat white; Cord very white, and ſomewhat ſoft; Lead very ſoft, and ſomewhat black. Here the Farmer interpos'd, and told him, he would never believe but that Iron was harder than Wood; but the Clock-mender reply'd, that in the Art of Clock-making, Softneſs was nothing but being eaſily melted. The Farmer urg'd, then Iron would not be hard at all. But his Arrificer wittily replying it was hard to be melted, he was ſatisfy'd. The Clock-mender went on, telling him there were other Properties alſo in theſe Materials, deriv'd from the former; as that Iron and Wood were ſtiff and unmoving, Cord and Lead flexible and moving. Here the Farmer interrupted him again, telling him the Iron Wheels moved as well as the Cord and Lead, and ſo did the wooden Hand of the Dial. To which he anſwer'd, they did not move of themſelves, as the Cord and Lead did, and that they moved only *to avoid ſtanding ſtill*, which is not to be admitted in a Clock. But the Farmer ſtill objected, that he ſaw no neceſſity of any ſuch Material as Wood in a Clock; for the Frame might as well be of Iron. To which he reply'd, it was for *the Compleatneſs of the Clock*. But, quoth the Farmer, the Bell is hard and black as well as the Iron. No, reply'd the Engineer, it appears only ſo, but is not ſo in its own nature, but only hath a Property of ſounding. Well, quoth the Farmer, you have told me the Materials of a Clock, which I could have told as well my ſelf, but am never the wiſer; for my Jack hath Iron, and Wood, and Cord, and Lead, and if I ſhould hang a Bell on the top of it, it would not prove a Clock. That's true, ſaid the Clockman, for it hath not the Shape of a Clock; now the Shape of a Clock is *a certain Trick of Activity in a Piece of Wheel-work, by the Number of Strokes on a Bell, to tell the Hour of the Day.* From this Shape there ariſe ſeveral other Properties, as the turning about of the Wheels, the playing of the Ballance, a ſecret Quality of the Hand pointing to the Hour of the Day, and a ſecret Agreement between the Hand of the Dial and the Hammer of the Bell: for as often as the Hand points to any Figure, the Hammer ſtrikes juſt ſo many Strokes upon the Bell. There is alſo a hidden Diſagreement between the little Weights and the great ones; for as faſt as theſe go down, thoſe go up. There are alſo ſome Clocks of another kind, ſome with an Alarum to waken a Man at a certain time of the night; ſome have Chimes, to play certain Tunes upon Bells: There are alſo imperfect Clocks call'd Watches, that do not ſtrike, but only have a Dial with a Hand turning round. There are alſo Sun-dials that tell the Hour of the Day by Shadows. But theſe are imperfect Clocks, and not compounded of all four Materials. He alſo reckon'd up a great many famous Clockmakers of ſeveral Countries, that he had learnt his Art of, as alſo how many Clocks he had mended; and concluded with the Praiſe of *Vulcan* and St. *Eloy*, and the whole Art of Smiths-work.

8. While they were thus diſcourſing, in comes a Lockſmith of the next Town, who thought himſelf as well read in *Clock-Philoſophy*, as he that had read this long Lecture; who therefore began to move many Controverſies, as that Clocks might be made of other Materials, *viz.* Steel, Braſs, or Silver (where, by the way, they digreſs'd into a long Diſpute, whether Steel and Iron differ'd in kind, or in degree only) that a Bell was not any fifth kind, but made up of a mixture of other Metals; that there were not four Materials of a Clock, but that it might be made up of one or two of them; that Cords and Plummets were no neceſſary Parts of it, for it might be moved by a Spring without them: and many more Queſtions they diſputed about, till they were both weary.

9. The Farmer's Son, who was newly come from the Univerſity, where he had been a year or two, and had read *Magirus*, was much taken with theſe learned Lectures of an ordinary Mechanick, and began to ſuſpect he was ſome diſguis'd Scholar, in that he had philoſophically begun with the Definition of Nature; *Principium, & Cauſa motus & quietis ejus, in quo eſt primo & per ſe, non per accidens.* Then proceeded to the three Principles, *Matter*, *Form*, and *Privation*; after that to the Elements of a Clock, with their Primary and Secondary Qualities: and was well pleas'd with his Judgment, in making the Bell a Quinteſſence, and to contain the elementary Qualities not *formally*, but *eminently*; and that *Softneſs* ſhould ſignify *Liquability*, anſwer'd juſt to *Humidity* ſignifying *Fluidity*; and that it was as eaſy to excuſe the Iron from melting, as the Fire from Fluidity. He thought alſo that he diſtinguiſh'd well between natural and violent Motions, and took notice how *evitatio Vacui & complementum Univerſi* did him Knights Service. So likewiſe he defin'd the Form of a Clock very well, *Actus primus corporis artificialis organici motum habentis in potentia:* and he believ'd *a Trick of Activity* was as good an Interpretation of ἐντελέγεια as *perfectihabia*, which *Hermolaus Barbarus* learnt of the Devil. The Qualities did admirably well flow

from this Form, eſpecially the occult Quality in the Dial, and its Sympathy with the Bell, as alſo the Antipathy of the greater and leſſer Weights: He alſo ſhew'd the ſeveral Species of Clocks whether perfectly or imperfectly mix'd; how Watches had only a material vegetative Soul, the Alarum and Chimes reſembled the rational, but the ordinary Clock was of the Order of ſenſitive Creatures; and he had excellently well deſcrib'd the nature of the Beaſt. He ſeem'd to be well read in the School-Tinkers, had ſhew'd that *Vulcan* was antienter than *Ariſtotle*, and St. *Eloy* as great a Maſter of Clock-work as St. *Thomas*; only the Lock-ſmith he thought made foul work with him, and went as much beyond him, as *Carpenter* and *Pemble* the more orthodox *Magirus*: and yet he ſaid he might have moved a great many more perillous Queſtions, as whether the Hammer were the Intelligencer of the Bell, and conſequently whether *forma informans* or *aſſiſtens*; whether the Bell did act upon the elementary Parts of the Clock, or they upon the Bell? and if the former, whether it do it by its Blackneſs, or its Hardneſs, or its Sound, or by certain Influences; and then whether the Forms of the four Materials did remain in the Clock intire and refracted, or a fifth Form reſulting from them all; and whether it were a ſubſtantial or accidental Form, whether a Clock and a Watch were ſpecifically or gradually diſtinct, with many more which he forbore to mention, as he told them, becauſe they could not underſtand them.

10. All this while the Landlord of this Farmer was in the Houſe to take order about ſome Reparations, who being an ingenious Gentleman, that had us'd to take in pieces his own Watch and ſet it together again, and therefore could not be ignorant of the Fabrick of a Clock, having with much patience heard all this Jargon, at laſt deliver'd the good Man (who, tho no Fool, yet was never the wiſer for all this Diſcourſe) from the Impertinences of the Clock-mender and the young Philoſopher; ſhewing him that the Cauſe of Motion was in the Weights, which by the Multiplication of indented Wheels, and Nuts, was ſo moderated, that the laſt Wheel, to the end of whoſe Axel the Hand was fix'd, was juſt twelve Hours in turning about; and that there were in every twelfth part of that Wheel certain Pegs, that lifted up the Hold-faſt of the Hammer, which by the Motion of other Wheels and Springs would be made to ſtrike ſeveral ſucceſſive Strokes upon the Bell, till the Holdfaſt catch in the next Notch of a Wheel indented ſeveral diſtances, according to the number of Strokes at each time to be ſtrucken. He ſhew'd him alſo that the Teeth of the great Wheel were ſo worn,

that it would not anſwer to the juſt Proportion of Time it ſhould move in, and therefore he muſt get a new one made. In fine, he taught him how the Motion was deriv'd from part to part, that he thorowly underſtood the whole Fabrick, and could be able to rectify any ordinary Fault that ſhould happen in it. But the Son all this while being as inept at underſtanding Things, as apt, Parrot-like, to catch at Words, was diſſatisfy'd that he ſhould take no more notice of the ſubſtantial Form and Qualities of a Clock, and told him that he rejected Principles, and therefore he would not diſpute with him.

11. How far the Clock-mender's Diſcourſe reſembles the Scholaſtick Philoſophy, or the Gentleman's the Atomical, let others judg. I ſhall only propound this general Query, Whether it be any better Philoſophy, to ſay that Nature makes the Fire to burn, or there is an inward Principle of Gravity in a Stone that makes it fall down; than it would be mechanical Skill to ſay that Art makes the Clock ſtrike, or to ſay that ſome inward Device makes the Hand of the Dial move. For as Art is to Artificials, ſo is Nature to Naturals; and may be he ſpake more truly than he was aware of, that call'd it *Ars Dei.* Then certainly it muſt be the Office of Philoſophy to find out the Proceſs of this Divine Art in the great Automaton of the World, by obſerving how one Part moves another, and how thoſe Motions are vary'd by the ſeveral Magnitudes, Figures, Poſitions of each part, from the firſt Springs or Plummets, as I may ſay, to the Hand that points out the viſible and laſt Effects. This Phyſicians have taken the Boldneſs in part to do, in thoſe little Watches, if I may ſo call them, the Bodies of Animals; and *Deſcartes* hath proceeded fartheſt in the like Attempt, in that vaſt Machine, the Univerſe; with how good Succeſs, others are better able to judg: But this I dare boldly ſay, It was a noble Effort; and if he had wholly fail'd in it, he would have been more pitied, and leſs envied.

12. This farther I ſhall add, in the behalf of new and free Philoſophy, That the Theater of Nature is much enlarg'd ſince *Ariſtotle*'s time; and there is no part of the World wherein there are not ſome notable new Phenomena lately diſcover'd, that muſt needs be of great account in natural Philoſophy: for in the Heavens, by the help of Teleſcopes (a new Invention) there are found an innumerable Company of fix'd Stars unknown to the Antients; and amongſt the Planets, the *Anſulæ* of *Saturn*, and four Moons about *Jupiter*, were never heard of till *Galileo*'s *Nuncius Syderius* brought the News; the various Phaſes of *Venus* (and other Planets) as alſo her being

ſometimes on this ſide the Sun, ſometimes beyond, were the Suſpicions of the *Pythagoreans* of old, and the certain Knowledg of latter times, but not agreeable with *Ariſtotle*'s Doctrine. Mountains and Valleys in the Moon were never ſeen before this Age, and no body now will venture to deny but that ſhe is as opake as the Earth, and borrows as much Light from her as ſhe lends: That the Sun is full of ſcummy Spots continually generated and deſtroy'd, and that he turns round upon his own Axis. They that will not truſt *Schiner*, may be inform'd by their own eyes. The appearing of new Stars and diſappearing of old, was not conſider'd by the Antients, nor their appearing ſometimes bigger and ſometimes leſs. That Comets are above the Moon, and the Heavens fluid, ſince *Tycho* few Men have doubted; and therefore *Ariſtotle*'s Intelligences that moved the ſolid Orbs, have leave to play. And ſince that arched Roof is gone, I know not how the Elementary Fire will be kept in: But if it ſhould chance to prove true (and who knows what Poſterity may believe, ſince we have been ſo hardy as to admit *Antipodes*, which our Anceſtors beheld as no leſs formidable a Bugbear?) that the Earth is a Planet, and the Sun a fix'd Star, and by conſequence every Planet an Earth, every fix'd Star a Sun; it would make foul work in the vulgar Philoſophy.

13. But let us deſcend upon the Earth, where we ſhall find that Dr. *Gilbert*, inſtead of the *Oxford* Fryar's great black Rock at the North Pole, hath perſuaded all Men that the whole Earthly Globe is a Magnet. And tho the Antients knew no more of the Loadſtone than its Coition, which they improperly call'd Attraction, we now find it to be no leſs remarkable for its polar Direction (not without ſome variation in ſeveral places) as alſo its various Inclination, according to its ſeveral Diſtance from the Equator and Poles; but the Nature of the Loadſtone can ſcarce be unknown, ſince we have ſeen the Circles of the Duſt about it. The diſtinct Hiſtory of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, is alſo amongſt the *Nova reperta.* The Antients overlook'd that moſt luciferous, tho obvious Experiment of the Sling; nor did they know what uſe to make of the Chryſtal Priſm. They were over-careleſs Spectators of the Rainbow; the roſy-figur'd Particles of Snow eſcap'd their ſight: but it were infinite to purſue Particulars. I will not ſtand to reckon up the ſeveral Diſcoveries we are beholden to the new invented Microſcope for, nor ſhall I inſiſt upon the many Chymical Experiments that are of uſe in Philoſophy. I paſs by the wondrous Effects of Gun-pouder; nor ſhall I mention the Diſcoveries of the Air-pump lately exhibited to the World by that noble Gentleman, or the in-

genious Experiments of *Galileo*, Lord *Bacon*, and many others.

14. I ſhall only touch upon one Topick more, which is the Improvement of Anatomy, and the Knowledg of the Fabrick of Animals. No Man thinks himſelf bound to believe that the Nerves are deriv'd from the Heart, and by conſequence That to be the Seat of common Senſe, becauſe *Ariſtotle* tells us ſo; nor yet, tho he could tell us no ſuch thing, to disbelieve the Circulation of Blood found out by Dr. *Harvey*. What ſhould I mention thoſe other learned Obſervations of the ſame Author concerning the Generation of Animals? I omit *Aſellius*'s *Venæ lacteæ*, as alſo the *Ductus Chyliferus*, *Vaſa Lymphatica*, with many more of the like nature, which do as much alter the face of the leſſer, as thoſe other before rehears'd of the greater World.

15. Muſt we now, after all theſe and many more Diſcoveries about natural Bodies, confine our ſelves to what we find in *Ariſtotle*, who never dream'd of any ſuch things? Is it poſſible that ſo many new Appearances ſhould not alter the Frame of Philoſophy, nay rather hazard the pulling down of the old ruinous Houſe that had too narrow Foundations, that it may be built again with more Magnificence? Since we find daily Generations and Corruptions in the Heavens, and that the Stars themſelves are not free from that Fate; how can we ſatisfy our ſelves with the four Elements of *Ariſtotle*, or the three Principles of the Chymiſts, which at beſt can be but the Ingredients of terreſtrial Bodies, beſides that they are not ſo ſimple as to deſerve thoſe Titles? And truly to them that have once taſted of the Mechanical Philoſophy, Forms and Qualities are like to give as little Satisfaction, as the Clockmender did to the intelligent Gentleman in the Story I before told you.

16. No Man would be ſo ridiculous, as ſince *Columbus* diſcover'd the new World of *America*, as big as the old, or ſince the enlarg'd Knowledg of the North of *Europe*, the South and Eaſt of *Aſia* and *Africa*, beſides the new Diviſions, Names, and Inhabitants of the old Parts; to forbid the reading of any more Geography than is found in *Strabo* or *Mela*: Or ſince the *Portugueze* have ſail'd to the *Indies* by the Cape of *Good Hope*, to admit of no other *Indian* Commodities than what are brought on Camels to *Aleppo*: Or if Poſterity ſhall find out the Northeaſt or Northweſt Way to *Cathajo* and *China*, or ſhall cut the Iſthmus between the Red Sea and Mediterranean, will it be unlawful to uſe the Advantage of ſuch noble Atchievements. Why then muſt Philoſophy alone be bound up ſtill in its Infant Swadling-Bands? And there being

the ſame reaſon, why ſhould we not allow the ſame liberty of expatiating? If any Man love Acorns ſince Corn is invented, let him eat Acorns; but 'tis very unreaſonable he ſhould forbid others the uſe of Wheat. Whatever is ſolid in the Writings of *Ariſtotle*, theſe new Philoſophers will readily embrace; and they that are moſt accus'd for affecting the new, doubt not but they can give as good an account of the old Philoſophy as their moſt violent Accuſers, and are probably as much converſant in *Ariſtotle*'s Writings, tho they do not much value thoſe ſmall Wares that are uſually retail'd by the generality of his Interpreters.

But methinks I hear ſome Men ſay, All Innovations are dangerous; Philoſophy and Divinity are ſo interwoven by the Schoolmen, that it cannot be ſafe to ſeparate them; New Philoſophy will bring in new Divinity, and Freedom in the one will make Men deſire a Liberty in the other. The very ſame Argumentation the Presbyterians uſed, when they bore rule in the Univerſity, and the new Philoſophy was interdicted in ſome Colleges upon that account. But what was the Event? It was ſo much the more eagerly ſtudy'd and embrac'd. There was a time when all Learning was upon the ſame pretence diſcountenanc'd: *Græce noſce ſuſpectum erat, Hebraice plane hæreticum*; and there was a College in *Cambridge* that ſhut their Gates againſt the *Greek* Teſtament. But all their Endeavours were but vain; they might as well have hinder'd the Sun from riſing, or being up, from filling the whole Horizon with Light; Learning and Knowledg will break forth like Fire, and pierce like Lightning thro all Impediments; Politeneſs and Elegancy hath long ago ſubdued Monaſtick Barbariſm. *Eraſmus* and *Melancthon*, with the reſt of thoſe Reſtorers of Learning, have made *Holcot* and *Bricot* quite out of faſhion; and the inquiſitive Genius of latter years, like a mighty Wind, hath bruſh'd down all the Schoolmens Cobwebs. There is an infinite Deſire of Knowledg broken forth in the World; and Men may as well hope to ſtop the Tide, or bind the Ocean with Chains, as hinder free Philoſophy from overflowing: It will be as eaſy to ſatisfy mens corporal Appetites with Chaff and Straw, as the Deſires of their Minds with empty Words and Terms. The Church of *Rome* quickly ſaw her Error in this point, and forbore to ſtrive againſt the Stream; for when ſhe perceiv'd that Learning would be in faſhion, ſhe preſently ſent her Children to School; and who ſo great Scholars in all kinds as they? And ſhe hath been ſo wiſe ever ſince, that there ſhall be no piece of Learning, but ſome of her Sons ſhall be Maſters of it: and if they will but give her reſpectful words, they may be as free Philoſophers as they pleaſe; and I dare ſay, ſhe would take it very ill, if any one ſhould deny *Deſcartes* or *Gaſſendus* to be hers. *Galileo* indeed fell under Correction for holding the Motion of the Earth, but the true Crime was his abuſing his Holineſs in his Dialogues, under the name of *Simplicius:* for others have with impunity adventur'd on as great Paradoxes, but they had the good manners to make a leg and ſay, *Omnia Eccleſiæ Autnoritati ſubmittimus.*

I will never therefore believe, that the Church of *England* can be more ſtingy than the Beldame of *Rome*; but will do that of choice, that the other doth of neceſſity. True Philoſophy can never hurt ſound Divinity. Chriſtian Religion was never bred up in the Peripatetick School, but ſpent her beſt and healthfulleſt years in the more religious Academy, amongſt the primitive Fathers; but the Schoolmen afterwards raviſh'd her thence, and ſhut her up in the decay'd Ruins of *Lyceum*, where ſhe ſerv'd an hard Servitude, and contracted many Diſtempers; Why ſhould ſhe not at laſt be ſet at liberty, and ſuffer'd to breathe in a free Air? Let her alone be Miſtreſs, and chuſe her Servants where ſhe beſt likes; let her old loving Nurſe, the *Platonick* Philoſophy, be admitted again into her Family; nor is there any cauſe to doubt but the Mechanick alſo will be faithful to her, no leſs againſt the open Violence of Atheiſm, than the ſecret Treachery of Enthuſiaſm and Superſtition, as the excellent Works of a late learned Author have abundantly demonſtrated. Nor will it be poſſible otherwiſe to free Religion from Scorn and Contempt, if her Prieſts be not as well skill'd in Nature as the People, and her Champions furniſh'd with as good Artillery as her Enemies. How ſhall the Clergy be able to maintain their Credit with the ingenious Gentry, who begin generally to be acquainted with the Atomical Hypotheſis, and know how to diſtinguiſh between a true Gem and a *Briſtol* Diamond? Or how ſhall they encounter with the Wits (as they are call'd) of the Age, that aſſault Religion with new kind of Weapons? Will they acquieſce in the Authority of *Ariſtotle* or St. *Thomas?* Or be put off with *contra negantem principia?* Let not the Church ſend out her Soldiers arm'd with Dock-leaves and Bulruſhes, to encounter Swords and Guns; but let them wear as good Braſs and Steel as their Enemies, and fight with them at their own Weapons; and then having Truth and Right on their ſide, let them never deſpair of Victory.

But I had almoſt forgotten that I was writing a Letter, the ordinary Proportions whereof I have already exceeded, and therefore muſt abruptly conclude; aſſuring you that I am,

*Cambridge*, June
12th, 1662.

Sir, Yours, *&c.*

*S. P.*

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Phenix

# Phenix XXVIII.

## *A ſhort Diſcourſe upon the Reaſonableneſs of Mens having a Religion, or Worſhip of God.*

### *By* George *Duke of* Buckingham.

### To the Reader.

*WHEN I began to write upon this Subject, it was out of a Curioſity I had to try, what I cou'd ſay, in reaſon, againſt the bold Aſſertions of thoſe Men, who think it a witty thing to defame Religion; and I have ſeen ſo few Writings of late, which are not very tedious, that I was deſirous at leaſt to avoid that fault in this, by making it as ſhort as I could.*

*The Reaſon why I have ſuffer'd it to be Printed, is indeed, Becauſe I cou'd not help it: Copys having been taken of it, and ſent to the Preſs, by the negligence of ſome to whom I lent it to read, I was as much aſham'd to forbid the Printing of it, as I ſhou'd have been, to have order'd it, or as I ſhould be now it is Printed, to diſown what I have written; and therefore I have here ſet my Name to it.*

*By the nature of this Diſcourſe, I was forc'd to conclude with an Opinion, which I have been long convinc'd of,* That nothing can be more Antichriſtian, nor more contrary to Senſe and Reaſon, than to trouble and moleſt our Fellow-Chriſtians, becauſe they cannot be exactly of our Minds, in all the things relating to the Worſhip of God.

*And who will but examine what multitudes of Men there are now amongſt us, of different Perſuaſions in Religion; and how inconſiderable any one part of them is, compar'd to the reſt, muſt, I am confident, be convinc'd, that the Practice of it, at this time, would be of no advantage to the Publick.*

*If a ſerious Conſideration of the preſent State of this Kingdom, can ſink deep enough into Mens Hearts, to make them endeavour, now, to promote a true Liberty of Conſcience, I ſhall yet hope to enjoy happy days in* England. *But otherwiſe, without pretending to be a Prophet, I can eaſily foreſee, that the contrary muſt of neceſſity terminate in this*; A general Diſcontent; the diſpeopling of our poor Country; and the expoſing us to the Conqueſt of a foreign Nation.

*Apr.* 1685.

Buckingham.

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## *A ſhort Diſcourſe upon the Reaſonableneſs of Mens having a Religion, or Worſhip of God.*

THERE is nothing that gives Men a greater diſſatisfaction, than to find themſelves diſappointed in their Expectations, eſpecially of thoſe things in which they think themſelves moſt concern'd; and therefore all, who go about to give Demonſtrations in Matters of Religion, and fail in the Attempt, do not only leave Men leſs Devout than they were before, but alſo, with great Pains and Induſtry, lay in their Minds the very Grounds and Foundations of Atheiſm: For the generality of Mankind, either out of Lazineſs, or a Diffidence of their being able to judg aright in Points that are not very clear, are apt rather to take things upon truſt, than to give themſelves the trouble to examine whether they be true or no. But when they find, that what a Man undertakes to give them for a Demonſtration, is really none at all, they do not only conclude they are deceiv'd by him, but begin alſo to ſuſpect they have been ill us'd by thoſe, who firſt impos'd upon them a Notion, for which no Demonſtration can be given; and from that Suſpicion proceed to this other of a more dangerous Conſequence, That what is not demonſtrable, may perhaps too not be true.

I ſhall, therefore, in this Diſcourſe, make uſe of another Method, and content my ſelf with endeavouring to ſhew what, in my Opinion, is moſt probable; Demonſtration being, as to Matters of Faith, abſolutely unneceſſary: becauſe, if I can convince a Man, that the Notions I maintain are more likely to be true than falſe, it is not in his power not to believe them; no Man believing any thing becauſe he has a mind to believe it, but becauſe his Judgment is convinc'd, and he cannot chuſe but believe it, whether he will or no: and Belief is all that is requir'd of us in the ſpeculative Part of Religion.

Beſides, Demonſtration being ſuch an Evidence of a thing, as ſhows the contrary of it to be impoſſible; it is, if you mark it, a whimſical kind of Expreſſion to ſay, that a Man does but believe a thing to be ſo, which he is ſure cannot poſſibly be otherwiſe. It is juſt as ingenious as if one ſhou'd profeſs, That he hopes he ſhall but begin to have a thing to morrow, which he is already this day in poſſeſſion of. Belief and Faith being as intirely ſwallow'd up in Demonſtration, as Hope is in Fruition.

My Deſign in this Paper is, to induce Men to a Belief of Religion, by the ſtrength of Reaſon; and therefore I am forc'd to lay aſide all Arguments which have any dependence upon the Authority of Scripture, and muſt faſhion my Diſcourſe as if I had to do with thoſe that have no Religion at all.

The firſt main Queſtion, upon the clearing of which I ſhall endeavour to ground the *Reaſonableneſs of Mens having a Religion, or Worſhip of God,* is this, *Whether it is more probable that the World has order'd it ſelf to be in the Form it now is, or was contriv'd to be ſo by ſome other Being of a more perfect, and more deſigning Nature?* For whether or no the World has been created out of nothing, is not material to our purpoſe; becauſe if a ſupreme intelligent Agent has fram'd the World to be what it is, and has made us to be what we are, we ought as much to ſtand in awe of it, as if it had made both us and the World out of nothing. Yet becauſe this latter Queſtion ought not to be totally paſs'd by, I ſhall take the liberty to offer ſome Conceptions of mine upon it.

The chief Argument us'd againſt God Almighty's having created the World, is, That no Man can imagine how a thing ſhou'd be made out of nothing; and that, therefore, it is impoſſible he ſhou'd have made the World, becauſe there is nothing elſe out of which it cou'd be made.

Firſt then, I cannot chuſe but obſerve, that to ſay, Becauſe we are not able to imagine how a thing ſhou'd be, therefore the Being of that thing muſt be impoſſible, is in it ſelf a diſingenuous way of Argumentation; eſpecially in thoſe, who at the ſame time declare they believe this World to be Eternal, and yet are as little able to comprehend how it ſhou'd be Eternal, as how it ſhou'd be made out of nothing.

In the next place I conceive, that nothing can be properly ſaid to endure, any longer than it remains juſt the ſame; for in the inſtant any part of it is chang'd, that thing, as it was before, is no more in being.

In the third place, that every part of this World we live in is chang'd every moment; and by conſequence, that this whole World is ſo too, becauſe the whole is nothing elſe but what is compos'd of every part; and that therefore we cannot properly ſay, this World has continu'd for many Ages, but only that all things in this World have been chang'd for ſeveral Years together.

To evade which Opinion, thoſe who maintain the Eternity of the World, are forc'd to ſay, That the Matter of it is not chang'd, but the Accidents only. Tho this be a ſort of Argument which they will not allow of in others; for when it is by the *Romaniſts* urg'd, in Defence of Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament, *That the Accidents of the Wafer remain, tho the Subſtance of it be chang'd*, they reject that as a ridiculous Notion: and yet it is not one jot more abſurd to ſay, *That the Accidents remain when the Matter is chang'd, than that the Matter remains when the Accidents are chang'd*: nay of the two, the Aſſertors of this latter Opinion are the leaſt excuſable, becauſe they boldly attribute it to a natural Cauſe; whereas the *Romaniſts* have the modeſty at leaſt to own it for a myſterious Miracle.

But that the Weakneſs of this Imagination, of ſeparating Accidents from Bodys, may the plainlier appear, let us examine a little what the meaning of the word *Accident* is. Accident then does not ſignify a Being diſtinct from Body or Matter, but is only a Word, whereby we expreſs the ſeveral ways we conſider of what is in a Body, or Matter that is before us. For example; if we perceive a Body to have Length, then we conſider of that Length as an Accident of that Body; and when we perceive a Body to have a Smell, or Taſte, then we conſider of that Smell and that Taſte as Accidents of that Body. But in none of theſe Conſiderations we mean that any thing can have Length, or Smell, or Taſte, but what really is Body; and when any thing, that had a Smell or Taſte, has left off to have a Smell or Taſte, it is, becauſe that part of it, which had a Smell or Taſte, is no more in it. So that, upon an examination of the whole Matter, I am apt to believe, that there can be naturally no change of Accidents, but where there is a real change of Bodys.

But to proceed a little further, the Queſtion being, *Whether it be more probable that the World, or that God Almighty has been* *from all Eternity*; I think I may adventure to affirm, that of two Propoſitions, the leaſt probable is that which comes neareſt to a Contradiction. Now nothing can come nearer to a Contradiction than Eternity, or abiding the ſame for ever, and a continu'd Changing, or not abiding the ſame one moment. And therefore I conclude, it is leſs probable that this changeable World ſhou'd have been from all Eternity, than that ſome other Being, of more Excellence, and greater Perfection, ſhou'd be ſo, whoſe very Nature is incapable of Change.

That Being of more Excellence, and greater Perfection, I call *God*; and thoſe, who out of a fooliſh averſion they have for the Name of God, will call it Nature, do not in any kind differ from this Notion of that Being, but only change its Name, and rather ſhew, they have a vain miſtaken Ambition of being thought Atheiſts, than that they have any Reaſon ſtrong enough to convince them to be ſo.

The next Queſtion I ſhall take into Conſideration, is this, *Whether, tho there be a* God, *it is probable, that he ſhould take a more particular Care of Mankind, than he does of Beaſts and other Animals.* To which I have this to offer, That tho there are ſeveral ſorts of Animals, which give us occaſion to imagine they have ſome kind of Reaſon in them, tho not to ſo great a Perfection as Men have; yet ſince no other Animal did ever any one thing, that cou'd give us the leaſt cauſe to believe, they have a Conception of another World, or of a Deity; and that no Man was ever yet born, but had a Conception, or at leaſt a Suſpicion of it, more or leſs: I ſay, for this reaſon, it is probable, in my Opinion, that there is ſomething nearer a-kin to the Nature of God in Men, than there is in any other Animals whatſoever; and for that Reaſon, that God Almighty does take a more particular Care of us, than he does of them.

If then God be Eternal, and it is probable there is ſomething in our Nature, which is a-kin to the Nature of God, it is alſo probable, that that part of us never dies.

It is alſo probable, that what by it we are prompted moſt to value and eſteem, as the higheſt Perfections, good Qualitys, and Vertues, are Parts of the Eſſence and Nature of God.

Now of all good Qualitys, or Vertues, it is Juſtice, which all Men do moſt highly eſteem and value in others, tho they have not all the good Fortune to practiſe it themſelves. For Juſtice is that good Quality, or Vertue, which cauſes all other good Qualitys or Vertues to be eſteem'd; nay it is that Vertue, without which all other Vertues become as Vices; that is, they all come to be abhor'd.

For he who wants Juſtice, and has Wit, Judgment, or Valour, will for the having Wit, Judgment, or Valour, be the more abhor'd; becauſe the more Wit, Judgment, or Valour he has, if he wants Juſtice, the more he will certainly become a wicked Man: And he who wants Juſtice, and has Power, will, for the having that Power, be the more abhor'd; becauſe the more Power he has, if he wants Juſtice, the more he will certainly become a wicked Man. And therefore, in my Opinion, it is a very unreaſonable thing for Men, out of a Deſign of extolling God Almighty's Power, to rob him of Juſtice; the Quality without which, even Power it ſelf muſt neceſſarily be abhor'd. And pray what can be more diſreſpectful to God Almighty, than to fancy that he ſhall puniſh us for doing that, which he has from all Eternity predeſtinated; that is, compell'd us to do? It is an Act that I can hardly believe there ever yet was born a Man cruel enough to be guilty of, even in the depth of his Revenge. And ſhall we make that an Attribute of the moſt perfect, and the moſt high God, which is beneath the Effect of the meaneſt of Paſſions in the worſt of Men? It is, in my Opinion, more reaſonable to believe, that God Almighty, out of his Love to Mankind, has given us an Eternal Soul; that an Eternal Being, and Freewill, are things in their Nature inſeparable one from the other; and that therefore, according to our Actions, proceeding from our Wills, God Almighty, in Juſtice, will reward and puniſh us in another World, for the good and ill Deeds we perform in this. I do not ſay, that the beſt of our Actions here, are good enough to make us deſerve the Joys of Heaven; we muſt owe them to God Almighty's Grace and Favour, as indeed we owe all things elſe.

Neither will I take upon me to gueſs at the ſeveral Degrees of Joys there are in Heaven; our dull Senſes, making it as impoſſible for us to diſcourſe well of thoſe things, as it is impoſſible for a Man born blind, to talk well of Colours. Nor will I pretend to judg how long, or how much God Almighty will puniſh us hereafter; becauſe, for the ſame Reaſon, that we think him to be a God of Juſtice, we muſt alſo conclude him to be a God of Mercy.

This only I do verily believe, *That the more we love him, the more he will love us: and the leſs we love him, the worſe it will be for us.*

Again, if this Inſtinct, or Conception, we have of a Deity, be the Ground of our Religion, it ought alſo to be the Guide of our Religion: that is, if the ſtrongeſt reaſon we have to believe, that God Almighty does take a more particular Care of us, than he does of other Animals, is, becauſe there is ſomething in our Nature, nearer a-kin to the Nature of God, than any thing that is in any other Animal; I ſay, in all reaſon, that part of us which is neareſt a-kin to the Nature of God, ought to be our Guide and Director, in chuſing the beſt way for our religious Worſhip of God.

There is alſo this other Conſequence, which, in my Opinion, does naturally depend upon what has been ſaid; That one of the greateſt Crimes a Man can be guilty of, is to force us to act or ſin againſt that Inſtinct of Religion which God Almighty has plac'd in our Hearts: for, if that Inſtinct be ſomewhat a-kin to the Nature of God, the ſinning againſt it muſt be ſomewhat a-kin to the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

If then it be probable that there is a God, and that this God will reward and puniſh us hereafter, for all the good and ill things we act in this Life; it does highly concern every Man to examine ſeriouſly, which is the beſt way of worſhipping and ſerving this God; that is, which is the beſt Religion.

Now if it be probable, that the Inſtinct which we have within us of a Deity, be a-kin to the Nature of God; that Religion is probably the beſt, whoſe Doctrine does moſt recommend to us thoſe things, which, by that Inſtinct, we are prompted to believe are Vertues and good Qualitys. And that, I think, without exceeding the Bounds of Modeſty, I may take upon me to affirm, is the Chriſtian Religion.

And for the ſame reaſon it does alſo follow, that the Religion amongſt Chriſtians, which does moſt recommend to us Vertue and a good Life, is, in all probability, the beſt Religion.

And here I muſt leave every Man to take Pains, in ſeeking out and chuſing for himſelf; he only being anſwerable to God Almighty for his own Soul.

I began this Diſcourſe, as if I had to do with thoſe who have no Religion at all; and now, addreſſing my ſelf to Chriſtians, I hope they will not be offended at me, for ending it with the Words of our Saviour:

*Ask, and it ſhall be given you; ſeek, and you ſhall find; knock, and it ſhall be open'd unto you.*

I ſhall beg leave farther only to propoſe a few Queſtions to all thoſe, in general, who are pleas'd to call themſelves Chriſtians.

Firſt, Whether there be any thing more directly oppoſite to the Doctrine and Practice of Jeſus Chriſt, than to uſe any kind of Force upon Men, in Matters of Religion? And conſequently, Whether all thoſe that practiſe it (let them be of what Church or Sect they pleaſe) ought not juſtly to be call'd Antichriſtians?

Secondly, Whether there can be any thing more unmanly, more barbarous, or more ridiculous, than to go about to convince a Man's Judgment by any thing, but by Reaſon? It is ſo ridiculous, that Boys at School are whip'd for it; who, inſtead of anſwering an Argument with Reaſon, are Loggerheads enough to go to Cuffs.

And, Thirdly, Whether the Practice of it has not always been ruinous and deſtructive to thoſe Countrys where it has been us'd, either in Monarchys or Commonwealths? And whether the contrary Practice has not always been ſucceſsful to thoſe Countrys where it has been us'd, either in Monarchys or Commonwealths?

I ſhall conclude with giving them this friendly Advice: If they wou'd be thought Men of Reaſon, or of a good Conſcience, let them endeavour, by their good Counſel and good Example, to perſuade others to lead ſuch Lives as may ſave their Souls: And not be perpetually quarrelling amongſt themſelves, and cutting one another's Throats, about thoſe things, which they all agree are not abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation.

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# Phenix XXIX.

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## *The Duke of* Buckingham *His Grace's Letter to the unknown Author of a Paper, entitled,* A Short Anſwer to his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Paper, concerning *Religion, Toleration,* and *Liberty of Conſcience.*

*My Nameleſs, Angry, Harmleſs, Humble Servant*;

I Have twice read over, with a great deal of Patience, a Paper of yours, which you call an Anſwer to a Diſcourſe of Mine; and, to my Confuſion, muſt own, that I am not able to comprehend what part of my Diſcourſe it is you do anſwer; nor in all yours, what it is you mean. But in this you are even with me; for I perceive you do as little underſtand any part of what I have written, tho I thought it had been in ſo plain a Stile, that a Child of ſix Years old might very well have done it. Yet I do not take ill from you this Art you have of miſunderſtanding plain things, ſince you have done the ſame in his Majeſty's Promiſe to the Church of *England*. The true meaning of which (without this miſunderſtanding Art of yours) wou'd eaſily have appear'd to be, that he wou'd not ſuffer any body to injure the Church of *England*; but he did not promiſe, that he wou'd have the Church of *England* perſecute every Body elſe.

Having confeſs'd that I cannot underſtand your Writing, you ought not to be offended at me, if I cannot remember it neither. And yet there is one Paſſage in it which I ſhall never forget, becauſe it does in a moſt extraordinary manner delight me; it is this ſhrewd convincing Argument of yours, which you ſay, *Had you been to treat with Atheiſts, you wou'd have urg'd to them, That it is impoſſible this World ſhould be Eternal, becauſe then it muſt alſo be Inviſible.* It is, I ſwear, a refin'd, quaint kind of Notion; which (to do you Juſtice) I do verily believe, is entirely your own: yet for all this I cannot be abſolutely convinc'd, that I am now the ſame *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, which I was Forty Years ago. And to ſhew you I am in earneſt, I do here promiſe you, That if you will do for me a Favour leſs difficult, which is, to make me the ſame *George* Duke of *Buckingham* I was but Twenty Years ago, I will (as poor a Man as I am) give you a Thouſand Guineas for your Pains; and that is ſomewhat more, I am afraid, than you will ever get by your Writing.

You have done me the honour to call your ſelf my humble Servant; and therefore in Gratitude, I ſhall offer you an Advice, which I am confident, upon ſecond Thoughts, you will not find to be altogether unreaſonable: That hereafter, before you take upon you to write *French*, you will be pleas'd to learn the Language; for the word *Opinionatrê*, which you are ſo infinitely charm'd with in your Paper, has the misfortune to be no *French* word: The true *French* Word, which I ſuppoſe you wou'd have us'd, is *Opiniatretê*; and yet I proteſt, I do not ſee how (tho you had written it right) it wou'd have much more grac'd your Diſcourſe, than if it had been expreſs'd in *Engliſh*. Stick therefore to your *Engliſh* Metaphors, at which you are admirable; and be always careful of not turning (according to your own Words) *The Wine of Hopes into the Vinegar of Deſpair*; and then you cannot fail of being ſufficiently applauded by every Body, as you are by your grateful Friend,

*Buckingham.*

Phenix

# Phenix XXX.

## A Treatiſe of Human Reaſon.

### By Mat. Clifford, *Eſq; late Maſter of the* Charter-houſe.

BEING reſolv'd, according to the Duty of every private Perſon, to make a Search into the Nature and Quality of my Religion; and according to my Intereſt in human Society, to communicate the Effects of that Search to others, if I ſhall believe it profitable for them: I am in the firſt place to conſider of the choice of ſome Guide, for ſo long and ſo dangerous a Journy, where I ſhall ſometimes meet with no Track or Path at all, and ſometimes with ſo many, and thoſe ſo contrary in the appearance of their firſt Entry, that the Variety will confound me more than the Want; eſpecially there being ſo many Miſts caſt before me by the Errors and Deceits of others, that one had great need of a better Eyeſight than is left us by the Fall of our firſt Forefather. And this Conſideration, after a long and ſerious Debate thereof, brings no other Guide to me but my own Reaſon; which if it take ſuch Directions as it ought and may do before it ſets forth, and purſue thoſe Directions with Care and Conſtancy, tho it may poſſibly lead me into Errors, yet will bring me at laſt even thro them, to the propos'd end of my Journy, which is Happineſs.

I am not ignorant of the many Enemys I muſt meet with in this Doctrine, but am fortify'd againſt them with the thought, that they who diſpute moſt againſt the Power and Privileges of human Reaſon, do it becauſe their own Reaſon perſuades them to that Belief; and ſo whether the Victory be o'mine, or o'their ſide, are equally defeated. They ſeek to terrify us with the example of many excellent Wits, who, they ſay, by following this *Ignis fatuus* (for ſo they call the only North-Star which God has given us for the right ſteering of our Courſe) have fallen into wild and ridiculous Opinions, and increas'd the Catalogue of Hereſys to ſo vaſt a number. But truly theſe Men either follow'd not their own Reaſon, but made it follow their Will, or hoodwink'd it firſt by Intereſt and Prejudices, and then bad it ſhew them the way; or were wanting in thoſe neceſſary Diligences which are requir'd for ſo doubtful and dangerous a Paſſage: Or if without the Commiſſion of any of theſe Faults, the Weakneſs of their Underſtanding has deceiv'd them, the Error is neither hurtful to themſelves, nor wou'd be to others, if this Doctrine of governing our ſelves from within, and not by Example, were eſtabliſh'd. Whereas on the contrary ſide, the ſubmitting our Judgments to Authority, or any thing elſe whatſoever, gives Univerſality and Perpetuity to every Error.

They fall naturally from hence into the large common Place of the Frailty, Uncertainty, and Diſproportion of our Underſtanding to divine and celeſtial Notions, and are eloquent herein with much of Truth: For when we ſay that every Man's Soul hath in it ſelf as much Light as is requiſite for our Travel towards Heaven, we do not therefore aſſume, that it is as clear as thoſe Spirits which are confeſs'd to be all a Flame. And for the unaptneſs of it to receive the Impreſſion of ſpiritual Truths, tho the *What* and the *How* of religious Myſterys be out of Sight; yet that they are ſuch, is ſufficiently viſible: eſpecially if we uſe thoſe helps which God has prepar'd for us to that purpoſe, and thoſe our Reaſon will dictate to her ſelf that ſhe is to uſe. The ordinary Saying of *Democritus*, That *Truth lies in the bottom of a deep Well*, is very applicable to this matter; that is, that we muſt ſeek it in the Center and Heart of our ſelves, and not look up into Heaven firſt and immediately for it; becauſe by this means we ſhall ſee Heaven in the bottom of the Well, tho we could not the Well in the top of Heaven.

But the chief and moſt tragical Argument againſt us is, That the Allowance of this Liberty to particular Mens Diſcourſes, would beget as many Religions as there are ſeveral Perſons, and conſequently draw after it ſuch Diſorder and Confuſion, as is inconſiſtent not only with the Quiet, but the very Being of human Society. This is a weighty and grievous Accuſation; and if our Reaſon be convinc'd of ſo harmful a Madneſs, it will be found neceſſary to keep it chain'd and fetter'd, and as much in the dark as may be. But I hope it will acquit it ſelf. Who knows not that the Philoſophy of the Antients ſeparated it ſelf into ſundry Partys; the *Pythagoreans*, the *Peripateticks*, the *Stoicks*, the *Scepticks*, the *Academicks*, (and theſe of three ſorts) the *Epicureans*, the *Cynicks*, with many others; and theſe differ'd not in ſlight and verbal Controverſys, but in the laſt ends of human Actions, in the nature of Good and Evil, nay of God himſelf? Whether Man work'd freely, or were compel'd by an inevitable Neceſſity? Whether the Soul were ſubject to Corruption, or immaterial and immortal? Whether the World had a beginning, or had endur'd from all Eternity? Whether the Gods took upon them the Government of things below, or ſat as idle themſelves in Heaven as their Images were here on Earth? With divers other Queſtions of equal Conſequence. Theſe Opinions divided the Philoſophers, and the Philoſophers the People; nor were there fewer Sects in *Athens*, than are now in *Amſterdam* or *London*. And yet this variety of Opinion neither begat any Civil War in *Greece*, neither did the *Peripateticks* (when both by the ſtrength of their Arguments and their Emperor, that Party was become the greateſt) ſet up any Inquiſition, or High Commiſſion or Committee againſt the reſt; but every Man enjoy'd his Opinion with more Safety and Freedom, than either his Goods or Wife. The ſame likewiſe happen'd in the Religions of the Antients; for tho ſeveral Citys profeſs'd the Worſhip of ſeveral Deitys, yet we read not of any War which hath ſprung from that Diverſity. The Poets have made the Gods enter into Factions and Quarrels for Commonwealths, but Commonwealths never did the ſame for their Gods. This Quiet and Happineſs, which (to the ſhame and ſcandal of the Chriſtian Name) was enjoy'd four thouſand years among the Heathen, continu'd ſo long and ſo uninterrupted, becauſe every Man, following the Rules of his own Judgment, allow'd that Liberty to others, which he found ſo neceſſary for himſelf. And even the *Stoicks* themſelves, who enſlav'd the Will, durſt never attempt this Violence to the Underſtanding.

From whence then ſhall we ſay it proceeds, that ſince the Reformation open'd a way to this Freedom of Conſcience, ſo much Blood and Confuſion, and almoſt Deſolation, has follow'd in all thoſe Countrys which admitted it? *Germany*, *France*, the *Low-Countrys*, and *Scotland* ave ſufficient Witneſſes of this; and I could wiſh that miſerable *England* had not been added to the number of theſe ſad Examples. But certainly, ſince this Liberty has been ſo many Ages exercis'd, without drawing after it thoſe Inconveniences which we now ſo juſtly complain of, they muſt be attributed either wholly to ſome other Cauſe, or to the Conjunction of ſome other Accidents to it, which have chang'd the Nature and Condition thereof: And that (having examin'd all Particulars which touch upon this Matter) I can find to be no other, than the ſtrange and uncharitable Pride of thoſe Men; who having with juſt Cauſe vindicated their own Reaſon from the Tyranny of unneceſſary Bonds, endeavour nevertheleſs to lay them upon others: ſo that not the uſe of ſuch Liberty, but the appropriating of it to our ſelves only, is the true, and, I think, the ſole Fountain of theſe Diſorders. For there cannot certainly in the World be found out ſo mild and ſo peaceable a Doctrine, as that which permits a difference in Beliefs; for what occaſion can any Man take to begin a Quarrel, when both he himſelf is ſuffer'd quietly to enjoy his own Opinion, and his own Opinion is this, that he ought to ſuffer others to do the ſame? But if once Men entertain an Imagination, that every thing is wicked and damnable which complys not with their own ſenſe, and that in this vaſt latitude of Probabilitys (which is in all kind of Diſquiſitions, but eſpecially thoſe of Religion, they being moſt obſcure and moſt indemonſtrable) there is none can lead one to Salvation, but the Path wherein he treads himſelf; we may ſee the evident and neceſſary Conſequence of eternal Troubles and Confuſions. For not only publick Charity will perſuade us to force Men to that wherein conſiſts their everlaſting Happineſs or Calamity, if by no other means we can induce Men to it (as without injury we bind the hands of a Man that would kill himſelf) but alſo our private Intereſt, and that particular Care, which every Man owes to his own Poſterity, which, without Suppreſſion of all Hereſys, muſt run the hazard of eternal Puniſhments, obliges us, by all means, to endeavour the Extirpation of thoſe Weeds out of the Fields of our Neighbours, which wou'd elſe ſo quickly overgrow our own: whereas if we had either more of Charity to others, to believe ſome Errors (the inſeparable Companions of human Nature) ought not to exclude Men from the Communion of the preſent Church, and the hope of the future; or leſs of Self-flattery, to think that all Men grope in the dark that light not their Candle at ours, we could not be ſo cruel in Perſecution of thoſe Faults to which God himſelf is ſo merciful, and from which we our ſelves are not exempt. I ſhall therefore conclude this Argument with a confident Aſſertion, That all the Miſerys which have follow'd the variety of Opinions ſince the Reformation, have proceeded intirely from theſe two Miſtakes; The tying Infallibility to whatſoever we think Truth, and Damnation to whatſoever we think Error.

Another Abſurdity this Doctrine is accus'd of, That if we guide our ſelves wholly by the Light of Reaſon, we ſhall not only every one differ from every body elſe, but every one frequently from himſelf, changing Religion almoſt as often as our Habits, driven about perpetually by every Wind, and in all probability daſh'd by ſome one at laſt againſt a Rock; now a Papiſt, to morrow a Lutheran, next a Calviniſt; and ſo, like the Heathen, dedicate every Day in the Week to a ſeveral Deity. I muſt confeſs, Inconſtancy is one of the greateſt Weakneſſes of the weakeſt Sex, and much leſs to be endur'd in Man, eſpecially in that moſt weighty Affair of his whole Life, the Service of God: but I cannot conceive, that the fear of this Scandal obliges us to a blind and inalterable Obſervance of thoſe Laws and Opinions, which either the Fate of our Birth and Education, or the Fortune of other Accidents have engag'd us in; but we ought to make a ſerious and long Enquiry, whether they agree moſt with that Light of our Underſtanding, which God has infus'd into us for that end, according to the beſt extent of thoſe Means, which are allow'd by him to our Underſtandings for this Examination; and whatſoever we ſhall fix upon after this Conſideration, if it be duly made, will be upon ſuch grounds, as are not likely every day, and upon every new Argument, to be remov'd from us: for if they be, it is a great, tho not an infallible Sign, that the Enquiry was not made at firſt with ſo much Diligence as was poſſible. And when we have once carefully ſettled our ſelves in a Belief, tho we happen to meet afterwards with ſome new and unforeſeen Difficultys, which may ſeem to evince the contrary; yet Reaſon will not preſently adviſe us to a Change, becauſe it finds it ſelf unable to unty the Knot; but ſuſpend a while and attempt again, and try a thouſand ſeveral ways before it deſpair and yield up it ſelf to the Argument: which remaining ſtill after all this unconquerable, it will then turn back and conſider, whether if it alter now its Judgment, it be able to ſatisfy all thoſe Defences which will be made for its former Opinion; and if it be overmatch'd by the Doubts on both ſides, rather chuſe to continue as before, than make an Innovation without Advantage. This Rule being obſerv'd, we ſhall not be ſubject to the Inconvenience of frequent Changes; and yet as true it is, that we ſhall not be exempt from the poſſibility of changing at all, which is neither requiſite nor attainable in this Life. And if in this Permutation, after all our Induſtry and Humility therein, it ſhall be our ill Fortune to give away a Truth for a Falſhood, it will be (as killing a Man againſt our Will is no Murder) at the worſt but an Error by Chance-medly, and will both find (I had almoſt ſaid claim) Mercy from God, and deſerve Pity from Men. We know very well that every Man's Body is in ſo perpetual a Flux, that about the ſpace of ſeven years, renders him wholly and intirely another corporeal Subſtance from what he was before, the whole Maſs both of Accidents and Matter being thruſt away by the continual Succeſſion of new ones: and yet becauſe the Soul remains ſtill the ſame, and retains all the while the ſame Power and uninterrupted Government over the whole Succeſſion, we juſtly eſteem it the ſame Perſon; nay every part of him to be always ſo truly the ſame, that at any time of his Life he may ſay, With theſe Eyes I ſhall behold my Saviour, tho the Accidents and very Matter of them be ſo often chang'd. Such an Identity as this is requiſite to a Man's Faith: he may now be fully a Papiſt, and ſeven years hence fully a Proteſtant, and yet his Faith ſtill remain the ſame; becauſe it is all the while actuated and mov'd by the ſame Soul of Faith, which is Conſcience; which if he preſerve inviolably, both when he was a Papiſt, and when he is a Proteſtant, he may truly ſay, With this very Faith I ſhall behold my Saviour.

But ſuppoſe this ſo exalted Guide of yours, your own Conſcience, ſhou'd direct you to forſake your Chriſtian Belief; for which the Devil does not want ſuch pleaſant Colours and ſpecious Fallacys, as may poſſibly deceive even a good Underſtanding.

Before I anſwer this Objection, I deſire to know of him that makes it, what it is (for ſomething it muſt be) which he places in the ſame Eccleſiaſtical Superiority that I do Reaſon? The private Spirit. What if that ſhou'd perſuade him to this Apoſtacy? It cannot, not indeed if it be true. But the ſame Condition will make Reaſon as infallible as that; and I may as well judg of the Truth of the one, as you of the other.

What is it then you will truſt your Soul with, in this important Buſineſs? It is the Authority of Men. Theſe verily ~~may lead~~ you into Error, and it is not impoſſible, into the greateſt and worſt of all, which is the Deſertion of Chriſt himſelf: not that this is likely to happen, neither more probable is it, that our Reaſon ſhou'd ſo far miſguide us. But alas! in this Affair of ſo vaſt and ſo eternal Conſequence, what Security can we aſſume, whilſt there remains a poſſibility of Miſcarriage? And this Poſſibility is evident: for let us conſider it in a Council; which, if there be any aſſurance in the number of Men, is that where moſt probably it may be found. I will not here reckon up the many Errors which great and famous Councils have fallen into themſelves, and labour'd to eſtabliſh in others, they are many and notorious. But certainly if a Council cou'd take away the Satisfaction of Chriſt's Death, and Divinity of his Perſon (as was done by that great one of the *Arians* which condemn'd *Athanaſius*, not without the Approbation of the Pope and the whole World beſides) a Council has already done that thing, which you affirm impoſſible for it to do. For they who believ'd Chriſt to come into the World as an Example and Pattern only of Holineſs, are no more to be call'd Chriſtians, than *Abrahamiſts* or *Davidiſts*. If you will here contend, that even theſe Men deſerted not wholly Chriſtianity, as a Man may do by the Impulſion of his own private Reaſon; yet certainly you will confeſs that they who fell ſo far into Error, might as well have ſunk deeper, and exalted ſome other Prophet above Chriſt, as well as make Chriſt to be but a Prophet. And this poſſibility of Error (even in ſo high a degree) we ſhall find in the Nature and very Elements of a Council; for if any one Member of it may be a Heathen or Atheiſt in Opinion (as the Lives of many Popes, and the Speeches of ſome, declare that they themſelves have been) why not two, not three, not more, not the major part; that is, the whole Council? From the Sanctions of the $\frac{2}{7}$ *Nicene* Council, which eſtabliſh'd the Worſhip of Images, how eaſy a ſtep was there made for the next? to the Introduction of a full, undiſguis'd and Heatheniſh Idolatry, which we muſt not ſay could not, becauſe by the Mercy of God it did not happen. And I verily believe, if God had not ſtir'd up ſome Perſons of excellent Abilitys and worthy Spirits (for ſuch ſure they were, tho not exempt from human Weakneſſes) to examine by the Rules of their own Reaſons, thoſe Follys and dangerous Errors in Religion, which partly by the Intereſt, partly by the Ignorance of Men, and inſenſible Advances of ill Cuſtom, were blindly embrac'd by the whole World: If theſe Men, I ſay, had not diſcover'd the paſt Errors, and by that means made their Adverſarys more cautious not to fall into any new ones, the World thro the Adoration of Saints and Images, and the boundleſs Increaſe of vain and ſuperſtitious Ceremonys, would have paſt before this time to its old and abominable Worſhip of ſeveral Deitys, and to a Religion overwhelm'd, if not with the ſame, yet with as many and as vain Impietys. It remains therefore, that you put your Confidence rather in the Traditions of the former, than the Commands of the preſent Church. But what thoſe were, you muſt either truſt ſome number of Men preſent, which is not without the poſſibility of being miſguided; or your own Search and Diligence, which is to fall into that Opinion which you condemn in me. And truly they who build their Belief wholly upon the Authority of paſt or preſent Ages, if they look upon all the Conſequences of that Opinion, are in much greater danger of being drawn from the Chriſtian Faith, than thoſe who remit the Judgment of theſe things to their own Reaſon: For ever ſince the beginning of the Chriſtian Belief, there has been the Authority of above an hundred to one againſt it; and this Authority back'd and ſtrengthen'd with the univerſal Agreement of more than three thouſand years before it. But on the contrary, if we weigh impartially the Motives and Arguments which every Religion can produce in its own defence; Reaſon it ſelf will find more and much greater for the Chriſtian, than it can for any other Belief whatſoever: And I am very confident, that no man ever from a Chriſtian became a Turk or a Jew, becauſe his Reaſon told him that was a better Religion; but becauſe either Fear of Puniſhment or Hope of Reward, or ſome other ſiniſter Cauſe, perſuaded his Reaſon, that the worſt Religion in it ſelf, would be the better to him upon thoſe Conditions.

Now all thoſe Arguments, by which ſome men have labour'd to prove, that our Guide in Spiritual matters ought to be Infallible, tho they be granted for true, as I believe in ſome ſenſe they are, will not at all diſpoſſeſs Reaſon of this Authority, which we have declar'd to be her due. For the Infallibility of a Guide I conceive to be only this, That it cannot fail to bring us to that end, for which we choſe to be guided by it; and if to this end there happen to be a thouſand ſeveral ways, it is a Guide no leſs infallible as to the End, if it lead us thro a long, an unpleaſant and obſcure Tract, than if it conducted us by a ſhort, a delightful, and an open Road: for not the Goodneſs of the Paſſage, but Certainty of not miſſing the End, is that which conſtitutes this kind of Infallibility. And truly every Man's particular Reaſon, if well follow'd (for whatſoever Guide you pitch upon, whether Scripture, Spirit, Church paſt or preſent, or any thing elſe imaginable, muſt have that condition annex'd, or elſe it will become unprofitable) will infallibly carry him at laſt, tho perhaps thro many tedious and troubleſom Wandrings, to his eternal Happineſs if it be follow'd (for that Condition cannot be repeated too often) with Conſtancy, Diligence and Sobriety.

This Doctrine ſets the great Gate of Heaven ſo wide open, that it will diſpleaſe thoſe Men, who with an envious kind of Pride, think it more Honour to enter in with a few at a narrow Wicket. But I truly, out of an humble Conſideration of my own Weakneſs, and the general Imbecillity of human Nature, ſhould ſtill lament and tremble, that the Entrances to Heaven are ſo few and ſo difficult, tho they were yet far more and much eaſier than this Opinion makes them. There are enow Obſtructions from the Frailty of our Fleſh, the Subtilty of the Devil, the Tyranny of our Paſſions, and the perverſe Crookedneſs of our corrupted Wills, without the Additions of any more from the Imperfections of our Intellect. Sufficient is the danger we run, in not performing thoſe Duties which we underſtand aright, without making our Miſunderſtandings damnable, and condemning that as a Guilt, which is to be pity'd as a Misfortune. What then? Shall we believe *Turks*, *Jews*, *Heathens*, *Atheiſts* themſelves (if there be any ſuch) in an equal poſſibility of Salvation with the unerring Chriſtian? Shall we ſave all Beaſts, of what kind ſoever, clean or unclean, in that myſtical Ark, the Church of God? Certainly in the two contrary Exceſſes of Belief in this matter, that on the ſide of Mercy hath the appearance of greater Safety; and I had rather think with *Origen*, *That the Devils themſelves, by the exceſſive Kindneſs of their Judg, ſhall at laſt be exempted from Damnation, than that he himſelf ſhall be damn'd for that Opinion.* But as to this their Objection, I believe firſt, That Reaſon it ſelf will declare to every Man in the World, that he ought to adhere to the Chriſtian, rather than to any other Religion whatſoever, if all things be propounded to him in a clear and impartial manner: and this whoſoever ſhall deny, I dare confidently affirm, it is impoſſible for him to be a Chriſtian. But becauſe there are a thouſand Accidents, which hinder the greateſt part of the World from the Advantages of ſo fair a Propoſal, hence it comes to paſs, that ſo ſmall a part of Mankind hath ſubmitted to the Obedience of the Chriſtian Faith. Now to condemn all thoſe Millions of Perſons (many Millions for one that is to be ſaved) is ſo wild an Uncharitableneſs, that few have been ſo barbarouſly ſevere, as to be guilty of it: and therefore thoſe whoſe Ignorance in theſe matters has been invincible, they left to the hands of God, without declaring a definitive Opinion either of their Safety or Perdition. Now if we conſider rightly, what Ignorance is to be accounted invincible, we ſhall by this means reſtore the greateſt part of Mankind into a hopeful and comfortable Condition: and none even amongſt the worſt Religions will be left to a certain Ruin, but ſuch whoſe Conſciences have been neglected, or forc'd aſide, by thoſe who ought to have been guided by them; and ſuch who can have no Plea againſt the Rigour of their Sentence, becauſe they deſerted themſelves as well as God. And the Diſobedience of Men to their own Conſcience, is not only in things of Practice, but alſo of Belief and Speculation, tho not in ſo evident and immediate a manner, by ſuffering themſelves to be deceiv'd by the inſenſible Operations of Intereſt and Prejudice.

Nor does it follow from hence, that Chriſt is not the only Source and Cauſe of eternal Felicity; for I acknowledg there is no other Name under Heaven, by which Men can hope for Salvation. But I may very well believe withal, that there are ſecret and wonderful ways, by which God may be pleas'd to apply his Merits to Mankind, beſides thoſe direct, open, and ordinary ones of Baptiſm and Confeſſion: which I have only advanc'd briefly in this place, being a matter that will require a more ample and particular Examination. Now concerning the Salvation of all ſorts of Chriſtians, except their Lives diſagree from their Doctrines (which is likewiſe a Diſobedience to their Reaſon) I know not why I ſhould be terrify'd out of my Charity by any *Anathema* whatſoever, that ſhall proceed from the mouth of Man. For I cannot ſee how any but God himſelf can certainly know that any Man is an Heretick, ſince it is only he who can diſcern by what cloſe and unlawful means he corrupts his Underſtanding, and hardens his own Will to the obſtinate Belief of any Error; for without that Obſtinacy there is no Hereſy, and without the perfect ſight of the whole Contexture of a man's Thoughts and Actions, there is no knowledg of ſuch an Obſtinacy: and therefore when the Church declares any Opinion to be Hereſy, it is to be accepted as if the Law ſhould ſay, *Whoſoever kills a Man is a Murderer*; which is a Sentence not abſolute, but to be qualify'd with Circumſtances. Even ſo the Church pronounces, *Whoſoever holds this Doctrine is an Heretick*; with an evident Reſervation of ſome Circumſtances in the meaning thereof: for no man can imagine that the Sentence includes thoſe who never ſhall hear of it; nor no more, ſay I, thoſe, who tho they hear of it, yet cannot by any means bring their Conſcience to the aſſent. For to obey in matters of Belief, without being able to believe the thing commanded, is no leſs, and ſeems more a Contradiction, than ſimply to obey without knowledg of a Command.

Thus much briefly concerning Hereſy, which indeed is a Subject worthy a Treatiſe by it ſelf. But this will not ſuffice, unleſs we can alſo clear our ſelves from the Imputation of Schiſm, the ordinary railing Word in all Controverſies, and a Slander which is often fatal in making, where it falſly accuſes a Separation: of which they are truly guilty (the Word it ſelf bearing witneſs againſt them) who break the precious Unity of the Chriſtian Church; but that is done not ſo much by them who differ in Opinions, as by them who will not allow of ſuch a Difference. Who knows, whether that God, who liked beſt that no mens Bodies ſhould have the ſame Complexion, no mens Faces the ſame Figures, no Hands the ſame

Lines, no Voices the ſame Sounds; nay, not ſo much, but their Motions and Geſtures ſhould be diſtinguiſhable; has not likewiſe beſt pleas'd himſelf with no leſs variety in the Parts of Men that are immaterial, and even in the moſt immaterial Actions of thoſe Parts, which is the Worſhip and Adoration of a Deity? Does God gain any thing by our Devotions? Does he receive Hurt from one kind of Worſhip, and Advantage by another? Is he pleas'd with any Smell in the Sacrifice, beſides that of Obedience? And can a plain, uniform, unalterable Obedience be expected, without Commands of the ſame nature? Without doubt, he who gave Rules which might accept of ſo many ſeveral Interpretations, when he might have made them as plain to all in one ſenſe, as they ſeem now to every Man in his own, is likewiſe well contented, that they ſhall be interpreted ſeverally. And as the Divines confeſs, that the ſame words of Scripture admit of a literal, typical, anagogical Senſe, and that all thoſe Senſes are both true and intended by the Holy Ghoſt, that Spirit of Unity that writ them; ſo, I ſay, the Commands of God concerning Religion are equally obey'd and fulfil'd by all the various kinds of Obedience, which the Conſciences of Men conceive themſelves bound to pay unto them. As well the Mud by growing hard, as the Wax by melting, obeys the Sun; nor is it leſs glorify'd by one than by the other: nor are thoſe Diverſities of Powers in the Sun, but of Capabilities in the Object that receives him. Even ſo Faith is ſtill properly one, tho according to the diverſe Receptions of it, it produce not only diverſe, but contrary Effects. It is not unobſervable, that the Unity of the Church of God is compar'd not to the Unity of one Man, but of a Man and Woman join'd in marriage: ſo the Church in general is one with Chriſt; ſo the Church Militant with the Triumphant; and ſo every particular Man with the Church Militant. Now this Unity is of one part more weak, more infirm, more ignoble than the other; and the Female Part in the Similitude, is the erring Part in the Church it ſelf; and as that by the Bond of Love, ſo this by the Bond of Charity, is to be accounted one and the ſame with the other. Can any thing be more irrational, than to ſay, that a Foot when it hath the Gout, or a Hand when it ſhakes with the Palſy, or a Head when it akes, ceaſes to be a Part of the Body? Sound or ſick, great or little, well or ill ſhap'd, are outward Conſiderations to the Nature of a Member; if it be inform'd by the ſame Soul, it requires no other Condition to make it ſuch: Nor can you make this Soul, which is requir'd of ſuch neceſſity to give it Life, to be a full and intire Agreement in all Points of Faith, of one

Member with another; for then in matters of Belief, you make no diſtinction betwixt Sickneſs and Death, and the leaſt Indiſpoſition of Health is a total Corruption. Men of the contrary Opinion (I foreſee) cannot chuſe but ſay here, that in dangerous and infectious Diſeaſes they cut off the affected Member to ſave the reſt; and that he who in a Gangrene ſpares the Patient, is the moſt hard-hearted and unmerciful Phyſician. And truly, if Errors in Belief draw ſo ill a Tail after them as the Devils and Damnation; if they be to be eſteem'd Gangrenes, as well in reſpect of their Mortality, as their ſpreading and infectious Nature; not only Prudence, but Charity it ſelf will put a Sword into our hands to cut them off. But alas! theſe Diſeaſes are not ſo deadly, as the Phyſicians of the Soul would make them, for the exalting of their own Reputation; and he that would preſently lop off an Arm, if the Gangrene be moving in it, would not, I hope, preſcribe the ſame Remedy, if it be but infected with an Itch: both Evils would extend themſelves over the whole Body, but the one to the perpetual Deſtruction of the Being, the other only to the temporary Loſs of the Beauty and Quiet of it: and therefore we rather patiently endure the Trouble and Vexation of continual Scratching (which is the true Metaphor for the Controverſies of Eccleſiaſtical Writers) with the Loathſomneſs and Deformity of ſo many ſorts, than take away a Member which may poſſibly hereafter recover its former Health and Comelineſs, and is even now, without them, of great and neceſſary Uſes to the whole Body.

Now as for thoſe Men, who accuſe us of Pride and Vanity, for attributing ſo much to our own Reaſon, making Preſumption and Self-flattery the Fountain of this Opinion; it is a Scandal ſo falſe, and ſo ridiculous, that without much Humility I ſhould diſdain to anſwer it. Are thoſe to be accounted proud and tyrannical, who being govern'd by their own Reaſon, are content that all others ſhould enjoy the ſame liberty; or thoſe, who whilſt they deny that they themſelves are ruled by their own Underſtandings, would nevertheleſs have all others ſubmit to it? Is it the Voice of Pride, to acknowledg, that they who differ from me may poſſibly be in the right; or if they miſtake, may do it without ruin; or to ſay, whoſoever is not of my opinion, is in the wrong; and whoſoever lies in the wrong, is eternally to periſh for his Error? It is the cuſtom of Preſumption, to be ready to lay down an Opinion once entertain'd (which is almoſt as great a Martyrdom, as laying down our Lives for the Truth's ſake) when cauſe ſhall appear for ſo doing, or by claiming to our ſelves the Infallibility of our Party (for he is infallible himſelf who agrees with them that are ſo) to harden our ſelves into a neceſſary Opiniatreté.

Theſe are the common Objections againſt this good-natur'd and gentle Doctrine: But Mr. *Hobbs*, according to his extraordinary Wit, has found out an odd and extraordinary Argument. For in his firſt Chapter of Religion, in the ſtate of God's natural Empire, making every City the ſupreme Judg in matters that belong to God's Worſhip, and to which we ought to render an intire Obedience, ſays thus: 'Otherwiſe all abſurd Opinions of the Nature of God, and all ridiculous Ceremonies which have been admitted by any Nations, would be ſeen at once in the ſame City; by which it would happen, that every particular Perſon would believe all others to * blaſpheme, or irreverently to behave himſelf towards God: ſo that it could be ſaid of no Man, that he worſhip'd God; becauſe no Man worſhips God (that is, honours him externally) but he who does thoſe things by which he may appear to others to honour him.

* *Contumelia afficere.*

But methinks, if this be true, the ſeveral unappealable Tribunals, which are ſet up by Mr. *Hobbs* in ſeveral Cities or Commonwealths, are as well deſtroy'd by it, as thoſe which are plac'd by us in every man's Breaſt. For ſeveral Cities appointing ſeveral kinds of Worſhip or Honour, conſiſting in the Opinion not of the Worſhipper or Honourer himſelf, but of the Witneſſes and Spectators of the Worſhip or Honour; now if he ſay, that when a whole Commonwealth has but one ſort of Worſhip, none will be Witneſſes or Spectators of it, but thoſe who believe it honourable; firſt, as much Scandal from the Report, as from the ſight of it: and beſides, the ſame I ſay will happen, if there were an hundred Religions in one City; for ſtill their Religious Congregations were to be made up of Men of the ſame Opinions. Again, thoſe who deny that a Commonwealth ought to enforce an Unity of Worſhip upon all its Subjects, will likewiſe as much deny, that Men ought to think thoſe Worſhips diſhonourable which are not practis'd by themſelves: and if he ſay, there is no hindering of this latter, he muſt needs pardon me, if I cannot believe that impoſſible, which has been in the world (even in a more ridiculous variety than is at preſent, at leaſt in our parts) for ſo many Ages, and which is now exercis'd in ſome places. And if ignorant or malicious Phyſicians in this violent Fever, did not apply new Heats inſtead of Julips, they might by writing, diſputing, preaching, living charitably (which is all the former) reduce the World in a ſhort time to its antient, healthful, and natural Temper. Laſtly (to ſtrike at the root of this Argument) it is falſe, that the Worſhip or Honour of God conſiſts in the Opinion of others; if it did, Idolatry for four thouſand years, had been the beſt, nay, the only Religion: and if I were now in the South Continent (where I ſuppoſe I ſhould be the only Chriſtian) I ought not to abſtain from the Chriſtian Worſhip of God (no, nor to hide or diſguiſe it) for fear leſt the Wonder, Contempt, and Mockery of Infidels, ſhould on a ſudden (I know not how) convert it into Sin and Blaſphemy. True it is, that in Honour paid from Men to Men, Cuſtom, Conſent, and Acknowledgment, makes up the buſineſs; and an Honour contrary to the uſe of the place is counted an Affront, as to put off the Hat would be in the Eaſt, and in the Weſt to keep it on before Princes. But the reaſon of this is, becauſe Men who are not able to ſearch into the Hearts, muſt be govern'd in their Judgment of them by the exterior Actions; and the Meaſure or Standard of thoſe is Cuſtom, but with God it is quite otherwiſe: He beholds and judges the very Thoughts of Man, which are the Fountains of his Actions, ſo much more fully and plainly, than we do the Actions themſelves; that he needs not make a ſecond, a mediate, a ſyllogiſtical Judgment of the Reality of Mens Worſhip, from the external, circumſtantial, and only probable Teſtimonies of their outward Behaviours. And truly, if we put the caſe amongſt Men, methinks a great *Roman* Emperor, that calls himſelf Maſter of the World, ſhould delight to prove himſelf to be ſo, from the Variety of Homages, Tribute and Worſhip, which he receives from ſeveral Nations; and no more refuſe to be honour'd in ſeveral faſhions, than he would to be prais'd in ſeveral Languages. He would be glad perhaps to eſtabliſh the *Latin* Tongue, and make that the Speech of all Countries; but finding that Deſign to be impoſſible, would at leaſt pardon that Diverſity, which agrees and conſents in his own Glory. Truly if Men could caſt away ſo much Paſſion, as to make but true Compariſons, they would find no more hurt from the Uſe of different Ceremonies, than of different Tongues in the ſame City; and we might be as well allow'd to ſerve God after the *Engliſh* manner, as to ſpeak *Engliſh* in the *Spaniſh* Dominions. As Words are the Images of our Thoughts, ſo our Thoughts are of the things themſelves: and as well may differing Thoughts truly repreſent the Worſhip of one God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, as differing Words can repreſent the ſame Thought. And this the *Roman* Church ſeems to acknowledg, which does not think ſufficient Unity in God's Service to be retain'd, with the allowance of more than of one Language; and for Preſervation of fantaſtical Identity, teaches her Sons firſt to think, and afterwards to ſpeak they know not what. They ſay firſt, Our Error is the ſame with that of the *Greeks*, which is tax'd by St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians:* That they *ſought after Wiſdom*, but *that the World by Wiſdom knew not God:* That *the Wiſdom of the Wiſe was deſtroy'd, and the Underſtanding of the Prudent brought to nothing:* That it *was made Fooliſhneſs*; nay it *was confounded by the fooliſh things of the World.* And againſt this Wiſdom, many excellent things are ſpoken in the beginning of that Epiſtle; and it is ſtrucken down (as St. *Paul* was himſelf) by a greater Light of Divine Truth, which came from God for that very purpoſe, to amaze and confound it firſt, and then to convert it. But if we mark it well, we ſhall obſerve, that under this Name of *Wiſdom*, which is arraign'd, condemn'd, nay, and executed here (for it is brought to nothing) is not ſignify'd *Human Reaſon*; but that which among the *Greeks* at that time was falſly and blindly eſteem'd to be ſo: As in the Laws againſt Magick, not that which is truly, but that which is falſly call'd ſo, is only condemn'd. And therefore St. *Paul* names it the *Wiſdom of Words*; *the enticing Words of Man's Wiſdom*; and the *Wiſdom after the Fleſh*; and the *Wiſdom of the Princes of the World.* By which three Names are plainly (methinks) deſcrib'd the three great Suborners and Corrupters of *Human Reaſon* (and not at all it ſelf) the Deſire of Reputation, of Pleaſure, and Profit. By the firſt we forſake the Truth, to make Demonſtrations of our Wit and Eloquence: By the ſecond to compaſs thoſe carnal and worldly Pleaſures, which our own true Reaſon does not allow of, and therefore we will not allow of it, (as *Henry* the Eighth ſeems to have left the Pope, becauſe he refus'd to diſpenſe with his Luſts, and to call that Matrimony, which was indeed Adultery:) And by the third to comply with the Intereſt of States and Princes, and either willingly deceiving our ſelves with the Errors of our Governours, or deceiving others with a Deſire to govern them. And theſe three (at leaſt the two latter) Cauſes of Error in the Underſtanding, may be the Reaſon contain'd with Truth in the Parable concerning which is ſtrongeſt. That that which falſly ſeem'd to be *Human Reaſon*, and not that which truly is ſo, is accus'd by St. *Paul*, appears yet more plainly, where he ſays, that *God hath choſen the things which are not, to confound the things which are:* where *the things which are not*, can ſignify nothing elſe, but the things which are eſteem'd as nothing, that is, neither of value in themſelves, nor of power to produce any Effects. True it is, that the beſt and trueſt *Human Reaſon* could not have found out of it ſelf, that *Wiſdom of God in a Myſtery, even that hidden Wiſdom which God ordain'd before the World*, which is the Myſtery of Chriſt Jeſus; but it was neceſſary it ſhould firſt be reveal'd by that Spirit, which can only ſearch and diſcover the deep things of God. But as ſoon as the Spirit had reveal'd it (which it did by Miracles, by fulfilling of Prophecies, and many other means of Power and Demonſtration) even *Human Reaſon* was able to behold and to confeſs it; not that Grace had alter'd the Eye-ſight of *Human Reaſon*, but that it had drawn the Object nearer to it. And till the Object was brought ſo nigh, the Wiſdom of Man did as ſafely not diſcern it, as it does not now the new State of things, which ſhall be reveal'd at the ſecond coming. And whereas they oppoſe againſt this the Saying of the Apoſtle, that *the natural Man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are Fooliſhneſs unto him; neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcern'd:* The word Natural, I take to be a very ill Tranſlation, and conceive it ought to be render'd *the ſenſual Man*, for ſuch ψυχικὸς in the *Greek*, and *Animalis* in the *Latin*; ψυχὴ many times ſignifying the lower and ſenſitive part of the Soul, in diſtinction to νȣ͂ς, which is the upper or rational, as *Anima* is oppos'd to *Animus*, and both ſometimes to *Mens*. So that the meaning is, that whilſt a Man's Reaſon is ſeduc'd by his Appetites and Paſſions, it is an unfit Judg of Spiritual Matters, neither can be Umpire for a Peace, having join'd it ſelf to the Party of thoſe things, which are in perpetual Warfare againſt the Spirit. But they ſay this Authority which we aſcribe to Reaſon, is ſtrangely different from that *Captivity*, which St. *Paul* ſubjects it to, when he ſays, *Caſting down Reaſonings, and every high thing that exalts it ſelf againſt the Knowledg of God, and bringing into Captivity every Thought to the Obedience of Chriſt.* And what Captivity, ſay they, can there be, whilſt we are only guided by the Motions of our own Underſtanding? All which ſignifies no more, but that St. *Paul* relates (in vindication of his own juſt Greatneſs, againſt the Calumnies of ſome that deſpis'd his Perſon, eſpecially as weak and rude of Speech) how he had confuted thoſe Perſons that oppos'd themſelves by Reaſonings againſt the Doctrine of Chriſt; and whereas their Underſtandings before were enſlav'd and captivated to the Deſires of the ſenſual Soul (for which he calls them in another place, *Beaſts at Epheſus*) which hinder'd them from the Obedience of Chriſt, he freed them from their cruel Bondage, by caſting down all their Strong Holds, and breaking the Chains of their fallacious Reaſonings, and brought them into another Captivity by Right of Conqueſt, but ſuch an one where the Yokes are light and the Burdens eaſy; that is, by true Reaſon he overcame and captivated their falſe ones.

And from this Example, I deſire thoſe who would have our Underſtandings captivated, to convince us firſt by theirs, that they ought to be ſo, and not to think to inſlave our Reaſons, till they firſt overcome them: which when they have done, then they will loſe what they contended for. For by our Reaſon's being guided, conquer'd, and inſlav'd, theirs are become Guides, Conquerors, and Maſters. So that it will appear at laſt impoſſible for *Human Reaſon* to loſe any thing in one place, without gaining as much in ſome other.

They who follow the Apprehenſion of a Viſion or Revelation extrinſecally coming into their Souls, if it happen that that extrinſecal Light come from the *Father of Lights*, as the Pillar of Fire did which led the *Iſraelites*, they muſt needs be guided rightly; but if it chance to be an *Ignis fatuus* (a Flame driven about, as Men commonly believe, by malicious Spirits) the Errors which it leads them into become unpardonable: for what Plea can they make for Mercy, ſince there is no Command, nor no Counſel can be alledg'd for the truſting of themſelves to that Stranger, which they can neither know from whence he comes, nor whither he deſigns to go? The like happens if we obey Authority: For if that Authority preſcribe Truth, we have good fortune in our Obedience, and merely good fortune; but if it draw us into Errors, we have nothing to ſay for our excuſe, becauſe we have nothing to alledg for our Obedience to that Authority: So *Eve* pleaded the Authority of the Serpent, but both were puniſh'd: So *Adam*, with more appearance of Innocency, *the Woman that thou gaveſt me for an Helper bid me eat*, and accordingly I did; but to him too a Curſe is pronounc'd, becauſe he believ'd that which was figuratively one with him (as Members of the Church pretend to do the Church) rather than that which was moſt certainly and ſingly one with him, which was his own Reaſon. Thus the beſt that can be made of theſe mens Opinions is, that after they have blind-folded themſelves, amongſt the many doors where they may enter, there is one which will lead them to Heaven; which if they miſs, it will be ask'd, not why you enter'd not there, but why by blinding your own Eyes did you put your ſelf into a greater probability of not finding, than of lighting upon the true Paſſage. Now contrariwiſe, thoſe who commit themſelves to the Guidance of their own Underſtanding, if they do commit themſelves wholly to it, are as ſafe on the left hand as on the right, as ſecure of Happineſs in their Errors, as others are, who are otherwiſe guided, even in the Truths which they happen to fall into. For there is no danger of periſhing, but from Diſobedience, without which every Man may often err; the Commandment of God being not to find out Truth (eſpecially every particular one) but to endeavour the finding it. He commands no more but to *ſearch, and ye ſhall find*, ſays he, not every particular Truth, for Experience teaches us that cannot be the Interpretation; but whether you find or no the Truth which you ſearch for, you ſhall find the Reward of ſearching, which is Happineſs. Now he that bids you ſearch, is cruel and barbarous in his Mockery, if he knows you have no power or faculty ſo to ſearch, as he commands you; there is therefore in a Man a natural Ability of ſearching ſpiritual Truths, and that can be nothing elſe but his Underſtanding: neither to any thing elſe can the Command be directed, ſince all things elſe are without us, and may ſerve for Helps and Directions in our Search, but cannot be our Search it ſelf. Secondly, becauſe we lay the blaſphemous Accuſation of Injuſtice upon God, if he puniſh us for an Error which we could not avoid; and all Errors are ſuch which we fall into after a full and mature Search for the Truth, according to the beſt means repreſented to our Underſtanding. So that as the Liberty of our Will, and the Poſſibility we have of doing the contrary, makes us ſuffer juſtly for evil Actions; ſo the Poſſibility our Underſtanding had to have diſcover'd and entertain'd the Truth, renders us liable to Condemnation for ill Beliefs. Thirdly, We ought not to believe Errors in Faith to be damnable, becauſe this Opinion is ſo wildly uncharitable, that it ſtrikes ten thouſand Millions out of the Book of Life, for each ſingle Name that it leaves in it: ſo immeaſurably vaſt (if we conſider the whole World and all the Ages of it) is the number of thoſe who have lived and died in great, high, and manifeſt Errors (manifeſt I mean to us, for they were not ſo to them) above thoſe that have been ſo happy as to find and to embrace the Truth. Fourthly, We ought not to teach Men, that any Errors in Belief overthrow our Hopes of Salvation, unleſs we could likewiſe give them a Catalogue of thoſe Errors which do ſo; it being confeſs'd that all do not, becauſe theſe muſt neceſſarily put all conſidering Men into a doubt, or rather deſpair of their own Salvation: for what Quiet or Repoſe can our Conſcience take, whilſt we know our ſelves to be in many Errors (the Eſtate of a Traveller being uncapable of an Exemption from them) and believe that ſome Errors, without knowing which or how many, do exclude Men from a Poſſibility of entring into Heaven? Fifthly, Becauſe in this caſe we cannot know our Fault, and therefore have no means of repenting of it. Now God enjoining men Repentance, and promiſing Pardon thereupon for all Sins whatſoever, preſcribes ſuch a Phyſick as is impoſſible to be taken; for Repentance preſuppoſes knowledg of the Fault, and knowledg of a Fault does not conſiſt with an Error of the Underſtanding, for we cannot apprehend the thing ſo, and yet be ſorry that we are miſtaken. Sixthly, The great probability and appearance of Truth on all ſides, even the erring ones, ought to make us believe, that God will not puniſh thoſe who err. If that be probable, which all, or moſt Men, or many, or the moſt wiſe, or ſome wiſe Men receive for Truth; What Doctrine is there, which in the whole Compaſs of Religions may not paſs for probable, and what cauſe have we to condemn the Underſtanding of any Man, in a thing which he is drawn by Probabilities to aſſent to? I cannot poſſibly conceive it agreeable to the Goodneſs of the Divine Nature, ſo to have hidden and involv'd, and almoſt diſguis'd the Truth from us, if he had intended to have cenſur'd the miſſing of it, with ſo heavy a Sentence as that of eternal Ruin; eſpecially ſeeing there is but one true way for an hundred falſe ones, and no certain Mark ſet upon the Entry of that one, to diſtinguiſh it from the others. And let this ſuffice to be ſaid upon the firſt Argument, to induce us to commit our ſelves wholly to our Reaſon in the ſearch of Divine and Religious Verities, which is drawn from the certainty of Safety this way, and the great hazard of it any other.

Secondly, As in viſible Objects we receive confidently, and reſt in the Report of the Sight, becauſe Nature hath ordain'd and accommodated it accordingly for that purpoſe, without Appeal from it either to other Senſes, or to Revelations, or the Eyes of other Men: and as we do the like in all other Operations of the Senſe, and all other Faculties of the Soul; ſo ought we as intirely and abſolutely to reſign our Belief to the Dictates of our own Underſtanding in things intelligible, which are as properly and naturally the Object thereof, as things viſible are of the Eye-ſight. And we might as well ſay, we will truſt our Eyes in green, and white and black, but not in red or yellow Colours, as affirm that our Reaſon muſt guide us in the Contemplation of Nature, the Search of Arts, the Government of publick Societies, and the Regulation of mens Lives, as far as the Bounds of Morality; but that it is not at all to be follow'd or obey'd in matters that concern Religion: thoſe too being intelligible Truths, yea the chief, and therefore moſt to be ſearch'd, and a part of the Underſtanding's Object as much or rather more than any other. Now as the Credit of the Sight is not at all to be diſparag'd, becauſe ſome Men have the Jaundice, which paints every thing yellow; ſome look thro blue Spectacles, which repreſent all things to them under the ſame colour; and ſome thro divers Mediums, which make the ſtreight Staff appear crooked; ſome are ſhort-ſighted, and take Men for Trees at a diſtance: ſo, I ſay, the

Miſtakes which Reaſon, by accidental Diſturbances, lead ſome Men into, is not a ſufficient Argument for others to refuſe to be guided by it.

If it be objected, that the Sight, tho it be ſubject to ſome particular Impediments, yet is generally by its own nature much more certain and exact in the Judgment of Colours, than the Underſtanding can ever be made (even without accidental hindrances) in the knowledg of things ſpiritual: I anſwer, That if ſuch things be the proper Object of ſuch a Faculty, we are herein to be govern'd by the Dictates of it, without conſidering whether that Faculty be as quick and perfect as God could make it in apprehenſion of its Object; neither ought we to give leſs truſt to our Underſtanding in ſupernatural Truths, becauſe it is ſo much inferiour to that of Angels, than we do to our Eye-ſight in things viſible, tho it be ſo far ſhort of that of Eagles. Certainly they who remove the cognizance of Divine Truths out of the Court of Reaſon, take away that which moſt properly and naturally falls under its Determination. For when God had created all things elſe, he thought the World imperfect as yet, whilſt there was nothing made that could contemplate, thank, and worſhip the Maker of it; and therefore he created Man: And this was the chief End of the Production of a rational Soul, that by it they might conſider the things which they ſaw, and diſcourſe and collect out of them the things which they ſaw not, and both praiſe and love the Maker for and in them both; which is the whole Subſtance of Religion, for the Manners and Kinds of doing it are accidental. So then Religion appears to be the principal End of Man's Creation: and therefore as if Horſes be made for Burden, they have a natural Ability given them wherewith to do it; if Birds do fly, they have a Faculty and Wings given them for that purpoſe (becauſe where an End is natural, the Means are ſo too) ſo if Religion be the End of Man as he is Partaker of a rational Soul, that reaſonable Soul hath ſome Power naturally plac'd in it for the Exerciſe, Judgment, and Choice of Religion, as far forth as is neceſſary to his own Happineſs, that is, to the attain'd End for which he was created.

In the third place, This Opinion is not only moſt ſafe, and moſt natural for every Man in particular, but likewiſe moſt agreeable to the Good and Intereſt of Human Society: for all Wars of late Ages have been either really for Religion, or at leaſt that has been one of the chief Pretences; which if it were quite taken away, it would be difficult for thoſe men who diſguiſe their Ambition with it, to draw the People into the Miſeries and Uncertainties either of a Civil or Foreign War. Now if this Doctrine were generally planted in the Minds of Men, both the Reality and Pretence of fighting for Religion were utterly cancel'd; and tho turbulent Minds would then either find or make ſome other occaſion to diſturb their Neighbours, yet the Ill would neither be ſo frequent nor ſo cruel as it is at preſent. For who would quarrel for Religion, when this were made the main and general ground of all Religions, *That every Man ought quietly to enjoy his own?* True it is, That Unity in Religion would produce the ſame Effect; but alas! both Reaſon and Experience teaches us, that the Hopes of that are vain and impoſſible: and tho a State may ſometimes force all its Subjects to ſubmit to an outward Uniformity in all things that concern Divine Worſhip, yet they muſt know, that every publick Diſturbance in the Commonwealth breaks all thoſe Bonds aſunder of diſſembled Obedience, and that ſuch Compulſions both beget and ripen all Diſorders.

Much might be ſpoken in this matter, but not neceſſarily here, both becauſe I have ſaid ſomething of it before, in anſwering this Argument turn'd againſt this Opinion unhappily; and becauſe the manner of eſtabliſhing this Liberty in a Commonwealth, will require a Diſcourſe intirely by it ſelf.

The laſt Defence of this Cauſe, and which indeed needs not the Aſſiſtance of any other, ſhall be, becauſe (tho Men deceive themſelves herein, and as it often happens, know not their own Opinions) it is impoſſible that ever any man ſhould have been, is, or can hereafter be guided by any thing elſe but his own *Reaſon*, as in other things, ſo alſo in matters of Religion; I ſay impoſſible, for whatſoever way we take, we ſhall find that the laſt Anchor to which our Faith holds, the laſt Element into which it is reſolv'd (and therefore it is likewiſe compounded of the ſame) is only *Reaſon.* For when I ask, why you believe any Myſtery of Faith? you will anſwer perhaps, Becauſe the preſent Church commands you. If I proceed and ask, Why do you believe what the preſent Church commands? You will ſay, Becauſe the former Church teaches the ſame. Why do you believe the former Church? Becauſe God commands you ſo to do. Why do you believe that God commands it? Becauſe you find it in the Scripture. Why do you believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God? Becauſe they were confirm'd by Miracles. Why do Miracles confirm that? Becauſe they are Works which can proceed from nothing but the abſolute and immediate Power of the Deity. Why ſo? Becauſe nothing contrary to, or above the Courſe of Nature, can be done by natural Agents; but Miracles

racles are Effects contrary to, or above the Courſe of Nature; therefore they proceed from the Divine Operation. Thus you ſee Faith at laſt reſolv'd into a Syllogiſm, which is the proper Work of the Underſtanding. On the other hand, if I demand, Why you do believe that any Miracles were done for the Confirmation of the Faith? Becauſe of the great and many Teſtimonies of the Truth thereof. Why do you believe thoſe Teſtimonies? Becauſe ſo many Perſons in ſo ſeveral Times and Places, with ſo ſeveral Intereſts, could never agree in being deceiv'd, or to deceive. So that you reſt not at all in any Authority, but diſcourſe firſt what may be ſaid for or againſt the Validity of it, examine it punctually in all Circumſtances, and at laſt ſubmit to it upon ſome Syllogiſm, which is the only Law that binds our *Reaſon*. Two things are to be conſider'd in all Authority, before we obey or believe it; firſt, The Condition and Quality of the Perſons who command or inſtruct; and ſecondly, The true Interpretation of their Commands or Inſtructions. For the firſt, The Perſons in commanding muſt have a lawful Power deriv'd to them, either from God, Nature, or Cuſtom (which latter depends upon the two former) and in inſtructing, muſt have either an abſolute Infallibility, or elſe at leaſt a Probability of not erring. So that no Authority is obeyable or believable in it ſelf, without farther examination, no not that of God himſelf; for the Strength of God's Authority depends upon that Syllogiſm, which proves that the Nature of God is ſuch, that he can neither deceive, nor be deceiv'd. Now all this Examination is purely and intirely the Work of our Reaſon, by meaſuring a Particular and an Univerſal. Whatſoever hath ſuch Conditions, is to be obey'd or believ'd; but ſuch Perſon or Perſons have ſuch Conditions, therefore ſuch Perſon or Perſons are to be obey'd or believ'd. Neither does our Reaſon only preſcribe Obedience and Belief to us, but alſo ſearches and eſtabliſhes the Bounds of both, ſetting up ſome ſolid and apparent Notions, by which we know our *Ne plus ultra*. True it is, that ſome men obey, and ſome men believe, without conſidering that they make this Diſcourſe; but that is only from Inadvertency, as men often move their Bodies, without any particular exerted Thought of doing ſo.

Thus far then Authority wholly depends upon *Reaſon*. And much more in the ſecond Condition, which is the Interpretation of it: in which buſineſs the Interpoſition of *Reaſon* is ſo neceſſary, that I ſhall omit either to prove or illuſtrate the Point.

Now as they who enſlave themſelves to Authority, make it the Rule and Guide of Faith, becauſe that even the Belief that Scripture is the Law of God depends upon it, as truly it does (in my Opinion) upon the Tradition of Miracles; ſo I ſay, that much rather *Reaſon* is to be accounted that Rule and that Guide we look for, becauſe even Authority, upon which even Scripture it ſelf depends, depends as much upon that: neither do we more believe the Scripture for Authority, than that very Authority for the Reaſon we think we have to do ſo. The *Samaritan* ſays, I have an infallible Rule, which is the Books of *Moſes*, and only them. The *Jew* ſays, I cannot err, for I follow the Old Teſtament, which is infallible, and only that. The Chriſtian aſſures himſelf of the Truth, as long as he is guided by the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, whoſe Writings are the infallible Dictates of the Holy Ghoſt. The Turk aſſumes the ſame from the *Alcoran*; and the Heathen from Oracles, *Sybil's* Books, and the like. What ſhall I do? None of all theſe Books can be believ'd by their own Light, for there are things equally ſtrange in them all. Follow the Authority of the Church, which cannot miſguide you? Moſt willingly. But again the ſame difficulty returns in another habit: for as every one cries, I follow theſe Books which are infallible; ſo he goes on too and ſays, I believe theſe Books to be ſo, becauſe our Church and our Traditions, which are certainly the beſt Authority, aſſure us that they were written by Divine Inſpiration. Let the Chriſtian take heed of ſaying here, *But my Tradition is more antient and more univerſal*; for in the firſt the Jew will overcome him, and in both the Heathen. I muſt in this diverſity of ways either ſtand ſtill, that is, ſuſpend abſolutely from the Belief of any Religion (which is almoſt impoſſible, after the Belief that there is a God) or I muſt chuſe out of theſe. Now Election is a Work ſo proper to Reaſon, that it cannot be done by any thing elſe; and therefore to be brought to a neceſſity of an Election, is to be neceſſarily brought to ſubmit in matters of Religion to the Determination of our Underſtanding. So that in matters of Religion, wherein there is a difference, I chuſe this ſide rather than the other, becauſe my *Reaſon* bids me: and where there is no difference, even there I am wholly guided by my *Reaſon*, becauſe the uncontradicted Concurrence of the Parties, makes up a Syllogiſm to perſuade (I ſay to perſuade only) my Belief. Briefly, I cannot believe but by an Act of the Will, nor can I will but according to the Directions of the Underſtanding: ſo that they

they who ſay they follow Authority, or they follow Divine particular Revelation, or any thing elſe imaginable, do it becauſe that agrees with their own Reaſon, and will quit the Party as ſoon as it does otherwiſe.

*FINIS.*

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